# *The Indian Mutiny*

*1857-58*

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# LETTERS DESPATCHES AND OTHER STATE PAPERS

PRESERVED IN

## THE MILITARY DEPARTMENT

OF

## THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

## 1857-58

---

EDITED BY

GEORGE W. FORREST, B.A.

DIRECTOR OF RECORDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

FELLOW OF THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY

---

WITH A MAP AND PLANS

---

VOLUME I

CALCUTTA

MILITARY DEPARTMENT PRESS

1893.

2

# PREFACE

THREE years ago, Lieutenant-General Sir George Chesney, K.C.B., at that time Military Member of Council, requested me to examine and systematically arrange, with a view to publication, all the State papers relating to the revolt of the Bengal Native Army in 1857 deposited in the different military offices of the Government of India. A mass of papers were placed in my hands, and, as they belonged to different offices, different modes of arrangement had been adopted. My first step was to arrange the papers in the following main groups—

*1st.*—All papers relating to the first outbreak of disaffection at Barrackpore and Berhampore and the revolt of the Native troops at Meerut: all documents relating to the capture of Delhi by the English troops.

*2nd.*—All papers relating to the mutiny at Lucknow and the defence of the Residency by the garrison: General Havelock's march from Allahabad and the first relief of Lucknow: General Outram's defence of Lucknow: Sir Colin Campbell's relief of Lucknow in November 1857: Outram's defence of the Alambagh: General Windham's defence of Cawnpore: Sir Colin Campbell's storming of Lucknow. All documents relating to the outbreak at Cawnpore and the defence of the intrenchment.

*3rd.*—All papers relating to Sir Hugh Rose's Campaign of Central India: General Whitlock's Campaign: Sir Colin Campbell's operations in Oude. All miscellaneous papers relating to the different outbreaks and operations of war in different parts of India.

When the whole mass emerged from confusion, the papers belonging to the first group were arranged in uniform chronological order, and the volume now published comprises all the military records from the first outbreak of disaffection to the siege and storming of Delhi by the English troops. The story of that siege, one of the most illustrious in the annals of England, is told by the letters and despatches of the chief actors, and their plain narrative of facts, reflecting the spirit which produces great deeds, must always be read by Englishmen with interest, pride and sympathy.

As the letters and despatches do not, however, furnish an unbroken narrative of events and are somewhat full of technical details, I have thought it advisable, for the sake of the general reader, to construct from these official materials a continuous story and to prefix it as an introduction. For the introduction, besides the original documents, I have consulted The History of the Indian Mutiny, by Sir John Kaye and Colonel Malleson; The History of the Indian Mutiny, by T. R. E. Holmes; The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, by the Reverend Cave-Browne; Letters written during the Siege of Delhi, by H. H. Greathed, Esq.; A Chaplain's Narrative of the Siege of Delhi, by the Reverend J. A. W. Rotton; The Sepoy War, by Sir Hope Grant and Captain H. Knowlys; A Year's Campaign in India, by Captain Medley; Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys during the Mutiny of 1857, by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B.; Mutiny Memoirs, by Colonel A. R. D. Mackenzie, C.B.; and The History of the Siege of Delhi, by an Officer who served there, from which I have derived considerable assistance.

It is a difficult and dangerous task for a civilian to describe the operations of war, but owing to the generous assistance rendered me by many military men my work has been made less onerous and is offered with less fear. Their technical knowledge I trust has removed and corrected numerous imperfections.

To Lord Roberts, who took part in the conflict and whose name is in the list of the wounded, my best thanks are due for describing to me on the theatre of their enactment the principal operations of the great siege which decided the destinies of India. To His Lordship I am further indebted for having found time amidst his multifarious and responsible duties to read the Introduction and furnish some important suggestions and corrections. I must also record my obligation to him for the comparative table showing the casualties in the different arms of the service in the Crimea and Delhi. I may however mention that the Introduction has no official *character or authority.*

It affords me much pleasure to acknowledge the great trouble taken in the preparation of the maps and plans by Colonel Wilkins, Assistant Surveyor-General, and Mr. Cusson, Assistant Surveyor.

The letters, reports and returns have been printed exactly as they were written day by day, and no alteration has been made in the orthography of the several writers. It is true "Swami House" is correct and orthodox, but "Sammy House" was what the soldiers who so stoutly defended the temple called it, and to alter it would be an act of repulsive pedantry. The corruption of the name is characteristic of the British soldier, and about "Sammy House" dwells the memory of many a hard fought contest and many a signal deed of valour.

CALCUTTA;<br>
*May 1893.*

## CONTENTS



## MAP AND PLANS



7

# INTRODUCTION

AT the close of the year 1856, the Government of India had decided that the old-fashioned musket should be superseded by the Enfield rifle. Depots for instruction in the use of the new weapon had been formed at three stations—Dum-Dum, a cantonment in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and Umballa and Sialkot, in Upper India. Large numbers of cartridges for the new rifle had been manufactured at Fort William, in Calcutta, and supplied to the different depots. On the 24th of January 1857, Major-General Hearsey, Commanding the Presidency Division, forwarded *two letters for immediate submission* to the Government of India. One of them was from Captain Wright, the officer commanding the Rifle Instruction Depot at Dum-Dum, stating "that there appears to be a very unpleasant feeling existing among the native soldiers who are here for instruction regarding the grease used in preparing the cartridges, some evil-disposed persons having spread a report that it consists of a mixture of the fat of pigs and cows." He added: "The belief in this report has been strengthened by the behaviour of a *khalási* attached to the magazine, who, I am told, asked a sepoy of the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, to supply him with water from his lota; the sepoy refused, observing he was not aware of what caste the man was. The *khalási* immediately rejoined: 'You will soon lose your caste as ere long you will have to bite cartridges covered with the fat of pigs and cows,' or words to that effect." Captain Wright also observed that some of the depot men in conversing with him on the subject had stated "that the report had spread throughout India, and when they went to their homes their friends would refuse to eat with them." He added: "I assured them, (believing it to be the case), that the grease used is composed of mutton-fat and wax, to which they replied: 'It may be so, but our friends will not believe it; let us obtain the ingredients from the bazar and make it up ourselves; we shall then know

1857
27th J
The grea
cartridg

what is used, and be able to assure our fellow-soldiers and others that there is nothing in it prohibited by our caste.'"

Letter from Maj. Bontein

The other letter forwarded by General Hearsey was from Major Bontein, commanding the Depot of Musketry at Dum-Dum, mentioning that, on receipt of the letter from Captain Wright, he had paraded all the native portion of the depot and called for any complaints that the men might wish to prefer. "At least two-thirds of the detachment immediately stepped to the front, including all the native commissioned officers. In a manner perfectly respectful they very distinctly stated their objections to the present method of preparing cartridges for the new rifled musket. The mixture employed for greasing cartridges was opposed to their religious feeling, and as a remedy they begged to suggest the employment of wax and oil in such proportion as, in their opinion, would answer the purpose required."* General Hearsey recommended "that the officer commanding the Rifle Depot might be authorised to obtain from the bazar whatever ingredients might be necessary, which the sepoys might be allowed to make up for themselves." The answer of the Government was not long in coming. The concession was immediate and complete. The officer in command of the depot was authorised to obtain from the bazar the ingredients necessary for the greasing of the bullets, and the men themselves were to be permitted to make up the ingredients.

Mutinous excesses at Barrackpore.

But already the sepoys at Barrackpore, the great military station situated on the banks of the Hooghly, sixteen miles from Calcutta, had proceeded to mutinous excesses. Barrackpore was at that time the head-quarters of the Presidency Division of the army and four native regiments were quartered there—the 2nd Grenadiers, the 34th Native Infantry, the 43rd Light Infantry, and the 70th Native Infantry. The station was commanded by Brigadier Charles Grant; and the General of the division was John Hearsey, a brave cavalry soldier, who had perhaps as large a knowledge of the sepoy, of his temper, of his habits, of his language, as any officer in the native army.† On the 24th of January, General Hearsey wrote that "an ill-feeling is said to subsist in the minds of the sepoys, caused by a report spread probably by the *Dharma Sabha*, a religious Hindu party in Calcutta, that it was the design of Government to convert the soldiers to Christianity by force." The writer stated that he would not have attached much weight to these reports, but contemporaneously with them, a sergeant's

* From Brevet-Major J. Bontein, page 2.

† History of the Sepoy War,—Kaye, Vol. I, page 313.

bungalow had been burnt down at Raneegunge, and three incendiary fires had taken place at Barrackpore in a few days, one of them destroying the Telegraph Office bungalow. General Hearsey added, that perhaps the party who were averse to the re-marriage of widows were using these means to embarrass the Government.*

Spe re l cau disc

An ancient and widely-spread custom had prohibited the Hindu widow from a second marriage. During the administration of Lord Dalhousie, an Act which permitted her to marry again had been proposed and discussed, and it was passed by his successor. The permission for widows to marry again trenched upon the Hindu's idea of positive morality, and tended to confirm the suspicion which had entered his mind that the Government wished to tamper with his creed. The establishment of telegraphs and railways, and the opening of schools, had created a feeling of unrest in the land, and appeared to the orthodox to threaten the destruction of the social and religious fabric of Hindu society. The propagator of sedition and the fanatic, the two great enemies of our rule, took advantage of the feeling of unrest and suspicion to raise the cry that a systematic attack was to be made on the ancient faith and customs of the people, and they pointed to the introduction of the greased cartridge as a proof of what they so sedulously preached. They persuaded the Brahmin sepoy that there could no longer be any doubt that a sinister but systematic attempt was being made on his religion. They declared that the Government had long been desirous that he should do something incompatible with his creed and perform some external rite destructive of his caste. The greased cartridge was the instrument intended to work this nefarious design. It had to be bitten before loading. The biting of a paper greased with cow's fat involved the loss of caste. To the Brahmin sepoy the loss of caste meant becoming an outcast, an object of loathing and disgust. It brought shame and misery upon his wife and children; it deprived him of the consolation of his religion; and it entailed upon him, instead of an eternity of happiness, an eternity of woe.† To escape the loss of caste

* From Major-General J. B. Hearsey, C.B., page 5.

† Lord Lawrence in his Letter relating to the trial of the King of Delhi gives an impor-
int and interesting conversation which he and Brigadier-General Chamberlain held at
Imballa in 1858 with a Jemadar of the 3rd Punjab Infantry. This man, a Bhajpoorea
ajpoot by caste, and a native of Hindustan, was at Ghazipore on furlough when the
utiny broke out; he and his two brothers joined an English indigo planter, and during
ven months were of great use to that gentleman on several occasions of difficulty and
sturbance. He was on his way thence to rejoin his regiment in the Punjab when he met
: Chief Commissioner's camp at Umballa. Though holding a certificate of his good

the sepoys determined to band together to refuse the cartridges. The incendiary fires at Barrackpore which General Hearsey had reported in his letter were meant as a warning to the officers and to the Government of the discontent which had taken possession of the Native Army.

Genl. Hearsey orders Special Court of Inquiry

General Hearsey, knowing the religious prejudices of the sepoys and how easily they were aroused, determined to hear what the men had to say, and ordered a special court of enquiry to be held at Barrackpore, "for the purpose of ascertaining from the evidence of a selected portion of the 2nd Regiment Native (Grenadier) Infantry, the cause of their continued objection to the paper of which the new rifle cartridges were composed."* The court met on the 6th February and Byjonath Pandy, a sepoy, was called and examined. Asked if he had made any objections to the cartridges he answered

conduct and services at Ghazipore he still, even at Umballa, seemed doubtful of the reception he would meet with. He was reserved at first, and it was only during a lengthened examination that he by degrees described what he had heard and seen. In this conversation he affirmed that there was a general belief among the Hindustani sepoys that the destruction of their caste and religion had been finally resolved on by the English. "So strong was this belief," he said, "that when I talked with the relations and friends of sepoys and endeavoured to combat their views, I ended in almost believing that they were right. Then again when I talk to you and hear what you say, I see how foolish such ideas were. He added that the English officers little knew how strong this impression had become in the Native Army : that more than five years ago the belief had existed, and had nearly brought on an emeute : that the caravanserais for travellers, and the supply depots (serais and bardasht-khanas) erected by Government on the Grand Trunk Road were said to be devised with the object of destroying caste, and that before long impure kinds of food would be prepared in them which the people would be forced to buy and eat."

General Low, Member of the Supreme Council, writing regarding the case of the Irregular Infantry of Oudh, said : "I cannot say with much precision all that ought, in my opinion, to be done by orders of the Government, especially as it appears to me, that probably the main body of this regiment in refusing to bite these cartridges, did so refuse, not from any feeling of disloyalty or disaffection towards the Government or their officers, but from an unfeigned and sincere dread, owing to their belief in the late rumours about the construction of those cartridges that the act of biting them would involve a serious injury to their caste and to their future respectability of character. In short, that if they were to bite these cartridges, they would be guilty of a heinous sin in a religious point of view." Mr. J. P. Grant, another Member of the Council, writing regarding the same affair, said : "Although there can be no doubt that the cartridges which they refused to bite were not the new cartridges for the Enfield musket which by reason of the very culpable conduct of the Ordnance Department have caused all this excitement : yet it may be presumed that they were the first cartridges that these men were ever required to bite in their lives. Also there is no saying what extreme mismanagement there may have been on the part of the Commandant and officers in the origin of the affair : the mere fact of making cartridge-biting a point after it had been purposely dropped from the authorised system of drill, merely for rifle practice, is a presumption for any imaginable degree of perverse management."

* Indian Mutiny, pages 7-8.

that he felt a suspicion that the paper might affect his caste. Asked for his reason for this suspicion, he answered that it was a new kind of paper, and one which he had not seen before; he had "heard a report that there was some fat in the paper; it was a bazar report". He was then asked to examine the paper carefully in the light and explain to the court what he saw objectionable in it. He answered: "My suspicion of the paper proceeds from its being stiff and like cloth in the mode of tearing it; it seems to us different from the old paper in use amongst us."* The next witness, Chand Khan, also objected to the paper because "it is tough and burns as if there were grease in it". Being questioned whether he was present when a piece of the paper was burnt, he answered: "On the evening of the 4th instant a piece of the cartridge paper was dipped in water and afterwards burnt; when burning, it made a fizzing noise and smelt as if there was grease in it."* A piece of the paper was burnt in the court, and Chand Khan was unable to detect any grease, but being asked if his objection still remained, he said: "I object to this paper being used, as every one is dissatisfied with it on account of its being glazed, shining like wax-cloth."* The native officer, Subadar Khoda Bakhsh, stated: "I have no objection to the cartridge myself, but *I know there is a general report in the cantonment that the paper* is made up with fat. Another native officer, Jemadar Golab Khan, said: "There is grease in it I feel assured, as it differs from the paper which has heretofore been always used for cartridges." General Hearsey, in forwarding the proceedings of the court of enquiry, wrote as follows:—"A perusal of the several statements and opinions recorded in these proceedings clearly establishes in my judgment that a most unreasonable and unfounded suspicion has unfortunately taken possession of the minds of all the native officers and sepoys at this station, that grease or fat is used in the composition of this cartridge paper; and this foolish idea is now so rooted in them that it would, I am of opinion, be both idle and unwise even to attempt its removal. I would accordingly beg leave to recommend, for the consideration of Government, the expediency (if practicable) of ordering this rifle ammunition to be made up of the same description of paper which has been hitherto employed in the magazines for the preparation of the common musket cartridge, by which means this groundless suspicion and objection could be at once disposed of." Major-General Hearsey with all his experience of the East failed to understand that concessions

* Indian Mutiny, page 9.

made to the murmurs and threats of an ignorant race only increase their perversity and folly.

Letter from Genl. Hearsey

A week after General Hearsey had forwarded the proceedings of the court of enquiry, he wrote to Government: "We have at Barrackpore been dwelling upon a mine ready for explosion." A jemadar of the 34th Regiment had revealed to him the gravity of the situation. The man deposed, that on the 5th, the day before the court of enquiry, two or three men had come to him and made him accompany them to the parade ground, where he found a great crowd assembled, composed of men of the different regiments of the station. They had their heads tied up with cloth, so that a small part of the face was exposed. They asked him to join them, and I asked them what I was to join them in. They replied that they were willing to die for their religion, and that if they could make an arrangement that evening, the next night (6th February 1857) they would plunder the station and kill all the Europeans, and then go where they liked."* General Hearsey in his letter, bringing the foregoing to the notice of Government, pointed out that there was great danger in having a brigade of four or five native corps so close to the capital, and proceeded to remark: "You will perceive in all this business the native officers were of no use; in fact, they are afraid of their men, and dare not act; all they do is to hold themselves aloof, and expect by so doing they will escape censure as not actively implicated. This has always occurred on such occasions, and will continue to the end of our sovereignty in India. Well might Sir Charles Metcalfe say 'that he expected to awake some fine morning and find that India had been lost to the English Crown.'"

Genl. Hearsey's first address

The evidence of the jemadar proved to General Hearsey that a mutinous spirit had taken deep root among the sepoys, and he therefore thought it necessary to assemble the troops in order to point out to them the absurdity of the fears they entertained for their caste. On the 9th of February he paraded the brigade and addressed the assembled regiments in their mother tongue. He energetically and explicitly explained to the men the folly of the idea that possessed them that the Government or their officers wished to interfere with their caste or religious prejudices, and impressed upon them the absurdity of their for one moment believing that they were to be forced to become Christians. "I told them the English were Christians of 'The Book,' *i.e.*, 'Protestants'; that we admitted no proselytes, but those who being adults could read and fully understand the precepts laid down therein; that if they came and threw themselves down at our feet imploring to

* Indian Mutiny, page 20.

be made 'The Book' Christians, it could not be done; they could not be baptised until they had been examined in the tenets of 'The Book' and proved themselves fully conversant in them, and then they must of their own good will and accord desire to become Christians of 'The Book' ere they could be made so."

General Hearsey thought that he had convinced the men of their delusions. He wrote to Government that he had "heard from the officers commanding regiments that their native officers and men appeared quite *khush* (pleased), and seemed to be relieved from a heaviness of mind that had possessed them." But any good effect which his address might have had on the sepoys was quickly destroyed by the news which reached them of what had been done by their comrades at Berhampore.

Mutiny the 19t Regimen Native I fantry

About a hundred miles from Barrackpore, and a few miles from Moorshedabad, the ancient capital of the Nawabs of Bengal, lies the military station of Berhampore. At that time there were cantoned in it the 19th Regiment Native Infantry, a corps of irregular cavalry, and a battery of guns manned by native gunners. The rumours regarding the greased cartridge did not take long in reaching Berhampore. Early in February, a Brahmin pay-havildar, a man of good character, said to Colonel Mitchell, commanding the 19th Regiment Native Infantry:—"What is this story everybody is talking about, that Government intends making the native army use cow's and pig's fat with the ammunition for their new rifles?"* Colonel Mitchell asked him if he believed there was any truth in the report; he replied he could not believe it. On the 24th February, a small detachment of the 34th Native Infantry reached the station, and they were anxiously questioned by the men of the 19th as to the truth of the story regarding the greased cartridges. What they heard re-awakened their fears. Next day, when Colonel Mitchell ordered a parade for exercise with blank ammunition for the following morning, the men refused to receive the percussion caps served out to them in the evening, saying "there was a doubt how the cartridges were prepared." Upon receipt of this intelligence Colonel Mitchell went down with the Adjutant to the lines, and called up all the native commissioned officers in front of the quarter-guard and explained to them that the cartridges about to be served out in the morning were the cartridges made up by the 7th Regiment Native Infantry upwards of a year ago, and that they had better tell the men of their companies that those who refused to obey the orders of their officers were liable to the severest punishment.* Two of the native officers afterwards swore that he

* Letters from Lieutenant-Colonel W. St. L. Mitchell, pages 39 & 41.

Calcutta. Two sepoys of the 2nd Native Infantry (Grenadiers), who belonged to the detachment on guard at Fort William, paid a visit to the subadar commanding the Mint guard and said to him: "The havildar-major has sent us; the Governor-General is going to Barrackpore to take the magazine, and there will be fighting there. The Calcutta militia are coming into the fort; you bring your guard and join them." The subadar, understanding what their news implied, ordered them to be arrested, and next morning sent them prisoners to Fort William. They were tried by a native court-martial, found guilty, and sentenced to imprisonment for fourteen years. The Commander-in-Chief remarked: "Death would be the appropriate punishment for the crime of which the prisoners have been convicted. There is none of which a soldier can be guilty which more imperatively calls for the severest sentence which can be awarded by a court-martial, but fourteen years of disgraceful labour may be to some worse than death, and the Commander-in-Chief will not therefore call for a revision of the sentence. He is disposed to believe that many of the native officers who composed the Court would agree with him in this view, and he therefore has unhesitatingly approved and confirmed their award. The miserable fate which the prisoners have brought upon themselves will excite no pity in the breast of any true soldier."*

Genl. Hearsey's second address

After the departure from Barrackpore of the native officers, who had been warned as members of the court-martial ordered to assemble for the trial of the sepoys of the 2nd Regiment, General Hearsey held a general parade of the troops and again addressed the men. He told them what had occurred at Calcutta, and bid them beware of the evil-minded men "who endeavour to take the bread from the mouths of good sepoys by making them the instruments of their bad designs". He then spoke of the discontent still prevailing in regard to the cartridge paper, and attempted to allay their fears by explaining to them that the glazed appearance of the paper was due to starch employed in its composition. "I then took a letter I received many years ago from Maharajah Golab Sing from a gold tissue kharita, and handed it successively to all the native officers, and bid them open it and look at it, and tell me if it was not more glossy than the cartridge paper they suspected, and to go into the ranks and show it to their men. Having done this, I asked the native officers and men if it was likely a Dogra Brahmin or Rajpoot, who so strictly protected kine, would himself write on paper that had grease in it of such nature." He then mentioned to them how a belief in the

* See Appendix C, page liii.

falsehood of the greased paper had led the 19th into open mutiny, and that the Government were very angry, had ordered the corps to march to Barrackpore, and would probably command him to disband the regiment. In that case all the troops of the division would be assembled at Barrackpore to witness the disbandment, artillery, Europeans and cavalry, and that the ceremony of striking the name and number of the regiment (the 19th Regiment Native Infantry) from the list of the army would be carried out exactly in the same manner as the old 34th Regiment Native Infantry was disbanded at Meerut. He added: "I said, I inform you of this beforehand because your enemies are trying to make you believe that European troops, with cavalry and artillery, will be sent here suddenly to attack you ; these and such lies are fabricated and rumoured amongst you to cause trouble. That no European or other troops would come to Barrackpore until ordered to do so by me, and that I would give them timely intelligence of their coming here."*

The General concluded by assuring the sepoys that their caste and religious prejudices were safe, and that any endeavour to interfere with them would meet with most severe punishment. He then rode slowly down the ranks, spoke to the men wearing medals, and asked them in *what action they had won them.*

Arrival the 84th giment Calcutta

Two days after General Hearsey had addressed the men at Barrackpore, the steamer conveying the 84th Regiment reached Calcutta, and the men were sent to Chinsurah, eight miles from Barrackpore. Orders were immediately sent to Berhampore for the 19th Native Infantry to march to Barrackpore, but before they reached that station the first blood had been shed in the Indian Mutiny.

Mung Pandy

On Sunday, the 29th of March, a non-commissioned officer came in the afternoon to the quarters of Lieutenant Baugh, Adjutant of the 34th Native Infantry, and reported that a sepoy of the name of Mungul Pandy had turned out in front of the quarter-guard of the regiment and fired at the sergeant-major. Having put on his uniform and placed a brace of pistols in his holsters, Baugh galloped down to the lines. He had scarcely pulled up at the quarter-guard when a shot was fired and his horse fell under him. As soon as he could disentangle himself, he drew his pistol from the left holster, and seeing that Mungul Pandy was reloading he fired. Mungul Pandy stopped loading. Baugh drew his sword and rushed in to secure him. The sergeant-major came to the assistance of his officer. The fanatic, mad with bhang, held

* Indian Mutiny, Vol. I, page 83.

both his assailants at bay and severely wounded them with his sword. A treacherous blow dealt by another sepoy knocked down the sergeant-major, and at the same time Baugh was brought to the ground. Both in another instant would have been dead men if a Mahomedan sepoy, Shaik Pultoo, had not rushed forward and held the fanatic until the two wounded men had time to rise and make good their retreat. During this time, with the exception of the gallant Shaik Pultoo, not a man advanced from the quarter-guard or from the lines to assist their officers or arrest the criminal. When the Adjutant, maimed and bleeding, was retiring from the conflict, he passed the lines of his regiment and reproached the men assembled there with having allowed their officers to be cut down before their eyes without offering to assist them; they made no reply, but turned their backs and moved sullenly away. Meanwhile a sepoy had rushed to the quarters of the General and informed him that "all the sepoys of the brigade were turning out on their parades." He immediately ordered his horse to be saddled and loaded revolvers placed in the holsters. "Whilst this was being done, I went to my desk and wrote two short notes, one addressed to Colonel Reed, commanding Her Majesty's 84th Foot at Chinsurah, the other to Colonel Amsinck, commanding at Dum-Dum, to the purport that, on receipt of these notes they were instantly to move with the troops at their posts to Barrackpore, for it was my intention, had the brigade all turned out in a mutinous manner, to have taken post in the Governor-General's house with the fifty Europeans who were at the flag-staff ghaut and with the officers of the force and any men who might prove true to Government and join us, to have defended that position until relieved or supported."*

The General then mounted his horse, and, accompanied by his two sons, galloped down to the parade-ground of the 34th. On arriving there he asked what was the matter and was told by the officers who were standing around what had taken place, and he saw, eighty or ninety paces in front of the quarter-guard, Mungul Pandy striding up and down and vehemently calling upon his comrades "to join him to defend and die for their religion and caste." The General immediately rode towards the quarter-guard accompanied by his two sons and Major Ross, the Assistant Adjutant-General. He heard an officer shout out to him, "His musket is loaded." "I replied, 'Damn his musket.'" On reaching the guard, he ordered them to follow him. The native officer said, "He is loaded and he will shoot us."

*From Major-General J. B. Hearsey, pages 109-110.

"I again (shaking my revolver and pointing it partly towards him) sharply repeated the order. The jemadar looked askance at me and replied, 'The men of the guard are putting caps on the nipples.' I said in a commanding and peremptory voice, 'Be quick and follow me,' and rode out in front towards the mutineer. The guard followed, my aid-de-camp on horseback close to the jemadar armed with his revolvers; my other son also close to the native officer similarly armed, Major Ross in rear of myself. As we approached the mutineer, we quickened our pace. My son, Captain J. Hearsey, called to me, 'Father, he is taking aim at you, look out sharp.' I replied, 'If I fall, John, rush upon him and put him to death.'" Immediately after, the mutineer fired and the whistle of the bullet was heard by the guard. Then they saw Mungul Pandy fall to the ground. At the last moment he had turned the muzzle to his breast and discharged it by the pressure of his foot. On reaching him they found him covered with blood and his clothes burning and smoking. The fire was quickly put out, and a medical officer being at hand, it was discovered that his wound, though severe, was superficial, and he was conveyed to hospital. General Hearsey rode amongst the sepoys of the 43rd Native Infantry and told them that no person should be permitted to interfere with their religion and caste prejudices whilst he commanded them. He then went amongst the men of the 34th Native Infantry and reproached them for their passive demeanour. They answered in one voice, "He is mad; he has taken bhang (intoxicating drug) to excess." "I replied, Could you not have seized him, and if he resisted, have shot him or maimed him? Would you not have done so to a mad elephant, or to a mad dog, and what difference was there in the dangerous madness of a man and the same in an elephant or a dog?" They said he had loaded his musket. "What," I replied, "are you afraid of a loaded musket? They were silent. I bid them go quietly to their lines, and they did so, immediately obeying my orders." So closed the first important episode in the Indian Mutiny and the action of the fine old soldier riding forward to capture the fanatic was the first of many heroic deeds.

Disbandment of the 19th Native Infantry

Two days after the outbreak of Mungul Pandy, the 19th Native Infantry marched into Barrackpore. A mile from the cantonment General Hearsey met them, and placing himself between the advanced guard and head of the column, rode with them to the parade. There were drawn up the 84th Foot, a wing of the 53rd, two batteries of European artillery, the Governor-General's Body-Guard, and the native brigade. After addressing a few words to the 19th Native Infantry, the General commanded that the order of Government for the disbandment

both his assailants at bay and severely wounded them with his sword. A treacherous blow dealt by another sepoy knocked down the sergeant-major, and at the same time Baugh was brought to the ground. Both in another instant would have been dead men if a Mahomedan sepoy, Shaik Pultoo, had not rushed forward and held the fanatic until the two wounded men had time to rise and make good their retreat. During this time, with the exception of the gallant Shaik Pultoo, not a man advanced from the quarter-guard or from the lines to assist their officers or arrest the criminal. When the Adjutant, maimed and bleeding, was retiring from the conflict, he passed the lines of his regiment and reproached the men assembled there with having allowed their officers to be cut down before their eyes without offering to assist them; they made no reply, but turned their backs and moved sullenly away. Meanwhile a sepoy had rushed to the quarters of the General and informed him that "all the sepoys of the brigade were turning out on their parades." He immediately ordered his horse to be saddled and loaded revolvers placed in the holsters. "Whilst this was being done, I went to my desk and wrote two short notes, one addressed to Colonel Reed, commanding Her Majesty's 84th Foot at Chinsurah, the other to Colonel Amsinck, commanding at Dum-Dum, to the purport that, on receipt of these notes they were instantly to move with the troops at their posts to Barrackpore, for it was my intention, had the brigade all turned out in a mutinous manner, to have taken post in the Governor-General's house with the fifty Europeans who were at the flag-staff ghaut and with the officers of the force and any men who might prove true to Government and join us, to have defended that position until relieved or supported."*

The General then mounted his horse, and, accompanied by his two sons, galloped down to the parade-ground of the 34th. On arriving there he asked what was the matter and was told by the officers who were standing around what had taken place, and he saw, eighty or ninety paces in front of the quarter-guard, Mungul Pandy striding up and down and vehemently calling upon his comrades "to join him to defend and die for their religion and caste." The General immediately rode towards the quarter-guard accompanied by his two sons and Major Ross, the Assistant Adjutant-General. He heard an officer shout out to him, "His musket is loaded." "I replied, 'Damn his musket.'" On reaching the guard, he ordered them to follow him. The native officer said, "He is loaded and he will shoot us."

*From Major-General J. B. Hearsey, pages 109-110.

"I again (shaking my revolver and pointing it partly towards him) sharply repeated the order. The jemadar looked askance at me and replied, 'The men of the guard are putting caps on the nipples.' I said in a commanding and peremptory voice, 'Be quick and follow me,' and rode out in front towards the mutineer. The guard followed, my aid-de-camp on horseback close to the jemadar armed with his revolvers; my other son also close to the native officer similarly armed, Major Ross in rear of myself. As we approached the mutineer, we quickened our pace. My son, Captain J. Hearsey, called to me, 'Father, he is taking aim at you, look out sharp.' I replied, 'If I fall, John, rush upon him and put him to death.'" Immediately after, the mutineer fired and the whistle of the bullet was heard by the guard. Then they saw Mungul Pandy fall to the ground. At the last moment he had turned the muzzle to his breast and discharged it by the pressure of his foot. On reaching him they found him covered with blood and his clothes burning and smoking. The fire was quickly put out, and a medical officer being at hand, it was discovered that his wound, though severe, was superficial, and he was conveyed to hospital. General Hearsey rode amongst the sepoys of the 43rd Native Infantry and told them that no person should be permitted to interfere with their religion and caste prejudices whilst he commanded them. He then went amongst the men of the 34th Native Infantry and reproached them for their passive demeanour. They answered in one voice, "He is mad; he has taken bhang (intoxicating drug) to excess." "I replied, Could you not have seized him, and if he resisted, have shot him or maimed him? Would you not have done so to a mad elephant, or to a mad dog, and what difference was there in the dangerous madness of a man and the same in an elephant or a dog?" They said he had loaded his musket. "What," I replied, "are you afraid of a loaded musket? They were silent. I bid them go quietly to their lines, and they did so, immediately obeying my orders." So closed the first important episode in the Indian Mutiny and the action of the fine old soldier riding forward to capture the fanatic was the first of many heroic deeds.

Two days after the outbreak of Mungul Pandy, the 19th Native Infantry marched into Barrackpore. A mile from the cantonment General Hearsey met them, and placing himself between the advanced guard and head of the column, rode with them to the parade. There were drawn up the 84th Foot, a wing of the 53rd, two batteries of European artillery, the Governor-General's Body-Guard, and the native brigade. After addressing a few words to the 19th Native Infantry, the General commanded that the order of Government for the disbandment

Disbandment of the 19th Native Infantry

of the corps should be read. The order, after mentioning the principal features of the outbreak at Berhampore, stated the inflexible determination of Government to enforce from its soldiers of every rank and race, at all times and in all circumstances, unhesitating obedience. "They have sworn to give it, and the Governor-General in Council will never cease to exact it. To no men who prefer complaints with arms in their hands will he ever listen." The General then pointed out that had the sepoys not lent a too credulous ear to "the idle stories with which false and evil-minded men had deceived them, their religious scruples would then have remained inviolate, and themselves would still be, as they had hitherto been, faithful soldiers, trusted by the State, and laying up for future years all the rewards of a long and honourable service. But the Governor-General in Council can no longer have any confidence in this regiment, which has disgraced its name, and has lost all claim to consideration and indulgence. It is therefore the order of the Governor-General in Council that the 19th Regiment Native Infantry be now disbanded."

After the order was read, the command was given to pile arms. This being done, the next order to take off their belts and hang them on their bayonets was given, and immediately complied with. The colours were then brought to the front of the columns and placed upon a pile of three muskets. The order was then given for the regiment to march, and after it had proceeded a little distance from its arms, it was halted and fronted, and the tumbril with the pay of the men was brought to the front and the pay due to the men distributed. The General then told the men that Government, though it had punished them by summary dismissal from the service, did not wish to disgrace them by stripping them of their uniform; and he also informed them that as a reward for their penitence and good conduct on the march from Berhampore, they would be provided at the public cost with carriage to carry them to their homes. "This gracious act," the General writes, "was keenly felt, and they loudly bewailed their fate, many men saying the regiment had been misled (and as I understood) by the 34th Regiment Native Infantry, on which corps they vowed vengeance."

The General then addressed the brigade; and "after pointing out the mercy and justice of the Government," he assured them "that no attempt had been made from any quarter to injure their caste or interfere in their religious prejudices in any way."* The evil reports that had been spread abroad were proved to be bare falsehoods by the fact that

* From Major-General J. B. Hearsey, page 101.

the 19th Regiment Native Infantry, in which there were upwards of four hundred Brahmins and one hundred and fifty Rajputs were now sent to their homes, paid up to the uttermost farthing of their claims, and were at liberty to visit any shrine they chose, or to go and worship at the temples of the villages where they were born, and where their fathers had worshipped before them. The men listened attentively, and when dismissed, dispersed quietly to their lines. When the men of the 19th Native Infantry had been paid, they were marched under an European escort out of Barrackpore. As they marched away from the parade, they cheered the General and wished him long life, "and I returned the compliment, making them promise me they would behave properly on their way to their homes." With the firmness of a soldier executing imperative instructions he had shown them kindliness of feeling, and a consideration towards the men which had won their hearts, and, as Lord Canning wrote, he carried out "with perfect success one of the most trying duties which can be imposed upon a commandant."*

Execution of Mungul Pandy and Jemadar Issuree Pandy

Six days after the disbandment of the 19th Regiment Native Infantry, Mungul Pandy was brought to trial for mutiny and for having used violence against his superior officers: he was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. The native officers who tried him were unanimous in their verdict, and eleven out of fourteen passed the sentence of death.† The morning after the verdict Mungul Pandy was hanged in the presence of all the troops at Barrackpore; and the columns of native infantry having been advanced close to the gallows, the General addressed the men telling them they had now witnessed the punishment for mutiny, and bidding them to take warning by it. On the 10th of April, two days after the execution of Mungul Pandy, the native officer who had incited the sepoys of the quarter-guard to refrain from assisting their officer, was brought to trial and also sentenced to be hanged. The sentence, however, could not be immediately carried out owing to a legal difficulty. A week elapsed before it was approved and confirmed by the Commander-in-Chief, who wrote, "the extreme punishment of military law has been justly awarded, and General Anson trusts that the enormity of the crime will be regarded with horror by every native officer, non-commissioned officer, and soldier of his army. Should, however, there be any still undetected who have looked on with apathy or passive encouragement at the act of mutiny of which the jemadar has been found guilty, his ignominious end and that of Sepoy Mungul Pandy, will be a warning

*From Colonel R. J. H. Birch, C.B., Secretary to Government in the Military Department, page 105.

† From Captain G. C. Hatch, Deputy Judge-Advocate-General, page 109.

to them of the fate which awaits all mutineers, and which General Anson would fain hope will have a beneficial influence upon their future conduct." On the 21st of April General Hearsey wrote to Government, "Jemadar Issuree Pandy was duly hanged by the neck this afternoon, at six o'clock, in presence of all the troops at the station, the crimes, finding, and sentence of the general court-martial before which he was arraigned, approved and confirmed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, having been first carefully explained to all the native corps. It may perhaps be satisfactory for the Government to learn that, when on the scaffold, the jemadar made a voluntary confession of his guilt and admitted the justice of the sentence which had been passed on him, at the same time imploring all his fellow-soldiers who were present to take warning by his untimely fate."

Disbandment of the 34th Native Infantry

Meanwhile the disposition and temper of the 34th Regiment Native Infantry had occupied the serious attention of the Government, and it was determined that evidence as to its state of feeling and temper should be taken by a special court of inquiry composed of field officers. The special court of inquiry, after a careful and patient investigation, declared their opinion that the Sikhs and Mussulmans of the 34th Regiment Native Infantry were trustworthy soldiers of the State, but the Hindus generally were not trustworthy. Of eight officers of the regiment summoned as witnesses five, amongst whom were the colonel and adjutant, expressed their opinion to the same effect, and stated that, if the regiment were ordered on field service, they should not accompany it with full reliance on its loyalty and good conduct. Upon a review of the facts of the case and the decision of the special court, Lord Canning came to the determination to disband the regiment, with the exception of the native officers and sepoys who had been absent from Barrackpore at the time of Mungul Pandy's murderous attack on the officers, or who had "in course of recent events given the Governor-General in Council good reason to believe in their fidelity to their officers and to the Government."*

---

* Three companies of the regiment were stationed at Chittagong in Eastern Bengal. At the inducement of the officer commanding the detachment, they sent the following petition—

Translation of the petition of commissioned and non-commissioned officers and sepoys of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th companies, 34th Regiment Native Infantry, dated Chittagong, the 22nd April 1857.

"According to orders we left Barrackpore and came to Chittagong; we obey and have obeyed all orders; we place no belief in the reports lately circulated. It is with extreme regret we have heard of the disgraceful conduct of the sepoy and the guard towards the Adjutant and the Sergeant-Major.

By a careful performance of our duties we have gained a reputation for fidelity to Government; these men have deprived us of it. We well know that the Government will consider us as faithful as ever, and we pray that this petition may be sent to the Governor-General in order that his Lordship may know the state of our feelings."—See Indian Mutiny, Vol. I, page 175.

"I should, indeed," wrote Lord Canning, "have been glad if some punishment short of the disbandment of the seven companies of the 34th Regiment Native Infantry, now stationed at Barrackpore, could have been considered thoroughly adequate for the occasion; but upon a careful examination and comparison of the proceedings which are before the Government, I am satisfied that no penalty less general than this would meet the exigencies of the case, or be effectual as an example."* On the 6th of May, two days after the judgment had been pronounced, the seven companies of the 34th Native Infantry which were at Barrackpore were disbanded in the presence of all the troops. They were stripped of their coats on parade and marched out of the station under escort of two companies of the 84th Foot. The long interval of five weeks which was supposed to intervene between the crime of the 34th Regiment and its punishment has been regarded as a grave error, and the punishment itself has been considered as inadequate to the crime. But it must be borne in mind that during the months of March and April and the early part of May no military or civil officer however well acquainted with the land and the people suspected that the greater part of the Bengal Army had determined to mutiny.† Sir John Lawrence who had visited *the rifle depot* at Sialkot *for the purpose of seeing the new weapon* as well as judging of the temper of the sepoys had reported to Lord Canning that "all were highly pleased with the new musket and quite ready to adopt it." "The officers assured him that no bad feeling had been shown, and he could perceive no hesitation or reluctance on the part of the sepoys." General Barnard who commanded the Sirhind Division had also sent a favorable report of the behaviour of the troops under his command. General Hearsey,

* Indian Mutiny, Vol. I, page 213.

†His Excellency Lord Roberts of Candahar and Waterford writes as follows:—"But that the mutiny was pre-arranged is, I think, proved by the fact that, when the news of the outbreak at Meerut reached Peshawar on the 12th May, letters were found addressed to sepoys in nearly all the regiments at Peshawar calling upon them to join."

Lord Canning after an outbreak at Lucknow wrote:—"I wish to say that it is my conviction that the measures which have been taken in dealing with mutineers have not been too mild. I have no doubt that many rank offenders have not had their deserts, but I know of no instance in which the punishment of any individual could, with unquestioned justice, have been made more severe; and I am not disposed to doubt the efficacy of the measures because the present ferment, in running its course over the land, after being checked in Bengal, has shown itself in Oudh and the North-West. I would meet it everywhere with the same deliberately measured punishments; picking out the leaders, wherever this is possible, for the severest penalties of military law; visiting the common herd with disbandment, but carefully exempting those whose fidelity, innocence, or perhaps, timely repentance, is fully proved."

the day after the disbandment of the 34th Regiment Native Infantry wrote, that he had directed the European troops to return to their respective cantonments, and added: "It is not probable that I require the presence of any of these troops at this station". Lord Canning and his advisers owing to these favorable reports were about to send back the 84th Regiment to Burma, when news reached them from Upper India of a serious outbreak at the important military station of Meerut.

The Cantonment of Meerut situated thirty-six miles from the Imperial City of Delhi stands on a wide plain traversed by two main roads, the one from Ghaziabad to Roorkee running north and south, and the mall lined with a fine avenue of lofty trees from east to west. On the north of the mall are lines of barracks for the accommodation of a brigade of artillery, an European cavalry corps, and a regiment of European infantry upon the right, left, and centre respectively. The Roorkee Trunk road separates the artillery and European infantry barracks from those of the cavalry, and beyond the lines to the north stretches an open expanse of country two square miles in extent which affords a splendid parade ground for the troops. South of the barracks in a continuous line are the quarters of the officers with their gardens extending to the mall.

At the western extremity of the mall runs a road which leads to the Native infantry lines situated due south of the cavalry lines at a distance of about a mile.* Further south are the cavalry lines separated from the Native infantry quarters by a wide space of ground. East of the Native lines lie scattered the bungalows of the officers attached to the Native corps. Behind them is situated the Sudder or chief cantonment bazaar, extending southward almost to the city boundary. To the east of the town about a mile from the city is a great gaol capable of holding four thousand prisoners.

May 1857 Meerut

In May 1857, at the station of Meerut, were quartered the 1st battalion of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, the 6th Regiment of Dragoon Guards (Carabineers), a troop of Horse Artillery, a company of Foot Artillery, a Light Field Battery, and three native corps; the 3rd Light Cavalry, the 11th and the 20th Native Infantry. A report of

* The distances are as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Left of British cavalry to right of Native infantry just under | ... 1 mile. |
| Left of British infantry to right of Native infantry just under | ... 1½ " |
| Left of artillery to right of Native infantry just under | ... 1¾ " |

the conversation at Dum-Dum between the sepoy and the lascar regarding the greased cartridge was not long in reaching the sepoys at Meerut, and caused much excitement among them. It was also stated that Government was attempting to destroy the religion of the people by the mixture of ground bones with the flour sold in the bazaars. The disaffection showed itself as at Barrackpore in the burning of bungalows and in officers not being saluted by their men; and it was whispered about that the sepoys had determined not to touch a single cartridge. It therefore seemed advisable to Colonel Smyth commanding the 3rd Light Cavalry to hold a parade in order to explain to the men the new mode by which they might load their carbines without biting their cartridges, and on the 23rd April he ordered that a parade should be held for the purpose the following morning. Late in the evening the senior native non-commissioned officer* informed him that the men of the 1st troop would not receive their cartridges. Captain Craigie, commanding one of the troops, wrote to the Adjutant—"Go at once to Smyth and tell him that the men of my troop have requested in a body that the skirmishing to-morrow morning may be countermanded, as there is a commotion throughout the native troops about cartridges, and that the regiment will become 'budnam'† if they fire any cartridges. I understand that in all six troops a report of the same kind is being made. This is a most serious matter, and we may have the whole regiment in mutiny in half an hour if this be not attended to. Pray don't lose a moment, but go to Smyth at once." Colonel Smyth, however, determined that the parade should be held. The parade took place: and there were ninety men present furnished from each troop. The Colonel explained to them the reason for ordering the parade, and commanded the havildar-major to show them the new way of loading, which he did and fired off his carbine. Colonel Smyth then ordered the cartridges to be served out; five men accepted them; eighty-five refused, saying "they would get a bad name if they took them, but that if all the regiment would take their cartridges they would do so." The colonel explained to them that they were not new cartridges, but the very same they had always been using, and once more called on them to receive the cartridges, saying—"You see the havildar-major has used one."‡ But, with the exception of the five men, all refused. "After

* Havildar-Major.

† Budnam—Bad name.

‡ Letter from Colonel G. M. C. Smyth, Commanding 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, page 223.

which I ordered the Adjutant to dismiss the men, as they were too large a party to send to the guard." A court of inquiry was held to investigate the matter, and when the proceedings of the court reached the Commander-in-Chief, he ordered the mutinous soldiers, forty-nine of whom were Mahomedans and thirty-six Hindus, to be tried by a native general court-martial. By the votes of fourteen out of the fifteen native officers forming the court the whole of the prisoners were convicted and sentenced to hard labour for ten years.

On the morning of the 9th May 1857, a parade was held of all the forces in Meerut, and the finding and sentence of the court read to the men. The eighty-five troopers were then stripped of their uniform; and for more than an hour the troops stood motionless, their nerves at the highest tension while the fetters were slowly hammered on the ankles of their guilty comrades by the artillery smith. As each culprit was marched forward he loudly called on his comrades to rescue him. No response came from the ranks. When the ceremony was finished, the prisoners were marched down the line, and sent direct to the jail.* The parade was dissolved, and General Hewitt reported to Army Head-Quarters that "the majority of the prisoners seemed to feel acutely the degradation to which their folly and insubordination had brought them. The remainder of the native troops are behaving steady and soldierlike."

Outbreak of the sepoys

But whatever we may think of the folly of the unhappy men, it is difficult to exaggerate the folly of the course pursued at Meerut which irritated without subduing, and forfeited loyalty while it failed to terrify. When a report of the result of the trial was made to General Anson, it was intimated that the mutineers, before being made over to the civil power, were put in irons on the parade ground in the presence of their regiment. His Excellency approved of the sentence that had been passed on the prisoners, but expressed his regret at the unusual procedure.† The Governor-General was more emphatic in his disapproval. He wrote: "The rivetting of the men's fetters on parade, occupying, as it did, several hours in the presence of many who were already ill-disposed, and many who believed in the cartridge fable, must have

* Mutiny Memoirs, by Colonel A. R. D. Mackenzie.

† Memorandum of the circumstances which led to the trial of Mattadin Sing, Havildar, and eighty-four others, naicks and troopers of the 3rd Light Cavalry,—Lieutenant-Colonel Keith Young, Judge-Advocate-General of the Army.—Appendix E, page cxlvi.

stung the brigade to the quick. The consigning the eighty-five prisoners after such a ceremony to the jail with no other than a native guard over them was, considering the nature of their offence and the known temper of a part of the army, a folly that is inconceivable." No act of folly could have led to results more fatal. The native troopers maddened by the spectacle at once prepared for a revolt from the English rule, and in order to rescue their comrades resolved to dare the worst extremity.

The opportunity was well chosen. The next day, May the 10th, being Sunday, while the European residents of Meerut were driving to church in the evening, they were startled at hearing the sound of musketry and seeing columns of smoke rising to the sky. That sound marked the opening of the Indian Mutiny. The native troops had revolted and were murdering their officers and burning their homesteads.

Rescue of the prisoners

When the men of the 3rd Cavalry heard the tolling of the bells, they knew that the European soldiers would soon be at church unarmed, and they thought a favorable moment had come for carrying out their plans.* Waving their sabres over their heads, they galloped to the prison, broke into the cells, and quickly set their comrades at liberty. Meanwhile the infantry regiments showed symptoms of mutiny and the officers rushing to their respective lines tried to allay the excitement, but in vain. Colonel Finnis, a fine soldier, beloved by officers and men, whilst imploring his own regiment, the 11th, to be faithful, fell riddled by a volley of the 20th Native Infantry.

*Colonel Mackenzie in his interesting "Mutiny Memoirs" states that, as he was at the time informed, the military authorities, in view of the lengthening days and the increased heat of the season had caused, on May 10th 1857, the evening church parade to take place half an hour later than formerly. "In my firm belief, this change saved us from an awful catastrophe. In those days British troops attended divine service practically unarmed, for they did not take with them their rifles or carbines and ammunition. Their only weapons were their side-arms. The mutineers were, of course, unaware of this change. They broke into revolt half an hour too soon. Had they waited till the 60th Rifles were securely gathered into the church, what could have prevented them from overpowering the small guards over the rifles and the guns, and utterly destroying the defenceless crowd of soldiers penned, like sheep, within four walls. Providence befriended us. When the first scouts of the cavalry came galloping down to the European lines, they found the white soldiers falling into their places on parade. Once the alarm was given, all attempt at surprise was out of the question, and the hope of achieving an easy massacre was changed into fear of the awful retribution which they thought the European troops, now on the alert, would not fail speedily to exact. This fear altered all their plans, and hastened their flight to Delhi, so graphically described by Sir John Kaye; but, alas! no swift retribution followed."

Then, half mad with excitement and aided by the scum of the city, the sepoys began the work of pillage and murder. Soon, however, the cry was raised—"Quick, brother, quick, Delhi, Delhi," and the mutineers fled along the road to the Moghul capital, expecting every moment that the white soldier would pursue and overwhelm them. At Meerut there were more European troops than had won many a decisive battle on the plains of Hindustan, but there was no leader equal to the emergency; and there were fatal flaws in our military administration. The Rifles could not without delay be supplied with ammunition.* A considerable number of the Carabineers could not ride, and there were no horses for them if they could.† Those who were fit for action were put through a long process of roll-call, whilst the last precious hours of daylight were passing away. It was dark when the English troops reached the native lines, and they found them deserted. A few shots were fired at stragglers, and the European brigade bivouacked for the night.

Explanation demanded from Genl. Wilson

Many months after the outbreak a full explanation was demanded from General Wilson, who commanded the station at the time, as to the inaction of the European troops. The explanation was called for from him and not from Major-General Hewitt, "as that officer in his appeal against his removal from the divisional staff of the army has stated that the military arrangements on the occasion of the event were left entirely to you as commandant of the station." General Wilson pointed out that according to the regulations of the Bengal Army he, as brigadier commanding a station, which was the head-quarters of a division, could not exercise any distinct command when the major-general was present. "As brigadier," he wrote, "I only exercised the executive command of the troops under the orders of the major-general." He, however, admitted that he had expressed an opinion that the sepoys had moved round to the European quarter of the cantonment, and he had recommended that the brigade should march back for its protection. He added:—"I may or I may not have been wrong in offering the opinion I did to the major-general. I acted to the best of my judgment at the time, and under the circumstances I still believe I was right. Had the brigade blindly followed in the hope of finding the fugitives, and the remaining portion of the cantonment been thereby sacrificed, with all

*"Some delay occurred in serving out balled ammunition to the regiment."—Letter from Major-General A. Wilson, page 261.

†The European force then stationed at Meerut consisted of the 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabineers), half of whom were recruits unable to ride, (page 260.)

our sick, women, children, and valuable stores, the outcry against those in command at Meerut would have been still greater than it has been." The whole brigade need not have pursued the fugitives, and eight hundred English soldiers, a regiment of English cavalry, and a large body of European artillery were not all needed to defend a cantonment against the possible attack of a riotous rabble. Far fewer white men held the Residency at Lucknow against disciplined troops for many months. If a squadron of Carabineers and two hundred rifles had pursued the mutineers and reached Delhi a few hours after them, the Imperial city might have been saved.* With a regiment of British dragoons and a few galloper guns, Gillespie, half a century before, had crushed the mutiny at Vellore and saved the Southern Peninsula from universal revolt and rebellion.

Soon after dawn on the 11th of May the mutineers entered Delhi, a city which had been for centuries regarded as the foremost in India. The seat of the Moghul Empire had been erected on the foundation of successive Hindu capitals, and, in erecting stately buildings in their new city, the Moghul Emperors had employed the wealth, the labour, and genius of conquered millions. The fame of the magnificence and riches of Delhi had tempted invaders from the barren steppes of Central Asia. Afghans and Mahrattas had won and lost it. In the beginning of the century we took it from the hardy soldiers of the Deccan, and released the blind old Emperor from his state prison. Although divested of all influence as the monarch of a kingdom he was allowed to exercise despotic authority over the twelve thousand inmates of his palace. The palace fortress rested on the eastern wall of the city, which runs along the bank of the river Jumna, and is protected on the other side by lofty red granite walls embattled and machicolated with small round towers, and two noble gateways, each defended by an outer barbican of the same construction though of less height. Outside the palace on the river side stands a strong fortification called Selimgarh,† which was connected with the palace by a small bridge which spanned the wide moat which surrounds the palace.‡

11th May Delhi

*"Had a wing of the 60th Rifles supported by a squadron of the 6th Dragoons and some guns been sent in immediate pursuit of the mutineers on that occasion, Sir Patrick Grant feels persuaded that the insurrection would have been nipped in the bud, and the atrocities which have since been perpetrated altogether averted." From Major W. A. J. Mayhew, Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army.—Indian Mutiny, Vol. I, page 259.

† Selimgarh=Selim's Fort.

‡ Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India.—By the late Right Reverend Reginald Heber, D.D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

The main entrance to this outwork was a gateway close to the old bridge of boats. For many years this gateway was closed, and successive kings of Delhi had in vain requested that ingress and egress through Selimgarh might be granted them. A few years before the outbreak the request was granted, and it was through Selimgarh that a few of the foremost mutineers from Meerut obtained an entrance into the palace, and reaching the front of the gilded domes over the king's special chamber loudly demanded that he should place himself at their head in the fight for the faith.

Bahadur Shah, who bore the imperial title, was well stricken in years. He was a quiet reflective man, fond of letters, but though endowed with some of the ability of Baber and Akbar, he had none of the energy and activity of his royal ancestors. On hearing the uproar of the troopers he sent an attendant to ascertain who were creating a disturbance. The servant returned and informed his royal master that they were troopers from Meerut who had resolved on fighting for the faith and killing the white men. The king immediately despatched a message to Captain Douglas, the commandant of the palace guards, who, on hearing the news, hastened to the king's apartments. In the Hall of Audience he met the aged monarch, who asked him if he knew how these men had obtained entrance to the palace. Douglas said he would descend to the courtyard and speak to the troopers. But the king laid hold of his hand and said: "I won't let you go; they are murderers; they might kill you also." The king's physician added his entreaties to those of his master, and suggested that Douglas might speak to the men from the balcony overhanging the courtyard. Douglas stepped forward and saw thirty or forty of the troopers standing below. He ordered them to depart, as their standing opposite to the monarch's private apartments was an act of disrespect to the king. They dispersed gradually, but as they spread over the palace they roused the inmates with their religious cry, *Deen, Deen.**

Mutineers at the Palace

Captain Douglas on leaving the king received a message from Mr. Fraser, the Commissioner of Delhi, asking him to meet him at the Calcutta Gate, which faced the river front and the bridge of boats. Arriving there he found that Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, the Resident at Delhi, Mr. Fraser, the Commissioner, and Mr. Hutchinson, the Collector, had preceded him. But they had come too late; the mutineers had crossed the bridge, and the gate was in their possession. A vast

* Deen—correctly Dín. Hindu religion. Faith—especially the Mohammedan religion. Wilson's Glossary of Indian Terms.

rabble had also collected at the spot. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe realising the importance of what had taken place drove to the police court in the Chandney Chowk, and ordered out the police to guard the other gates of the city. Fraser attempted to reason with the troopers, but in vain. A shot was fired at him, and taking a musket from one of the guards he shot the foremost trooper dead. His comrades fell back for an instant, then the surging multitude closed upon the three Europeans. Safety was only to be found in instant flight. Fraser dashed through the crowd in his buggy, and Douglas threw himself into the moat. Badly bruised by the fall he was carried by some natives into the palace, and found Fraser and Hutchinson who had been wounded at the commencement of the affray. As Douglas and Hutchinson were being carried up to the apartments over the gateway, Fraser made one last effort to appease the multitude who were surging into the court. Whilst he was speaking he was cut down by a lapidary and instantly hewn to pieces by some servants of the king.

Murder of Capt. Douglas and Mr. Jennings

The whole fierce crew then rushed to the upper rooms where Hutchinson and Douglas lay wounded, and Mr. Jennings, the chaplain, his daughter and a young friend were attending to their wants. The door was burst open; the dark throng poured in and miserably murdered them.

Then the sepoys maddened with blood poured forth from the palace and accompanied by the scum of the city, whose wickedness had become a proverb, rushed to the quarter where stood the chief public buildings and the homes of the Europeans. The houses were quickly gutted and fired, and the English, wherever they were found, were struck down and slain.

The Cashmere Gate

The troopers, killing men, women and children, made their way to the Cashmere Gate, through which ran the direct road to the cantonment. Here was posted a guard of fifty men of the 38th Native Infantry. Brigadier Graves, who commanded the station, receiving intimation of the approach of the mutineers, ordered two guns and the 54th Native Infantry to proceed at once to the city. But as there was some delay in getting the guns ready for action, Colonel Ripley, leaving two companies to escort them, pushed on at once with the remainder of the regiment. The men seemed loyal, and marching away quietly, quickly reached the city moat. They crossed the long drawbridge, and, passing through the outer gate, entered the wide circular enclosure where were drawn up the guard of the 38th Native Infantry. They passed on through the inner gate into the road beyond and found themselves face to face with the mutineer troopers and insurgent rabble.

They were marching with sloped arms and muskets unloaded. The order then given to halt was obeyed, but at the order to load the men hesitated. The troopers dashed at the officers on horseback and shot them down with carbines and pistols, while those on foot were bayoneted by their own men. The officer at the main-guard commanded the men of the 38th Native Infantry to wheel up and fire, but his commands were received with insulting sneers, and they allowed Colonel Ripley to be cut down by some sowars at their feet.* The mutineers were advancing to take possession of the main-guard at the Cashmere Gate, when their progress was checked by the two guns which, escorted by the Grenadier companies, had arrived at this critical moment.

The tumult flowed back to the city and an officer proceeded in hot haste to the cantonment to bring down the 74th Native Infantry and two more guns. Major Abbott who commanded the regiment hearing what had taken place rode to the lines and addressed the men. He pointed out that the time had come for them to show their loyalty, and he called for volunteers. "Every man present stepped to the front, and being ordered to load they obeyed promptly and marched down in a spirited manner." On arrival at the Cashmere Gate, they took possession of the main-guard, and were drawn up in readiness to receive an attack. No enemy, however, appeared, and no information could be gained as to their movements. The continued rattle of musketry and the booming of heavy guns told that a hot fight was raging in the city. Then the earth rocked, the air was rent with a loud noise, and a magnificent coronal of red dust rose into the sky. The magazine in the city had exploded.

Explosion of the Delhi Magazine

Not far from the palace was situated the magazine fully furnished with munitions of war to supply an army in the field. On the first news of the approach of the insurgents, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, the Resident at Delhi, accompanied by Lieutenant Forrest,† drove there to procure two guns to be placed on the bridge in order to prevent the passage of the mutineers. But it was too late. When, accompanied by Lieutenant Willoughby, who was in charge of the magazine, they mounted the bastion on the river face, they saw that the Delhi side of the bridge was already in possession of a body of cavalry, and the mutineers, marching in open column, were about to cross over. "On Sir Theophilus Metcalfe observing this, he proceeded with Lieutenant

* The 54th Regiment.

† The name recalls a dear memory and a great sorrow.

Willoughby to see if the city gate was closed against the mutineers. However, this step was needless, as the mutineers were admitted directly to the palace, through which they passed cheering." All hope of saving the city was at an end, but Willoughby returning to the arsenal instantly made preparations to defend it. His garrison consisted of eight Europeans,* trained and disciplined soldiers, all belonging to that famous corps, the Bengal Artillery, and the native artisans not accustomed to the use of fire-arms. The gates were closed and barricaded. Inside the gate leading to the park were placed two 6-pounders doubly charged with grape. Two sergeants stood by with lighted matches with orders, if that gate should be attacked, to fire both at once and fall back on the body of the magazine. "The principal gate of the magazine was similarly defended by two guns with the *chevaux de frise* laid down on the inside. For the further defence of this gate and the magazine in its vicinity, there were two 6-pounders so placed as either to command the gate or a small bastion in its vicinity."† Further in were placed five more pieces commanding two cross passages. In all ten guns were mounted in position, and there were but nine Europeans to work them. Arms were then placed in the hands of the native establishment, but were accepted most reluctantly "and they appeared to be in a state, not only of excitement, but also of insubordination, as they refused to obey any orders issued by the Europeans."† As a last resource a train was laid to the powder magazine ready to be fired on a given signal. Scarcely had these arrangements been made when the palace guards appeared and demanded the possession of the magazine in the name of the King of Delhi. No answer was given.

The subadar of the guard on duty at the magazine then reported to Willoughby and Forrest that the Emperor was about to send down scaling ladders. These soon arrived and directly they were planted against the wall the native establishment, climbing up the sloped sheds on the inside of the magazine and descending the ladders on the outside, deserted to a man. They had previously kept up communica-

* Lieutenants Forrest and Raynor.
Conductors Buckley, Shaw and Scully.
Sub-Conductor Crowe.
Sergeants Edwards and Stewart.

† Letter from Lieutenant G. Forrest, page 273.

tions with the mutineers and had hid the priming pouches. The enemy now appearing in great numbers on the walls were received with a warm fire of grape, of which every shot told. But the gaps made in their ranks were swiftly filled by fresh men swarming up the ladders, and from within fifty yards they poured upon the valiant resolute men below a deadly shower of bullets. Two of the nine fell mortally wounded. But Forrest and Buckley regardless of the fall of their comrades, careless of the storm of musketry which was rattling upon them, continued to load and fire the guns in rapid succession with the same steadiness as if on parade. When four rounds had been fired they were struck as they were loading, Forrest in the arm and Buckley on the hand. The guns could no longer be worked. A shout of triumph rose from the walls. Willoughby seeing that it was past hope, gave the signal and Scully lighted the train. A crash of thunder followed and the exulting assailants were dashed to pieces by the explosion of hundreds of shells and powder barrels. Four of the heroic nine, wounded, shattered, and bruised, made good their retreat from the ruins. And the three hundred Spartans who in the summer morning sat "combing their long hair for death" in the passes of Thermopylæ have not earned a more lofty estimate for themselves than those nine modern Englishmen.*

At the main-guard

Shortly after the sound of the explosion had been heard at the main-guard, Major Abbott received an order to send back the two guns to the cantonments, and soon after another order to return with his regiment. He was about to march out when the two guns returned to the main-guard with some men of the 38th Native Infantry. He asked why they had returned, and was told by the drivers that the gunners had deserted the guns, and they therefore could not go on. He then ordered the men to form sections. "A jemadar said: 'Never mind sections. Pray go on, sir.' My orderly-havildar then came up to me and said: 'Pray, sir, for God's sake, leave this place ; pray be quick'." Major Abbott then gave the order to march, and had scarcely got a hundred paces beyond the gate when he heard a brisk firing in the main-guard. He enquired what it meant, and some of the men replied, the 38th men are shooting the European officers. "I then ordered the men with me, about a hundred, to return to their assistance. The men said: 'Sir, it is useless. They are all killed by this time, and we shall not

* "Short Studies on Great Subjects," by James Anthony Froude. Third edition, page 328.

save any one. We have saved you and are happy. We will not allow you to go back and be murdered.' "*

The men of the 74th were correct in their surmise. All the officers of Major Abbott's regiment had not passed the gate when some men of the 38th seized and shut it, and then commenced firing at the officers near them and a group of ladies who had escaped from their burning houses. Captain Smith of the 54th was shot dead, and Captain Gordon of the 74th threw up his arms, fell from the saddle, and died without a groan. Reveley, a brother officer, was mortally wounded, but as he had a loaded gun in his hand, raising himself with a dying effort, he fired both barrels into a knot of sepoys and fell dead. Then some rushed up the ramp to the guard-room on the bastion, and as they fled the sepoys sent a volley after them which laid many low. Two in their haste rushed through an embrasure in the bastion and jumped down to the ditch thirty feet below. "Others were going to follow, when they heard the cries of ladies in the guard-room. Regardless of the storm of bullets, the officers went back and brought them away, and tying handkerchiefs together let them down one by one into the ditch; and then having got them up on the other side, the whole proceeded to the river, expecting at every step to be followed and shot down." *Fording the river they escaped to Meerut after undergoing incredible dangers and hardships.*

Major Abbott was escorted safely to the quarter-guard, and then was told by his men: "We have protected you so far; it will be impossible for us to do so much longer. Pray fly for your life." Reluctantly he yielded to their wishes. The men of the 38th who had not deserted also asked their Colonel and Adjutant to leave, for they would serve the Company no longer. An officer who had escaped from the city arrived at the Flag-Staff Tower where the European residents of the cantonments had assembled and told them that their comrades had been shot down by their men and the main-guard abandoned. The sun was sinking and there was no sign of succour from Meerut. To remain was to court death. The Brigadier made one more attempt to rally his men and sounded "the assembly," but only one sepoy responded to the call. Then the retreat began and the cantonments were abandoned. Night had now fallen. The massacre had been completed, and the soldiers made their way to the palace and bivouacked in the great hall of audience where ambassadors from all quarters of the globe in the days of old had admired the magnificence of the

Abandonment of the cantonment

* Letter from Major H. E. S. Abbott, page 265.

Moghul Cæsars. A descendant of the immortal Timur* once more reigned in the Imperial city, and the mutiny of a few sepoy regiments had developed into a great political convulsion.

Massacre of prisoners

But the massacre had been completed only for the day. On the evening of the 11th fifty Christian people—men, women and children—had been brought to the palace and confined in an underground apartment without a window and only one door, so that little of light and air entered the dreary dwelling. After being confined for five days in this gloomy pestilential dungeon, starved and insulted, but defying their tormentors to the last, they were led into a court-yard and hewn in pieces. The whole dark truth of what took place can never be told. In the great city there was not a single Christian left.

Genl. Anson

The sudden blaze of insurrection found General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief, at Simla, whither he had gone a few weeks previously to recruit his health. The man who was now without a moment's warning called upon to subdue a military revolt and to take the command of an army in the field had seen but little of war. He had served with his regiment at Waterloo, but entering the House of Commons at an early age he had for many years administered the current business of military offices. In 1853, when he had attained the rank of Major-General in the army, he was appointed to command a division in Bengal, and in the following year succeeded to the command of the Madras Army. Early in 1856 he was advanced to the responsible charge of Commander-in-Chief in India, and brought to it considerable ability and knowledge of affairs. When in the last week of April General Anson reached Umballa on his way to Simla and learnt how deep rooted was the objection to the greased cartridge, he at once realised the grave danger of the situation. He inspected the men who from different regiments were attached to a depot to learn the use of the new rifle and made them a manly sensible speech. He told them that the introduction of a better arm had rendered it necessary

Discontent at Umballa

*Baber, the founder of the Moghul Empire, was descended by the father's side from Timur the Tartar; but his mother was a Moghul connected with the tribe of Genghez Khan.

"The race of Timur would have been extinct if an hero, his descendant in the fifth, had not fled before the Uzbek arms to the conquest of Hindustan. His successors (the great Moghuls) extended their sway from the mountains of Cashmir to Cape Comorin, and from Candahar to the Gulf of Bengal. Since the reign of Aurangzeb their empire had been dissolved; their treasures of Delhi had been rifled by a Persian robber; and the richest of these kingdoms is now governed by a company of Christian merchants of a remote island in the Northern Ocean."—The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, by Edward Gibbon, Vol IV, page 60.

to adopt an improved description of cartridge; and the rumour that it was the instrument by which Government meant to subvert their caste was false and absurd. He assured them "on the honour of a soldier like themselves that it has never been, and never would be, the policy of the Government of this great country to coerce either those serving in the army, or the natives of India, in their religious feelings, or to interfere with the customs of their castes." He trusted that the native officers would make this known to their men, and exert themselves to allay their fears. He was satisfied "that they will do everything in their power to prevent the shame which must fall upon all who are faithless to the colours under which they have sworn allegiance to the Government; and that they will prove themselves deserving of the high character which they have always hitherto maintained in this army."

The native officers listened respectfully, and when the parade was over expressed their high sense of the goodness of the Commander-in-Chief and the honour he had done them. He had removed their own objections, but the story was believed by their relatives and by their countrymen all over the land, and if they used the cartridges they would become social outcasts. They begged that this fear should be stated to the Commander-in-Chief. General Anson, on being informed of the doubts and anxieties of the men and feeling the force of their objection to the new cartridges, suspended their issue until a special report had been prepared of the composition of the paper with which they were wrapped.* The Commander-in-Chief trusted that the disbandment of the 19th Native Infantry would check

* "I am not so much surprised," wrote General Anson to Lord Canning on the 23rd of March, "at their objections to the cartridges, having seen them. I had no idea they contained, or rather are smeared with, such a quantity of grease, which looks exactly like fat. After ramming down the ball, the muzzle of the musket is covered with it. This, however, will, I imagine, not be the case with those prepared according to the late instructions. But there are now misgivings about the paper, and I think it so desirable that they should be assured that no animal grease is used in its manufacture, that a special report shall be made to me on that head from Meerut, and until I receive an answer, and am satisfied that no objectionable material is used, no firing at the depots by the sepoys will take place. It would be easy to dismiss the detachments to their regiments without any practice, on the ground that the hot weather is so advanced, and that very little progress could be made, but I do not think that would be admissible. The question having been raised, must be settled. It would only be deferred till another year, and I trust that the measures taken by the Government when the objection was first made, and the example of the punishment of the 19th Native Infantry, and of the other delinquents of the 70th, now being tried by a general court-martial, will have the effect we desire."—Kaye, Vol. I, page 558.

the spread of insubordination, but the report of the refusal of the troopers at Meerut to receive the cartridges proved to him that the leaven of discontent was still at work. He ordered the men to be tried by a court composed of their countrymen, and he hoped that if they were found guilty a severe punishment would preserve the bonds of discipline. He had no reason to anticipate a dangerous outbreak, and when news reached him of the capture of Delhi by the mutineers he at once recognised the grave character of the crisis and acted with decision.

At the time he had three English regiments near him on the slopes of the Himalayas. Forty miles from Umballa rises abruptly from the plains the mountain ridge of Kasauli, and in the valley below is the station of Sabáthu. On the right, about ten miles distant is another range, on the summit of which is the cantonment of Dagshai. In May 1857 at Kasauli were stationed the 75th Foot, and at Sabáthu and Dagshai the 2nd and the 1st Fusiliers, two distinguished regiments belonging to the European army of the East India Company. Thirty miles north of Dagshai rises Simla, and on the same spur is Jatogh, where a Gurkha regiment was cantoned. Two lines of communication linked Simla to the plains—one was a bridle path forty-one miles in length which passed under Sabáthu, the other was a road ten miles longer which ran near Dagshai. At that time only slow bullock carts ran on it, and they were few in number.

News of the massacre at Delhi reaches Genl. Anson

On the 12th of May Captain Barnard, aide-de-camp to Sir Henry Barnard, commanding the Sirhind Division, arrived at Simla with the news of the massacre at Delhi. On the same day the 12th of May, the Commander-in-Chief at once despatched an aide-de-camp to Kasauli to order the 75th Foot to move down forthwith, and expresses were sent to warn the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers at Dagshai to follow the 75th Foot as soon as possible, and for the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers at Sabáthu to be ready to march.

Measures taken by Genl. Anson

Expresses were sent also to Ferozepore to desire that the magazine should be placed under charge of a European guard, and to Jullundur for a European detachment to be at once thrown into the fort of Phillour. The next day a note arrived from Meerut giving details of what had taken place at that station, and some of the particulars of what had occurred at Delhi were also received. Thereupon "the 2nd Fusiliers were ordered to Umballa at once ; an artillery officer was sent express to Phillour with instructions for a third class siege-train to be immediately got ready, and also for the spare waggons of the troops of horse artillery at Umballa, and a quantity of

small-arms ammunition to be despatched to the latter place." The Nasiri battalion of Gurkhas at Jatogh were ordered to march with all expedition to Phillour, and then, accompanied by a detachment of the 9th Irregular Cavalry, to escort the siege-train to Umballa. The native company of artillery at Nurpur and Kangra was also ordered to come down with the train. The Sirmur Battalion of Gurkhas from Dehra and the head-quarters of the Sappers and Miners at Rurki were ordered to Meerut. The Commander-in-Chief also drafted a circular to the native army which he trusted would allay the excitement. Then having in the brief space of forty-eight hours pressed forward the urgent measures which he considered necessary for the meeting of the revolt, General Anson left Simla on the 14th of May and reached Umballa, a distance of about eighty miles, early the following morning.*

All the troops from the hills did not reach Umballa till the 16th of May, the day after the Chief's arrival. On the very next day General Anson, having gathered in some stores and transport, despatched two horse artillery guns, a squadron of the 9th Lancers, and five companies of the 2nd Fusiliers to Karnál, on the high road to Delhi.

He then wrote to Sir John Lawrence who had sent him a letter of advice, and stated the causes which had compelled him to delay advancing against Delhi for forty-eight hours. General Anson wrote:—"But it was, and is, impossible to move for want of tents, &c. The second European regiment only arrived this morning, and all of them having been brought in such a hurry and so quickly, they have nothing with them. We hear that many regiments have joined the mutineers in Delhi, the gates of which are closed, and guns mounted on them. The walls would be nothing against guns of heavy calibre. But we have none nearer than Phillour, and only two troops with 6-pounders. At Meerut there is a light field battery of 9-pounders. My intelligence from Meerut is very scanty. I instructed General Hewitt to be prepared to join me

Genl. Anson's letter to Sir John Lawrence

*The biographer of Lord Lawrence writes:—"And what was happening at Head-Quarters meanwhile? The news had reached Umballa on the 11th, and a son of General Barnard had been despatched with it post-haste to Simla. He reached his destination on the 12th, and, had the Commander-in-Chief been able to realise its vast importance, that night, we may feel sure, would have seen him far down the road to Umballa in front of his troops; and once there, he would have been straining every nerve in that great city, the military and civil centre of the district, for an immediate advance." A Commander-in-Chief who shares with the Viceroy the responsibility of the safety of the Empire had first to consider the arrangements necessary for the protection of every station in India and for the pressing forward of troops to Delhi from different quarters. He could not have done any good by going in front of the troops. They had first to be collected and made ready to move.

with all the force he could spare, after providing for the protection of the cantonments. I have not heard from him what this would be." After stating that the mutiny of the Nasiri battalion of Gurkhas at Simla was a most serious misfortune, and that he had been obliged to send one hundred men of the 75th Regiment to Kasauli to afford protection to that place and Simla, the Commander-in-Chief added—"It becomes now a matter for your consideration whether it would be prudent to send the small European force we have here in an enterprise upon Delhi. I think not. It is wholly, in my opinion, insufficient for the purpose. The walls could of course be battered down with heavy guns when we got them up. The entrance might be opened and little resistance offered; but so few men in a large city, with such narrow streets, and an immense armed population who know every turn and corner of them, would, it appears to me, be in a very dangerous position. And if six or seven hundred were disabled, what would remain? Could we hold it with the whole country armed against us? Could we either stay in or out of it? My own view of the state of things now is, by carefully collecting our resources, having got rid of the bad materials which we cannot trust and having supplied their places with others of a better sort, it would not be very long before we could proceed, without a chance of failure, in whatever direction we might please."*

This letter cannot be taken to imply that General Anson had made up his mind not to advance against Delhi, but it expresses the doubt and difficulties that beset his mind as to the wisdom of attacking it with a small and inefficient force. In reply Sir John Lawrence urged on the Commander-in-Chief that "Delhi would open its gates on the approach of our troops," that he did not think the country anywhere against us; and he protested against European troops being "cooped up in their cantonments tamely awaiting the progress of events". He implored the Chief to reflect on the whole history of India. "Where have we failed when we acted vigorously? Where have we succeeded where guided by timid counsels? Clive with twelve hundred men fought at Plassey in opposition to the advice of his leading officers, beat forty thousand men, and conquered Bengal." Clive not with twelve hundred men but three thousand disciplined troops beat a large rabble, but General Anson had to attack a strong fortress manned by disciplined troops who were bound to fight to the death, because they

* Life of Lord Lawrence, by R. Bosworth Smith, Vol. II, page 28.

were mutineers and had shed innocent blood. It was easy for John Lawrence who knew nothing about the huge and multifarious business of war to write "make short work of Delhi," but before Delhi was captured more men perished than General Anson could muster at Umballa. The advice to march on Delhi was sound; but if it had been acted on rashly it must have led to disaster.* If General Anson had advanced on Delhi without spare ammunition, without heavy guns and mortars, and with an inefficient force, there is little doubt that it would have been annihilated by the disciplined and overwhelming masses of the insurgents. The force which afterwards stoutly opposed the advance of General Barnard at Badli-ki-Serai would in all probability have utterly defeated a smaller body of men.

Preparations for the advance on Delhi

While General Anson was discussing with Sir John Lawrence the obstacles which he might encounter in an attack on Delhi he was with much diligence and forethought making preparations for the defence of Umballa and the advance on the Imperial city. Forty-eight hours after reaching the station, he had pushed forward the first body of his troops towards Delhi, and the rest of the force followed as soon as they could get equipment. When fresh troops reached Karnál the first detachment marched to Pánipat, a large Mahomedan city, where the Raja of Jhind, who had thrown in his lot with us, had already taken the field with eight hundred men. For the safety of Umballa a trench was thrown round the church as a place of refuge, and five companies of Europeans were left to guard it, and some of the troops of the Patiala Raja were brought in to assist in the task.

Maharaja of Patiala

The Patiala State is the largest and most important of the Cis-Sutlej States that occupy the rude tract of country between the Sutlej and the Jumna. Through it runs the Grand Trunk Road which links the remainder of India to the Punjab. The Maharaja of Patiala could have cut off our communication with the land of the five rivers, and as the head of one of the most powerful houses of the Khalsa Confederacy he could have raised the Sikhs against us. It was therefore only natural that when the news reached Umballa of the massacre at Meerut and Delhi, great anxiety should have been felt at the course the Maharaja would follow. Douglas Forsyth, one of those men whose intellect and strength enabled him to grapple with the duties and perils of Imperial sovereignty, was at the time Deputy Commissioner of Umballa, and he at once sought an interview with the Maharaja who was a

* Sir Henry Norman in the *Fortnightly Review*, April 1883.

personal friend of his. The moment they were alone, Forsyth asked the momentous question, "Maharaja Sahib, are you for us or against us." He got the hearty reply, "As long as I live, I am yours," and he proved himself true to his word.

Lieut. Hodson

All the difficulties of General Anson would have been greatly augmented if Patiala and Jhind had not afforded him their loyal support and liberally supplied him with carriage and provision of every kind. The Commander-in-Chief now urged on his preparations with indefatigable activity. But before he could advance on Delhi, it was absolutely essential to the success of his plans that he should convey his instructions to the General commanding at Meerut. He had already sent Lieutenant Hodson, of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers to Karnál, and charged him to raise an irregular regiment and "ordered him to keep open the communication between Karnál and Meerut with the Jhind sowars."* To raise a new regiment at a time of mutiny and desertion was an undertaking almost impossible, and to open the road to Meerut was a work of great fatigue and great peril. But no man was by temperament and training better fitted for the work than Hodson. As second-in-command of the Corps of Guides which was organised after the first Sikh war to protect the Northern Marches, he gained great credit as a daring partisan leader. The fertility of resource, and the signal and splendid courage he displayed in many a border raid, obtained for him† from the Governor-General, when he had completed only seven years' service, the coveted post of commandant.

In some respects he was not well fitted for this important office. It must be acknowledged that Hodson, with many fine qualities and with great claims on the gratitude of his country, had great faults. His temper was hot, arrogant and impatient of opposition. His distant and supercilious manner created for him many enemies. Above all, he was careless of money and careless of justice. The confusion in the

---

* Anson's Diary, page 1.

† "The Governor-General has given me the command which I have coveted so long. It is immense good fortune in every way both as regards income and distinction. It is accounted the most honourable and arduous command on the frontier. * * * It is no small thing for a subaltern to be raised to the command of a battalion of infantry and a squadron and half of cavalry with four English officers under him. I am supposed to be the luckiest man of my time!"—Hodson of Hodson's Horse, pages 102-103.

"Lieutenant Hodson who has succeeded to the command of the Guides is an accomplished soldier, cool in council, daring in action, with great natural ability improved by education. There are few abler men in any service."—Sir Henry Lawrence in the *Calcutta Review*.

regimental accounts led to accusations of dishonesty being brought against him, and he was charged with personal violence towards his men. A competent judge, after protracted and patient consideration, acquitted him of any breach of trust.* But the allegations with respect to his violence towards his men were proved to be true, and the Governor-General removed him from the command of the Guides.

The opening of the mutiny found him a subaltern doing duty with his old regiment the 1st Fusiliers, with whom he had served at Múdki, Ferozshah and Subraon. When his regiment reached Umballa, General Anson, who knew the ability and daring of the man, first appointed him as the head of the Intelligence Department, and then sent him to Karnál to raise a regiment and open communication with Meerut. Two days after he reached Karnál Hodson offered to take a few sowars and make an attempt to reach Meerut. The offer was accepted by the Commander-in-Chief, and the moment Hodson received General Anson's telegram he started at nine at night with a led horse and a few sowars and reached Meerut at the break of dawn. "Hodson rode straight to Wilson, had his interview, a bath, breakfast, and two hours sleep, and then rode back the seventy-six miles, and had *to fight his way for about thirty miles of the distance*."† On his return to Karnál he telegraphed to General Anson that he had forced his way to Meerut, and obtained all the

*General Reynell Taylor, after a most minute investigation of the accounts, fully acquitted Hodson of any breach of trust. He wrote—"The work was to examine every item in the accounts during two years' transactions, audit of nearly a year's pay having been withheld for months, and to test each entry by the trustworthy records which I had to assist me. This was done with laborious and conscientious care, the result being that the whole account was worked out to an intelligible conclusion showing indeed numerous irregularities, but no actual improprieties in the management. The trustworthiness of the result hinges on the examination. Man is fallible, but I never had any misgiving or self-reproach for want of care in the matter." General Taylor subsequently wrote.—"There had truly been great irregularities in keeping the accounts, but your brother had made strenuous efforts at times to get all into form and had accomplished a good deal. The great difficulty had been caused by the audit of ten months' pay of the whole regiment having been withheld. This had resulted from the fact of the transfer of the regiment from the Civil to the Military Department. Through the whole of these ten months the regiment had been living on advances, and that with a regiment like the Guides, having detachments all over the country, was calculated to cause very great confusion in the accounts." Lord Napier of Magdala wrote—"It may be asked why was Reynell Taylor's report to be discounted! No more competent, honourable or conscientious officer could have been found in the service, and I fully accept his decision."

†Letter from an officer quoted in Hodson's Life, page 150.

papers he wanted from the General there. "These I gave him four hours later in Umballa."*

Genl. Anson's plan of operations

The day before Hodson returned from Meerut (23rd May) General Anson had sketched a plan of operations which, as the communication between them was opened, he now forwarded to General Hewitt. It was as follows: Sir Henry Barnard was to remain at Umballa, while the Chief advanced with the attacking army which consisted of three brigades, two from Umballa and one from Meerut, thus organised:—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1st Umballa Brigade—Brigadier Halifax, 75th Queen's Regiment. | 75th Queen's.<br>1st Bengal Europeans.<br>2 Squadrons 9th Lancers.<br>1 Troop Horse Artillery. |
| 2nd Umballa Brigade—Brigadier Jones, 60th Royal Rifles. | 2nd Bengal Europeans.<br>60th Native Infantry.<br>2 Squadrons 9th Lancers.<br>1 " 4th Bengal Lancers.<br>1 Troop Horse Artillery. |
| Meerut Brigade—Brigadier A. Wilson, Royal Artillery. | Wing, 60th Royal Rifles.<br>2 Squadrons Carabineers.<br>1 Field Battery.<br>1 Troop Horse Artillery.<br>Native Sappers.<br>120 Artillerymen (siege.) |

* Colonel A. R. D. Mackenzie in his interesting work "Mutiny Memoirs" states that Major Sanford, then a Lieutenant in his regiment the 3rd Light Cavalry, volunteered to carry despatches from General Hewitt to the Commander-in-Chief at Umballa *via* Karnál, and that he escorted him on the journey with a small party of his men who had remained faithful. On the second day they met Hodson who had started on his ride to Meerut. Colonel Mackenzie writes—"Hodson was naturally much relieved to find that the road in front of him was open, though doubtless disappointed that his errand was forestalled. The reader who has read of Hodson's famous ride to Meerut, and who has not to this moment ever heard that it was anticipated by others, will probably be surprised by this narration, but nevertheless it is simply true. The credit of carrying the first despatches from Meerut to Umballa is due to the late Major Sanford, who, to me and to all who knew him, was a type of all that is most noble and brave and modest; but alas! his memory is buried in our hearts. The world has heard little of him,

"In the evening we arrived at Karnál, having traversed in less than thirty-six hours more than ninety miles: for the straight road between Meerut and Karnál is seventy-six, and our fruitless détour after the camels took us many more miles. Sanford at once went on by dak to Umballa and delivered his despatches to General Anson. He eventually got command of the Cavalry of the Guides Corps before Delhi, and retained it till the close of the siege."

The strength of the force consisted of 3,000 Europeans, 1,000 native troops, and 22 field guns. The Umballa brigades were to march so that they might be concentrated at Karnál on the 30th of May and effect a junction at Baghput with the Meerut force, from which point the united brigades would advance against Delhi.* Having conveyed his instructions to General Hewitt, the Commander-in-Chief left Umballa on the 24th of May and reached Karnál the following morning. The next day he was stricken with cholera, and after a few hours there came to him rest. His last words were to express a hope that his countrymen would do him justice. Full justice has not been done him, but the publication of his diary must dispel the charge of vacillation and want of promptitude that has been brought against him. The impartial historian who studies the State papers must endorse the opinion of the men who served on his staff and had every opportunity of forming a right judgment. "Suddenly placed in a more difficult position than has probably ever fallen to the lot of a British commander,"† writes Sir Henry Norman who belonged to the General's staff, "General Anson met the crisis with fortitude, and with a calm endeavour to restore our rule where it had disappeared, and to maintain it where it still existed." *Death of Genl. Anson*

*On the death of General Anson, the command of the Field Force* devolved on Major-General Sir Henry Barnard. The new chief had filled various staff appointments at home, and had commanded a brigade in the Crimea during the winter of 1854-55. When General Simpson succeeded to the chief command, on the death of Lord Raglan, General Barnard became his Chief of Staff, and held that responsible office till the capture of Sebastopol. After holding commands at Corfu, Dover, and Shorncliffe, he was appointed to the Sirhind Division, and reached Umballa towards the end of April 1857. The discontent of the native army had already led to mutinous excesses, and if men who had spent all their lives in India were unable to cope with the danger, no severe criticism can be passed on a General who had been only a few weeks in the country. On assuming the command, he determined to push forward without waiting for the siege guns. As it was the hottest season of the year, the men rested in their tents during the day, and the marches were made by night. "The nights were delicious," writes one who took part in the campaign, "the stars bright in the dark deep sky, the fire-flies *Genl. Sir Henry Barnard*

* The Commander-in-Chief to Major-General Hewitt—Indian Mutiny, Vol. I, page 275.

† The Sepoy War, by Sir Hope Grant, page 52.

flashing from bush to bush, and the air, which in Europe would have been called warm and close, was cool and refreshing to the cheek that had felt the hot wind during the day. Along the road came the heavy roll of the guns, mixed with the jingling of bits, and the clanking of the steel scabbards of the cavalry. The infantry marched on behind with a dull deep tread; long lines of baggage camels and bullock carts, with the innumerable sutlers and camp servants, toiled along for miles in the rear, while the gigantic elephants stalked over bush and stone by the side of the road." On the 5th June, the head-quarters of the force marched to Alipur within ten miles of Delhi, where it waited for the Meerut brigade and the siege-train.

The Meerut Brigade

On the night of the 27th of May, the Meerut troops had according to their orders marched out of cantonments. The column consisted of two squadrons of the Carabineers, a wing of the 60th Rifles, Scott's light field battery, Tombs' troop of horse artillery, two 18-pounder guns, all manned by Europeans, with some native sappers and irregular horse. Brigadier Archdale Wilson commanded the brigade and Mr. Hervey Greathed accompanied it as civil officer.* After three nights' marching the column reached, at dawn on the 30th of May, the village of Ghazi-ud-din-Nagar, † situate near the River Hindun, about ten miles from Delhi. The presence of the insurgents so near to the Imperial city was not suspected. "I think," wrote Mr. Greathed, "we seem to have Delhi by the nose. I expect that a reconnaissance will be made to-morrow up to the banks of the Jumna." He had hardly despatched the letter, when a vidette came in and announced that the enemy were posted on a high ridge on the opposite bank of the river and were about to attack. The bugler had barely time to call to arms when the rebels

* Sepoy War, by Kaye, Vol. II, page 182.

† "This town of respectable size, and with some ancient traces of walls, stands on the left bank of the Hindun about a mile from the river. A long causeway carries the Grand Trunk Road across the broad valley, within which the stream shrunk during the scorching heat of May to a mere rivulet, wanders in a channel of extreme tortuosity fordable both by infantry and artillery, though from the prevalence of quicksands the process is not altogether free from risk of mishap. A suspension bridge spans the stream, and on the right bank the causeway is covered by a toll-house capable, if need were, of some defences. Villages, furnishing considerable means of resistance in their mud-walled houses and narrow lanes, are scattered at intervals along the road and the ground in ridges of sensible magnitude on both banks, but especially on the right." (Kaye's Sepoy War, Vol. II, page 183.)

The town has risen greatly in importance of late years owing to the junction of the East Indian Railway with the Sind-Punjab and Delhi line at this point, and the name has been shortened to Gházíábád.

opened fire from heavy guns which they had placed on the ridge and a long causeway to the right of it. The Brigadier immediately sent off a company of Her Majesty's 60th Royal Rifles, with another in support, to hold the iron bridge which spanned the river on the right of the enemy's position and which was the key of our own. He also detached the four guns of Major Tombs' troop, supported by a squadron of Carabineers to the right, along the bank of the river. The insurgents opened upon these advancing parties with heavy guns, and the General ordered two more companies of the 60th Regiment to support this advance and brought up four guns of Major Scott's battery, the Sappers, and a troop of Carabineers to their support. The rebels' guns were admirably served, but they were ably replied to by our two 18-pounders. Then Mackenzie and Tombs crossed the Hindun, and raking the enemy in flank with their 6-pounders, made their fire unsteady and silenced the heavy guns.* The General now called on the Rifles to attack who responded in the most spirited manner.† They drove the enemy from the guns, but in the act of taking possession of two heavy pieces on the causeway close to the toll-house, Captain Andrews and four of his men were blown up by the explosion of an ammunition waggon fired by one of the mutineers. The enemy were now in full retreat, pursued by the Carabineers, and they left in our hands ordnance, ammunition, stores, and five pieces of artillery. The loss, considering the smallness of the force, was great. That night the officers drank in solemn silence to the memory of the brave departed. At break of dawn they were buried. A babool tree, a little in the rear, and a milestone a little above and situated on the main road between Meerut and Delhi, mark the spot.

Battle of Ghazi-ud-din-Nagar

* "The first few rounds from the insurgents' guns were admirably aimed, plunging through our camp; but they were ably replied to by our two 18-pounders, in position under Lieutenant Light, and Major Tombs's troop, most admirably led by Lieutenant-Colonel M. Mackenzie, who, raking them in the flank with his 6-pounders, first made their fire unsteady, and in a short time silenced the heavy guns."—The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, by the Reverend J. Cave-Browne, M. A., Vol. 1, page 312.

† "The charge was made in a most gallant manner; the enemy were now seen deserting their guns. This result was partly attributable to an admirable flank movement of our artillery, under the able direction of that excellent officer (now, alas! no more), Lieutenant-Colonel Murray-Mackenzie, and partly to the very effective fire of the Enfield Rifle."—The Chaplain's Narrative of the Siege of Delhi, by John Edward Wharton Rotton, M.A.

"I cannot cease talking of the splendid behaviour of Tombs's troops: the gun-carriages are pitted with grape and shot marks, and Tombs continues the same gentle modest fellow. He has lost killed and wounded, thirteen men out of fifty, but the action of the troop never ceased for a moment. Colonel Mackenzie, too, has proved himself a splendid officer."—Letters written during the Siege of Delhi, by H. H. Greathed, page 14.

It was Whitsunday, but no church parade was held because every hour another attack was expected; and about noon the enemy opened fire from the ridge, where they had again taken up their position. The guns of the horse artillery, supported by a squadron of Carabineers, immediately moved forward to reply to their fire, and the two 18-pounders under Lieutenant Light moved to the bank of the river for the same purpose. The Rifles, leaving one company in camp, moved forward to the support of the picquet at the bridge, supported by two guns of Major Scott's battery and a troop of Carabineers. Perceiving that the horse artillery was exposed to a very hot fire, the General advanced two more guns to support them. Then, for nearly two hours, the action was an artillery duel. "But the Rifles clearing the village and the left of the toll-bar, and the fire of the enemy's guns slackening, I ordered a general advance—the insurgents retiring, continuing their fire, until we drove them from their position and crowned the ridge from which we could see them in full retreat to Delhi."* The English exhausted by the intense heat of the sun and the parching thirst, could not pursue, and the rebels were able to carry off their guns. But the moral effect of the two victories was great. It had checked the rising pride of the sepoy, for he found the white man who had conquered the land, and who had trained him, could beat him though vastly inferior in number. The loss of the enemy was considerable. Twenty-three of them lay together in one ditch, and the road for three miles was strewn with dead bodies. The English lost four officers and fifty men. Among the wounded was Napier, an Ensign of the Rifles, who was young of days. He was, however, so active, so full of life, so brave, that he had not only won the love of his men, but had attracted their admiration and confidence. A bullet struck his leg, and the moment he was brought into camp it had to be amputated. During the operation no sigh betrayed a sensation of pain. When it was finished there came from him the bitter cry: "I shall never lead the Rifles again, I shall never lead the Rifles again." A few weeks after death came to him, and they laid the brave and generous lad in his grave.

Meerut Brigade join Genl. Barnard's force

The Meerut Brigade halted for orders. On the 1st of June it was reinforced by the arrival of the Sirmur Battalion of Gurkhas, commanded by Major Charles Reid. Their arrival was opportune, because it was doubtful whether our small force, exhausted by two

* Brigadier A. Wilson, Commanding the Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Head-Quarters Camp, page 287.

days' hard fighting and by the heat, could sustain another attack if the enemy appeared in greater numbers. On the 3rd June, the videttes brought in news that the enemy were nigh, and the force got under arms. "The Gurkhas were so delighted at the chance of getting a fight that they threw somersaults and cut capers."* But much to their sorrow the enemy never appeared. On the 4th of June orders were received from General Barnard, and the force crossing the Jumna at Baghput reached on the 7th of June the head-quarters at Alipur. The men were loudly cheered as they marched in with the captured guns. The day before the siege guns had arrived after many hairbreadth escapes.

Having been joined by the force under Brigadier Wilson, General Barnard resolved to break up the camp at Alipur and proceed forward without delay. This determination was welcome news to the soldiers who were longing to revenge the evil deeds done at Meerut and Delhi. When it became known to them that a battle was to be fought on the morrow, the sick in hospital declared they would remain there no longer. "Many, hardly able to walk, suffered on in silence, or lay in the corners of the tents imploring their comrades not to tell they were ill, in case they should be kept in hospital on the day of battle. Every man whose strength was not hopelessly gone was let out, and few returned for days after.†

General Barnard was aware that the enemy intended to oppose his advance and had occupied a strongly fortified position at Badli-ki-Serai, because Hodson‡ had the night before gallantly sallied forth

* Letters written during the Siege of Delhi, by H. H. Greathed, page 16.

† Siege of Delhi.—By an Officer who served there, page 72.

‡ On the morning of the 7th occurred an incident which furnished another illustration of the value of Lieutenant Hodson in the force. The evening before there had been grave doubts and differences among the Staff as to the real position which the rebels had taken up to dispute our advance on Delhi. The camp was then at Alipur, covered by a strong advance-guard of all arms, with a breastwork thrown up across the road, and a couple of guns loaded with grape and portfires burning. As the day dawned, a small cloud of dust was noticed ahead on the road from Delhi: all were on the alert; on it came, nearer and nearer; it was evidently cavalry. It was within three hundred yards, a few yards more, and the guns would have opened upon them, when the foremost of the party turned off sharp to the right, followed by about a dozen sowars. It was an Englishman—it was Hodson! He had been out to examine for himself the position of the rebels, and solve the doubts of the evening before; had he had a few of his old trusty "Guides," he would (he said) have gone up to the very walls of Delhi; having only a few of the Jhind Rajah's sowars for his escort, he was obliged to content himself with a reconnaissance—a very careful one—of their advanced position, and a gallop through the old cantonments; and on his report was the attack for the following morning planned.—The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, by the Reverend J. Cave-Browne, M. A., Vol. I, page 316.

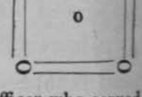
with a few sowars and made a very careful reconnaissance of this position.

The position which the rebels had chosen was admirably formed by nature for withstanding the march of an attacking force, and was capable of being made strong. They held a large enclosed building with a strong gate, called the *serai** or resting-place for travellers of Badli. It stood on the left of the road, and the camp was grouped about it. About a hundred and fifty yards in front of the serai on a small natural elevation the enemy had made a sand-bag battery of four heavy guns and an 8-inch howitzer.† To the right of the serai was a small village, whose mud walls and enclosures and gardens offered a strong cover for infantry. The ground on either side of the road was intersected with water-cuts and generally swampy, while nearly parallel to the road on the right, at the distance of about a mile, ran the canal spanned by numerous bridges.

8th June Battle of Badli-ki-serai

At midnight Brigadier Grant set out with ten horse artillery guns and three squadrons of the 9th Lancers guided by Lieutenant Hodson with a few native horse. They passed the canal at a neighbouring bridge and proceeded down its right bank with intent to cross on the enemy's left rear and to attack simultaneously with the main body under Sir Henry Barnard. Shortly after the cavalry column had started, the main column marched down the road. It consisted of Captain Money's troop of horse artillery, four guns of Major Scott's horse battery, four heavy guns hastily formed into a battery for field purposes and principally manned by recruits, a squadron each of the Carabineers

* *Serai.*—A square building generally with four towers enclosing a courtyard with a well in the middle. It has numerous little chambers for the use of travellers with loopholes opening to the outside.



† Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, page 434. Siege of Delhi, by an Officer who served there, page 75.

"About one hundred and fifty yards in front of the serai stood, on high ground, two ruined summer houses, one on either side. Here they had established a couple of batteries and mounted some light field pieces, while in support, along the front of the serai, they had planted several heavy pieces to sweep the whole of the open ground and to give full effect to their guns, they had placed at intervals large gumlahs (earthen jars) painted white to enable them more accurately to mark the distances, and to regulate the elevation of their guns. To such an extent had they turned to good account the time which our delay in advancing had given them.—The Punjab and Delhi in 1857, by the Reverend J. Cave-Browne, M.A., Vol. I, page 318.

and 9th Lancers, and five weak infantry regiments. General Barnard proposed that "in the main attack, our five heavy guns should open on the enemy from the road itself, with a light battery on either flank; that Brigadier Showers, with the 75th Foot and 1st European Fusiliers, should operate on the right; and Brigadier Graves with the 60th Rifles, 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers, and Sirmur Battalion, to the left of the road."*

At daybreak the lights in the enemy's camp were visible and our guns advanced to open fire. But before they were in position the enemy began the contest with a burst of artillery. Quickly our guns advanced and returned the fire, the leading infantry brigade moved off the road to the right and deployed, the 75th Regiment on the left, the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, partly in support and partly on the right of the 75th Regiment. In this order the brigade advanced in line towards the enemy under the play of their powerful artillery. To the destructive fire no adequate answer could be made, for the English guns were few and of small calibre. Men and officers began to fall quickly: the second brigade had fallen behind, and there was no sign of any flank attack by our cavalry. The situation was now critical in the extreme, when the General, upon whose intrepidity the fate of the day depended, gave the order to charge the heavy guns. The 75th with a ringing English cheer sprang forward upon them, and at the point of the bayonet drove the defenders away with a terrible carnage. Then, supported by the 1st Fusiliers, the 75th rushed upon the serai and burst open the gates. The combat was fierce and short; the sepoys fought desperately and the English soldiers with their bayonets destroyed them.

The battery and the serai were hardly taken ere Brigadier Graves appeared on the enemy's right, and Brigadier Hope Grant with the cavalry took them in rear on the left. The Lancers charged the enemy and completed the defeat. The rebels fled on all sides leaving several guns in our possession besides the camp.

Although the men were much exhausted General Barnard determined to push on, for he was afraid that next morning he might find

* Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, page 435.

"The 1st Brigade under Brigadier Showers was to act on the right side of the main Trunk Road, along which the column was to advance, and the 2nd Brigade under Brigadier Graves was to take the left; the heavy guns were to remain in position on the road, the rest of the artillery to act on either side."—From Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, K.C.B., commanding the Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Camp before Delhi, 12th June 1857, pages 290 & 291.

the rebels rallied and re-organised, occupying another strong position. Clearing the gardens and houses, the troops reached two cross-roads, one of which led to the city and the other, the left road, to the cantonment. From this point could be seen the ridge occupied by the rebels, and after a short halt, two columns were formed. Sir Henry Barnard with Brigadier Graves's brigade of infantry, Captain Money's troop of horse artillery, and a squadron of the 9th Lancers took the left or the cantonment road; while Brigadier Wilson with the rest of the artillery, and cavalry, and Brigadier Showers's brigade of infantry took the road to the city through a large suburban village called the Sabzi Mandi. The Sirmur Battalion was ordered to extend between the columns, but the distance was too great for the communication to be complete. It was intended thus simultaneously to attack both flanks of Hindu Rao's Ridge, the Sirmur Battalion skirmishers threatening it at the same time in front.*

At the Flag-Staff Tower on the ridge the enemy had posted three guns, from which they opened a heavy cannonade on Sir Henry Barnard's advancing column. At a distance of about twelve hundred yards from the ridge ran a wide and deep canal spanned by a masonry bridge. This was partially destroyed, but, fortunately, enough was left of a sufficient width for the guns to pass and no more. The insurgents had the range of the bridge, and kept up an accurate fire on it as the columns and guns crossed over. Proceeding onwards through the parade ground with the blackened shells of the officers' bungalows and through the deserted huts of the sepoys, the column came within a few hundred yards of the Flag-staff Battery. Captain Money's troop having moved to the front, wheeled up to its right and commenced a fire which almost immediately silenced the cannon of the insurgents. The 60th Rifles and 2nd Bengal Fusiliers then advanced and captured the guns. The Sirmur Battalion having then ascended the front of the hill the whole column swept along its crest.

The other column under General Wilson pushed their way through the suburbs of Sabzi Mandi in the face of a harassing fire which the enemy poured upon them from the houses and walls which lined the road. After capturing an 18-pounder gun, they mounted the ridge at the extreme right and, under a sharp cannonade, pushed along until they reached a large stone building called Hindu Rao's House. "The object

* Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, page 136.

of the day having been then effected, the force was at once placed in position before Delhi."*

In these few simple words the General announced that he had won a victory against a foe strong in numbers, strong in artillery, and who had fought with the courage of despair, because guilty of murder they expected no quarter. But the victory had not been won without a tolerably severe loss. Fifty-three men were killed, and one hundred and thirty wounded. Among those who fell that day was Colonel Chester, the Adjutant-General of the Army, who, to use the words of General Barnard, was esteemed by all for every qualification that can adorn the soldier. Of the troops opposed to us it was said that a thousand of those who came out never returned to Delhi. Thirteen guns were captured, two of them 24-pounders.

The British position at Delhi

Hindu Rao's house, where the two victorious columns met, was a large stone building with walls and gates, and had been in former days the country mansion of a Mahratta chieftain. It crowned at the extreme south-west a long rocky ridge which, rising in broken ground on the banks of the Jumna, about two-and-a-half miles above Delhi, extended for about two miles, till it abruptly terminated a little below Hindu Rao's house, where ran the Grand Trunk Road.† This rocky ridge, sixty feet above the city, was not only a coign of advantage for attack but a rampart of defence. Below the centre and extending to the left, the British camp was pitched in and around the old cantonments. In order to assure our hold of the rocky height, Sir Henry Barnard threw upon its extreme right point, where the lofty memorial of the siege now stands, a heavy gun battery, known as the Right Battery, which was twelve hundred yards from the city wall. A short distance to the north, a heavy mortar battery was sunk in a hollow of the slope, and beyond it was Hindu Rao's house, where was established our main picquet. In front of it was the centre half-moon battery. Three hundred yards further to the north was the Observatory, a strong old building near which our heavy gun battery was erected. Beyond the Observatory was an old Pathan mosque whose stout walls afforded

* From Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, K.C.B., commanding the Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Camp before Delhi, 12th June 1857, page 291.

† His Excellency Lord Roberts of Candahar and Waterford writes :—"The distance of the ridge from the wall of the city varies considerably—on our right, where the memorial is erected, and just above the 'Sammy House', it is about 1,200 yards. At the Flag-Staff tower it is about one-and-a-half miles, and at the very end near the river about two-and-a-half miles."

shelter to a picquet. Further north was the Flag-staff Tower,* which was held by a strong infantry picquet.

Our position was a position of considerable strength at all points except one. Beyond the Right Battery and somewhat to the rear was the suburb of Sabzi Mandi,† a cluster of houses and walled gardens, from which the rebels could turn our right and cut off our road to Umballa or the Punjab, upon which we rested. Not far from the Right Battery the rocky ridge ends, but it rises again at a hill on which was built an Eedgah or inclosed mosque, and on the level space between were the suburbs of Kissengunge and Paharipur. The ground between the ridge and city was full of old buildings with clumps of trees and gardens which afforded convenient cover and shelter to the enemy up to the walls of the city. The walls which surrounded Delhi were about seven miles in circumference and some twenty-four feet in height, with bastions in good order, each holding ten, twelve, or fourteen pieces of artillery. They were covered for a full third of their height by an admirable glacis‡ and had in front a ditch of considerable width and about twenty-four feet deep. The eastern face of the city rests on the Jumna river, and at the season of the year when our operations were being carried on the waters washed the base of the walls. All access to the besieged on the river front was therefore impracticable, and there could be no real investment of Delhi. And while thus altogether unable to invest Delhi, the besiegers were for some weeks the besieged. Their exertions were addressed not to capturing the city, but to the more pressing task of defence. The batteries of the enemy and their marksmen posted in the buildings around never ceased harrying the besiegers who, day after day, had constantly to be under arms under a burning sun to repel the constant and powerful sorties.

9th June First sortie

The first sortie took place the very day after we had established ourselves on the ridge. In the afternoon the mutineers, who had cannonaded at intervals, came out in force from Delhi and made a sharp attack on Hindu Rao's house. But happily that morning the besiegers had been strongly reinforced. The Guides Corps, consisting of three troops of cavalry and six companies of infantry, had come into camp under the command of Captain Daly. They had marched at the hottest season

*It was about 150 feet high with two terraces, and ascended by an inside winding stair. A cart load of dead bodies was found there: no doubt those of the murdered officers of the 74th Native Infantry.

† Sabzi Mandi, the vegetable market.

‡ Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, page 482. Colonel R. Baird Smith, page 390.

of the year from Mardan on the Yusafzai frontier to Delhi, a distance of 580 miles, in twenty-two days, and though the infantry portion were occasionally assisted with camels or ponies, the march was a surprising feat even for cavalry. They entered as fresh and firm as if they had returned from a day's manœuvres, and Sir Henry Barnard pronounced them to be in perfect order and fitted for immediate service in the field. A few hours after their arrival they were sent to support the picquets and were engaged in a hand to hand contest with the enemy. They drove the rebels back with considerable loss and chased them to the city walls.* On our side Lieutenant Quintin Battye, Commandant of the Guides Cavalry, fell mortally wounded by a bullet from the ramparts. "Now I have a chance of seeing service" was his joyous exclamation, as he set forth with his regiment. A keen soldier, good swordsman, and fine rider, there was every prospect of a splendid career for the intrepid lad. But he fell at his first fight, and as life ebbed away he murmured with his failing voice the old Roman saying that it is well and proper for a man to die for his country.

On the 10th of June the mutineers, about five hundred strong, 10th June
with two light guns and a party of cavalry, came out of the Ajmere Gate with the intention of apparently turning our right flank and threatening our rear. "I immediately," wrote Major Reid, "proceeded out with two guns of Major Scott's Battery, seven companies of the Sirmur Battalion, two companies of the 60th Rifles, and a hundred and fifty of the Guides. The latter I threw out in skirmishing order with directions to encourage the enemy to approach. The Rifles I extended on my left flank, guns in the centre, with Gurkhas in line on my right. About six o'clock the mutineers approached in force. The guns they had with them opened with grape on the right line of skirmishers. I then threw out another company of my own regiment in skirmishing order, in continuation of the first line. They advanced steadily, with orders to spare ammunition as much as possible. Whilst the Gurkhas were advancing, the mutineers called out to them saying they would not fire, as they (the mutineers) wished to speak to them. Others called out, 'We expect the Gurkhas to join us, we won't fire.' The Gurkhas replied, 'Oh yes, we are now coming to join you.' They closed upon their centre, and went up to within twenty paces

*"The Guides distinguished themselves very much. A subadar sabred a man of the 3rd Cavalry, jerked him off his horse, and sprang from his own saddle into that of his late enemy as he thought he could profit by the change of horses."—The Siege of Delhi, by H. H. Greathed, page 30.

of the mutineers, when they gave a well-directed volley killing between twenty and thirty, and followed them up until fired on by the batteries of the Ajmere Gate."* The next day the mutineers made another attack on Hindu Rao's house and were repulsed with considerable loss. The enemy knew it was the key of our position, and all through the siege made the most desperate attempts to capture it. But the post of honour and of danger was confided to Major Reid and his gallant Gurkhas, and all attempts to dislodge them were made in vain. At first Major Reid had only his own battalion and two companies of the 60th Rifles, but after a time the Guides Infantry was added, and on an alarm he was reinforced by two more companies of the 60th Rifles. "The house in which he resided with his corps was within perfect range of nearly all the enemy's heavy guns, and was riddled through and through with shot and shell. He never quitted the ridge save to attack the enemy below it, and never once visited the camp until carried to it wounded on the day of the final assault."†

Attack on Hindu Rao's House

12th June Attack on the Flag-staff Tower

Not deterred by their unsuccessful attacks of the 10th and 11th of June, the enemy made a more serious and determined attack on the 12th of June on our left. A short distance from the Flag-staff Tower, where two light guns and a detachment of the 75th were posted, lay on the bank of the river in the midst of an extensive park the country-seat of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe. A large body of mutineers concealed themselves among the trees and, taking advantage of the undulating ground, gained the brow of the ridge unperceived and made a sudden and vigorous onset on the picquet at the Tower. Captain Knox of the 75th, commanding the detachment, was killed‡ with several men. Several of the gunners fell, and the guns would have been lost had not the 75th rushed forward and attacked the rebels. "The musketry fire was sharp and heavy, and the bullets fell into the camp; some of the enemy even

* Major C. Reid, commanding the Sirmur Battalion and Main Picquet, dated Hindu Rao's House, 11th June 1857, page 294.

† Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, page 443.

‡ "Upon this occasion Captain Knox of Her Majesty's 75th Foot and several men of the same regiment were killed. That officer had only a moment before shot with his own hand one of the enemy, when his eye caught sight of a sepoy levelling his musket at him. "See," said he to one of his men, "that man pointing at me; take him down." The words had hardly escaped his lips when the fatal shot took effect upon his person. He was on one knee when singled out as a mark by the mutineer; and I am told as soon as he received the shot, he rose regularly to "attention," and then fell and expired without a word or groan." Chaplain's Narrative of the Siege of Delhi, page 68.

descended to the camp side of the ridge, and three were killed in the Sepoy Lines within a short distance of the tents. Reinforcements moved rapidly up in support of the picquet; and the insurgents were driven off and pursued some way. To avoid a recurrence of anything of the kind a large picquet was sent to occupy Sir Theophilus Metcalfe's ruined house close to the river, thus throwing up, as it were, the left flank of our defences, and rendering it almost impossible for the enemy to pass round on that side. This picquet eventually was thrown in advance of the house and divided into three portions—one of 150 men on a mound on the right of the compound, close to the road leading from the Cashmere Gate to the Cantonment Sudder Bazar, and from which a few men were detached to a house on and commanding the road; fifty men in a cow-house midway between this mound and the river bank; 150 men in the stables close upon the river.

Occupation of Metcalfe House

"All these posts were gradually strengthened by the engineers, and were of much use. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe's house would have been previously occupied had it not been for the difficulty of providing one relief for the picquets, and after this it sometimes was impossible to carry out the daily reliefs. The Flag-staff continued to be held by a hundred men with two guns, and at night the sentries from this picquet and the mound picquet in the Metcalfe compound communicated."*

The attack on the Flag-staff had hardly been repulsed when other bodies of insurgents advanced upon the Hindu Rao's picquet and through the Sabzi Mandi into the gardens on the right flank of the camp. "The 1st Bengal Fusiliers were sent against them under the command of Major Jacob, and succeeded most gallantly in not only driving the enemy back, but pursued them skirmishing all through the thickly wooded gardens of the Sabzi Mandi."† There is little doubt that the attacks on the Flag-staff Tower and Hindu Rao's house were meant to be simultaneous, but fortunately for us they took place at different hours of the day.

Proposal to take the city by a *coup de main*

It now seemed plain that we had not sufficient means to besiege the place. Instead of having the preponderance of numbers which science had declared to be needed for the reduction of a fortress we were outnumbered by thousands. It was only on the north side that we could invest the place, and on the river face and the south the enemy were free to come in and go out as they chose. A few days had proved

* Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, page 441.

† Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, Commanding the Field Force, dated Camp before Delhi, 12th June 1857, page 297.

that in an artillery conflict the enemy had the balance of advantage. All day the richly supplied besieged went on with their cannonade and only at intervals could our batteries reply, while for our heavy guns we had no ammunition and the shots fired by the enemy had to be picked up and sent back again. To make regular approaches was impossible owing to the lack of Sappers, and no men could be spared for working parties, for the majority of our effective force had to be on picquet duty. When the alarm sounded and all the picquets had been reinforced there remained merely a few companies of infantry, besides some cavalry and guns in reserve, to succour any point seriously attacked or to make a forward move against the enemy. Under the stress of those perils and troubles the idea seized the minds of some men that it would be better to attempt to take the city by a *coup de main*. After much hesitation General Barnard, who was urged from all quarters "to take Delhi" by those who did not understand that a city containing disciplined troops and a vast population actuated by violent passions cannot be easily overcome, gave his assent to the following plan. Two gates were to be blown up by which our infantry not more than eighteen hundred in number, guards and picquets included, were to effect an entrance in two columns. The safety of the camp was to be entirely entrusted to the native infantry and cavalry. About eleven o'clock Brigadier Graves, who was the field officer of the day, received verbal orders to remove the Europeans from the picquets along the height. As the order was not in writing he refused to obey it and rode to General Barnard's tent for further instruction. Being asked by General Barnard his opinion as to the chance of success, he replied, "You may certainly take the city by surprise, but whether you are strong enough to hold it is another matter." The remark caused General Barnard once more to weigh the danger of the undertaking, and as dawn had begun to break and success depended on blowing in the gates by surprise he determined to abandon the enterprise. The columns which had been actually formed were withdrawn. The abandonment of the enterprise has been severely criticised. But judging from the resistance we afterwards experienced in the actual assault, when we had been greatly reinforced in men and guns, and judging from the stout resistance we experienced in the streets, it is certain that even if the gates had been captured the scanty force could never have held Delhi. Defeat or even a partial success would have been ruin.

17th June Attack on the Eedgah

Three days after the abandonment of the assault the enemy made another attack on the Metcalfe picquet, and were driven away after a

fierce struggle. Looking out in the early morning of the 17th June from the ridge the English descried some men busy on the knoll called the Eedgah on the right of Hindu Rao's house. A tremendous fire from their heavy artillery meant to detract notice only revealed the full import of the work. A battery erected there would enfilade our whole position, and Sir Henry Barnard determined to prevent its construction. He ordered a small force in two columns to proceed to the spot and destroy the works. The right column under Major Tombs, consisting of his own troop of artillery, about four hundred men of the 1st Fusiliers and 60th Rifles, 30 horsemen of the Guides, and 20 Sappers and Miners, moved towards the enemy's left, Major Reid descending from Hindu Rao's house with four companies of the 60th Rifles while the Gurkhas advanced towards Kissengunge and the enemy's right. Tombs driving the enemy through a succession of gardens reached the Eedgah, a mosque surrounded by strong loopholed walls, where the enemy was posted in considerable force.* "Here a hot musketry fire was sustained for some time, until I sent orders for two of the horse artillery guns to be brought from the outside of the suburbs to our support. On these guns opening fire, the enemy appeared to loosen their hold of the position. Seeing this I ordered the advance which was made with a rush, and the position was ours. We captured a 9-pounder gun and its limber here in position, and the object of the attack having been effected, I, agreeably to orders received, brought the column back into camp about 7 P.M." † The loss of the column was small. Major Tombs himself was slightly wounded and had two horses killed under him, making five horses that from the commencement of the campaign up to that date had been shot under him.

The column under Major Reid was equally successful. He wrote: "I proceeded to the end of the wall, and then entered a serai to the right. After battering down the gates of two different serais I succeeded in entering Kissengunge which I found full of mutineers. Many rushed madly on, but were at once shot down by our troops. I counted thirty-one bodies in one place near one of the batteries, and nine were

* "Some threw themselves into a mosque. The walls of its courtyard were loopholed and they began to fire at our men. Tombs had two horses killed under him. His bold bearing and loud voice made him the awe of the enemy. He ordered the riflemen to go up and fire into the loopholes till the doors could be forced. A train of gunpowder was got ready, a bag was attached to the gates, they were blown open, and thirty-nine sepoys were killed in the mosque."—Siege of Delhi, by an Officer who served there, page 105.

† Major H. Tombs, Horse Artillery, commanding the Column, dated Camp before Delhi, 18th June 1857, page 299.

counted close to the battery erected on the right of a building in the centre of Kissengunge. The enemy must have lost between fifty and sixty killed and a very great number wounded. I completely destroyed the batteries, which were not quite finished; burnt the village; the timber used in constructing battteries, the magazine (which had evidently been made by Sappers) and the gates of the serai, three in number." Major Reid adds—"this report would have been forwarded earlier but my time is fully occupied at this picquet."* The enemy certainly afforded the commander of the Hindu Rao picquet little leisure for composition.

19th June Attack on our rear

On the 19th, secret notice of a sortie having been received, the picquets were reinforced, and in the afternoon a large body of mutineers came out by the Lahore Gate and stormed the whole of our position, whilst a large body filed unobserved through the gardens and suburbs to our right. About sunrise some flying sowars announced that the enemy were about to attack our rear. The infantry were employed guarding the picquets from the attack in front, and only some few troops were in camp. Twelve guns and some four or five hundred cavalry under Brigadier Grant were however quickly collected and sent forward to meet them. They found the enemy strongly supported by infantry posted in walled gardens, against which our artillery could make but little impression. Their guns poured forth a quick and well-directed fire, and the infantry from the gardens shot down our artillerymen and horses. Tombs' guns were in imminent danger when a portion of the Guides cavalry rode up. "Daly, if you do not charge," said Tombs to their leader, "my guns are taken." Daly spurred into the bushes; scarcely a dozen of his men followed him. He returned with a bullet in his shoulder, but the momentary diversion saved the guns.† As long as it was light the steady fire of our guns and the dashing charges of the cavalry succeeded in keeping the rebels in check. But in the dusk of the evening their superior numbers began to tell, and "they very nearly succeeded in turning our flank, and for some time two guns were in great jeopardy." The Lancers and Guides, bent on saving the guns at all hazards, charged the enemy, but with a ditch and houses on each side their action was paralysed and their loss was severe. All was now in confusion and the darkness of night began to increase the disorder when the infantry came up, dashed

* Major C. Reid, commanding second column, dated Hindu Rao's House, 18th June 1857, page 301.

† Siege of Delhi.—By an Officer who served there, page 111.

forward and, cutting a lane through the rebels, rescued the guns. "The firing on both sides gradually ceased, and our infantry being much too weak in numbers to attack the enemy's extended line, our troops returned to camp about 8-30 P.M., the insurgents' fire totally ceasing."* Our loss in this affair amounted to three officers and seventeen men killed, and seven officers and seventy men wounded. Among the killed was Lieutenant-Colonel Yule of the 9th Lancers, "as fine and gallant a soldier as ever lived." Among the wounded was Brigadier J. Hope Grant who had his horse shot under him in a charge and was saved by the devotion of two men of his own regiment and a native sowar of the 4th Irregulars. "The two men, Handcock and Purcell, stuck to me during the fight without consulting their own safety; the latter had his horse killed under him about the same time that I lost my own; and Handcock, seeing me dismounted in the midst of our foes, earnestly besought me to take his charger."† At this moment Rooper Khan, the orderly sowar, rode up to the Brigadier and said, "Take my horse, it is your only chance of safety." "I could not but admire his fine conduct" wrote Brigadier Grant. "He was a Hindustani Mussulman belonging to a regiment the greater part of which had mutinied; and it would have been easy for him to have killed me and gone over to the enemy; but he behaved nobly and was ready to save my life at the risk of his own. I refused his offer; but, taking a firm grasp of his horse's tail, I told Rooper Khan to drag me out of the crowd. This he performed successfully and with great courage." Next morning the Brigadier summoned Rooper Khan to his tent, and after praising him for his gallantry offered him some little money. Rooper Khan drew himself up with great dignity, saluted and said: "No, Saheb, I will take no money, but if you will get my commanding officer to promote me, I shall be very grateful."‡

Very disquieted by the day's operations were the besiegers. The rebels had attacked our weakest and most vital point, the rear, and after a day's stubborn fighting we had not, according to our wont, driven them back to the walls of the city. If they managed to establish themselves

* Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, page 444.

† Handcock was the same night wounded and lost his arm. He was afterwards appointed by Her Majesty one of the gate-keepers in Windsor Park. Purcell was killed before Delhi at a later period.

‡ The Sepoy War, by Sir Hope Grant, page 71.

there our communications would be cut off with the Punjab ; our small force would be invested ; and without supplies and reinforcements it would be impossible against the daily growing numbers of the insurgents to hold our own. Many were despondent in the camp when the result of the day's fighting was first known, but the steadfast temper of the besiegers swiftly asserted itself, and they determined next morning to renew the contest. At daybreak our troops again advanced to attack the enemy, "but found only a strong picquet which was easily driven back, and we captured a gun and two waggons, which they had left the night previous." The road strewn with dead men and horses showed how stubborn the fight had been the day before. "At one spot alone forty of them were lying, their bodies torn by the ghastly rounds of cannon-shot, the faces of some twisted with agony, others sleeping quietly."*

The force had scarcely returned to camp when the enemy again made their appearance, pushed on their guns, and opened fire. Our troops promptly turned out in force, and the enemy quickly dispersed. "To render it less easy to make attacks in the rear, which might have led to a stoppage of our communications with the Punjab, a battery for two 18-pounders was constructed behind the camp, and armed, and the rear picquets of cavalry and infantry were posted at it. Prior to this, three 18-pounders had been placed in the battery on the mound to the right of the camp to check any attack from the side of the Sabzi Mandi suburbs. An infantry picquet had been there all along and a cavalry picquet on the ground below, together with two horse artillery guns."†

23rd June The centenary of Plassey

After the action in rear of the camp our troops had three days cessation from fighting. The welcome intelligence also reached them that a reinforcement under Major Olpherts had arrived within twenty miles of Delhi. The enemy had however also been reinforced by the arrival of the mutineers from Jullundur and Phillour, consisting of three regiments of infantry and the 6th Light Cavalry, and the spies reported that another attack was to be made on our rear. The day chosen was the 23rd of June, the centenary of Plassey. For many weeks a prophecy had spread throughout the land that the English rule would expire with the hundredth year, and as Clive had laid the foundation of it in the mango groves of Plassey it must end on the centenary of that victory

* Siege of Delhi—By an Officer who served there, page 114.

† Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, pages 445 & 446.

The 23rd June was also the first day of the new moon, a day of good omen with the followers of the Man of Mecca, and the Jattra, a solemn festival of the worshippers of Vishnu, and astrologers declared that the stars in their courses would fight for the mutineers. On hearing that the rebels intended to make another attack in force on the rear, Sir Henry Barnard on the 22nd of June sent an order to Major Olpherts to march at once for camp, and the rear of his troops had not reached it when a furious cannonade was opened from the city walls. "At the same moment they opened on our right, and kept up a heavy enfilading fire on Hindu Rao's ridge which the few guns we had in position were unable to silence." On advancing through the Sabzi Mandi to the rear of Hindu Rao's house, they made a desperate attack on the Mound Battery and Major Reid's position. "No men could have fought better," wrote the gallant Reid. "They charged the Rifles, the Guides, and my own men again and again, and at one time I thought I must have lost the day. The cannonade from the city and the heavy guns which they had brought out raged fast and furious and completely enfiladed the whole of my position. Thousands were brought against my mere handful of men, but I knew the importance of my position, and was determined to do my utmost to hold it till reinforcements arrived." After a while the reinforcements came, and an attempt was made from the Mound Battery to drive the rebels from the Sabzi Mandi, which with its narrow lanes, mud walls, enclosures, and flat-roofed houses, offered good cover to infantry; and from wall and roof the enemy poured forth a stream of fire on the advancing troops. The men fell fast, stricken by the bullets of the foe and the fierce rays of the sun. Thrice were the streets cleared, but when the soldiers tried to force the houses with their strong doors built to stand a dacoit raid, the enemy returned from every lane and renewed their murderous fire.* But at all hazards they must be driven back. The service of every man was required. The Fusiliers and Sikhs, who had marched twenty miles that morning, were called out and sent forward to support the attack. Through the whole of the hot tropical day did the battle rage, and it was not until evening closed that the enemy returned into the city, having lost over a thousand men. In one enclosure about one hundred and fifty men were bayoneted after a desperate struggle.

* "The mass then got into the Sabzi Mandi and gardens on our right and made repeated attacks on the rear of Hindu Rao's house and on the mound. Our fellows followed them three times into the Sabzi Mandi, but they got into houses and closed the doors on themselves, and when our troops withdrew came out again and fired away."—The Siege of Delhi, by H. H. Greathed.

The Sabzi Mandi was now in our possession and "from that moment we kept an advanced picquet in it of one hundred and eighty Europeans divided between a serai on one side and a Hindu temple on the other side of the Grand Trunk Road, and both of which were immediately strengthened and rendered defensible by the engineers. These posts were only between two hundred and three hundred yards from the right battery at Hindu Rao's ridge, the picquets from which communicated with them, and eventually a line of breastworks running up the ridge connected these picquets with the right battery. Our position was thus rendered much more secure, and the enemy were unable to pass up the Trunk Road to attack our right rear."*

Arrival of Genl. Chamberlain

On the day after the fight at the Sabzi Mandi, General Chamberlain arrived in camp to fill the responsible post of Adjutant-General of the army. He had won renown as a daring cavalry officer, and was appointed by General Anson to command the moveable column which had been organised to check and operate upon any point where rebellion might rise and danger threaten in the Punjab. The way he headed the column had increased his reputation, and his advent was eagerly expected at Delhi. Everything will be right, they used to say, when Chamberlain comes. Chamberlain† brought with him Lieutenant Alexander Taylor‡ of the Engineers, a man to whose courage, skill and great resource our ultimate success was in a great measure due. Reinforcements from the Punjab also began to arrive, and the effective strength of the British force now amounted in round numbers to nearly 6,600 men of all arms. The enemy also at this time received a formidable reinforcement. "On the 1st and 2nd July the Rohilcund mutineers arrived at Delhi, marching across the bridge of boats within full view of the spectators from our camp posted on the ridge. They consisted of four regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, a horse battery, and two post guns, and were commanded by one Bakht Khan, an old subadar of artillery. "He was well

* Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, page 447.

† "Neville Chamberlain has arrived: of this we are all glad, as well as the General." Siege of Delhi, by H. H. Greathed, page 70.

‡ To my second-in-command, Captain Taylor, Director of the Trenches, I have been indebted for the most constant, cordial and valuable assistance throughout the whole period of the operations. Gifted with rare soundness of professional judgment, his advice had been sought by me under all circumstances of difficulty or doubt, and I find that I cannot express too strongly to the Major-General my sense of the valuable services this officer has rendered.—Lieutenant-Colonel R. Baird Smith, Chief Engineer, Delhi Field Force, 17th September 1857, page 393.

known to many officers of that arm in camp. They described him as a big fat man, obsequious, fond of the society of Europeans and very intelligent." He soon gained a great influence over the old King of Delhi, was made Commander-in-Chief, and was promised the office of Governor-General if he would drive the English from the batteries. The rebel force now amounted to about thirty thousand men. Their guns were numerous and their ammunition appeared inexhaustible.

Proposal for a *coup de main* revived.

The arrival of reinforcements within the camp again raised the question whether the city should not be taken by a *coup de main*. A project was drawn out by which one column was to effect an entrance by blowing in the iron grating of the canal near the Cabul Gate, another column to enter the Cashmere Gate after it had been blown in, a third column to escalade the side and to endeavour to effect an entrance in that direction. At the last moment the plan was abandoned because the General received information that on the 3rd July, the day fixed for the assault, the rebels who had arrived from Rohilcund intended to make a serious attack on our camp. "The success of the assault depended on the surprise being complete; and we had no reason to reckon upon any want of vigilance on the part of the insurgents who were not by any means *shut up* or unable to send out patrols and picquets. As, moreover, for the four assaulting parties and the reserve not more than 3000 infantry (if so many) could be used it does not seem matter for regret that this attack never took place."*

Col. Baird Smith

To one man at the time it was a matter of deep regret. Lieutenant-Colonel Baird Smith had been summoned to take the place of the Chief Engineer whose health had completely broken down. He was bringing with him a small detachment of Pioneers from Roorkee, and had arrived within sixty miles of Delhi, on the 2nd of July, when news of the intended assault reached him. Starting at once, he arrived by hard riding on the morning of the 3rd to find that the assault had been postponed. A skilled and accomplished engineer, a man of great ability, resource, and courage, Baird Smith became, from the day of his arrival, the most trusted counsellor in all matters relating to the siege.

4th July Defeat of the rebels by Majo Coke

On the afternoon of the 3rd of July large bodies of the insurgents moved into the gardens and suburbs on our right, and all our troops were turned out to meet the expected attack. But, instead of attacking our picquets, the rebels moved rapidly upon Alipur, one march in our rear, and compelled a squadron of the Punjab Cavalry to fall back. The fire

* Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, pages 148 & 149.

of their guns was heard in camp, and soon after 2 A.M. a force marched to overtake or to intercept them. It was commanded by Major Coke, and consisted of about three hundred horse, eight hundred foot, and twelve guns. At first it was impossible to determine whether the rebels were pushing forward to Karnál, or returning to Delhi. About sunrise, however, Major Coke " found the enemy were retiring to the city, but spread all over the country. On crossing the canal, a considerable body with guns were seen at a village about a mile from the bridge, where I at once proceeded to attack them. After a few rounds from their guns, they carried them off in the direction of the city before we could get up to them, which they were enabled to do as they were on a road; whereas we had to advance over the open country, which was in many places a swamp, through which the guns and troops could make their way with difficulty." A number of the enemy sought refuge in a village where they were killed. The rest fled in all directions, followed by the Guides Cavalry who sabred many. " It was, however, useless to attempt any further pursuit, for the heat was great, and the European soldiers exhausted." Major Coke therefore returned to the banks of the canal, and rested his men under the shade of the trees. By some misconception his artillery returned to camp. While his men were resting a fresh force from Delhi attacked them and " we beat them back and pursued them for a considerable distance; but seeing that there was a large force collecting behind them, I withdrew the infantry and took up a position that commanded the bridge; and, as I expected they were bringing up guns, I sent into camp for artillery." " Before the guns arrived the enemy made a second attack and were beaten back. Soon after the artillery and cavalry came up and followed the enemy, who again dispersed and fled in all directions." * Our men returned completely exhausted by the heat; indeed many of the 61st sank down beneath the trees, and elephants had to be sent from camp to carry them in.† The enemy carried off their guns and returned to camp, having lost about a hundred men. Major Coke was at the time severely criticised for the comparative failure of the action. " I am dissatisfied," wrote Hodson, " with the day's work, inasmuch as more might have deen done and what was done is only satisfactory as a proof of the ease with which Anglo-Saxons can thrash Asiatics at any odds. Yesterday they were at least from ten to fifteen to one against us."‡

* From Major John Coke, Indian Mutiny, Vol. I, page 314.

† Siege of Delhi, by an Officer who served there, page 152.

‡ Hodson of Hodson's Horse, page 714.

On the following morning, Sir Henry Barnard, worn out in body and mind, fell an easy victim to cholera. He had gained the admiration and respect of his soldiers by his heroic courage, for under fire his bravery made him conspicuous even among the brave men he commanded; and he had won their love by his gracious and easy manners and his unremitting zeal for their welfare. A severe fate had placed him in a most difficult and trying position. A stranger in the land and ignorant of oriental warfare, he was called on the death of General Anson, to lead a weak force against an enemy formidable in numbers and resources. At the battle of Badli-ki-serai the plan of operations was bold and comprehensive, and it was owing to the courage and judgment he displayed in following the defeated enemy that the English gained an important base of operations before Delhi. For weeks he not only held that base against repeated attacks made by overwhelming masses, but by often acting vigorously on the offensive he restored our prestige which was trembling in the balance. His ignorance of the land and of Indian warfare lessened his confidence in himself, and led him to depend upon others for advice and instruction which caused him cruel anxiety and gave an appearance of indecision to his measures. A man of years when he reached India, a campaign at the hottest season told heavily on him. Tormented by bodily pain, mentally ill at ease, harassed with ceaseless importunities from all sides to capture Delhi, pestered by impossible projects for taking it insolently thrust on him, he was allowed no peace of body or mind. His last words were full of anxious care. Thinking in his delirium that the enemy were attacking the ridge he had so long gallantly held, he exclaimed "Strengthen the right." Then his words and his voice failed him, and he breathed his last. The burial was fixed for the next day. The body was placed in a rude coffin of wood and conveyed to the churchyard on a gun-carriage. His Lancer escort laid him in his grave, and the guns of the enemy paid his funeral honours.

Death of Sir Henry Barnard

On the death of General Barnard, the command recurred to General Reed. He had joined the field force on the morning of the action of Badli-ki-serai, but, unwell and greatly fatigued by a long and rapid journey during intense heat, he took no part in the action and did not supersede General Barnard. His first proceeding on assuming the command was wise. All the bridges crossing the canal were blown up except one which we retained for our own use and watched with videttes of cavalry. The Phoolchudder aqueduct, a work of great solidity through which the canal water flowed into the city, was also blown up. A large

Genl. Reed

escort was also sent on the 8th of July to destroy the bridge over the Najafgarh jheel cut, which was effected without opposition.

9th July Rebels surprise the mound picquet

On the following morning the enemy showed outside the city in great force; our main picquets were reinforced and the troops remained accoutred in their tents ready to turn out, while an unceasing cannonade was kept up from the city walls and from field artillery outside. Behind Hindu Rao's house, on our right as we have mentioned, there was placed a battery of three 18-pounders with an infantry picquet all facing the Sabzi Mandi suburb. To the right of the mound on the low ground was a picquet of two horse artillery guns and a troop of Dragoons, the guns being this day furnished by Major Tombs' troop commanded by Lieutenant Hills, and the cavalry from the Carabineers commanded by Lieutenant Stillman. Still further to the right, at a fakir's enclosure, was a native officers' picquet of the 9th Irregulars, from which two videttes were thrown forward some two hundred yards on the trunk road. On the other side of the road were rather dense gardens. The place at which the videttes were posted was not visible from camp and the advance of some horsemen in white attracted but little notice, their dress being the same as that of the 9th Irregulars, from which corps the fakir's picquet was taken.* In a moment the leading cavalry insurgents dashed forward at speed upon the picquet.† A troop of Carabineers, all very young, most of them untrained soldiers, and only thirty-two in number of all ranks, turned and broke, save the officer and two other men who nobly stood. "Lieutenant Hills ordered his guns to be unlimbered, and in order to give his men time he boldly charged single-handed the head of the enemy's column, cut down the first man, struck the second, and was then ridden down, horse and all. On getting up and searching for his sword, three more

Lieut. Hills and Major Tombs

* "To show how little we were able to distinguish between these horsemen of the enemy and our own native sowars, I may briefly narrate a conversation I had with one of our wounded. "Well, Conolly, I see you have got a bad cut, but I hope you gave as good as you received." "No, Sir, I am sorry I did not, for the villain came up to me dressed like a respectable native, and the first thing he did, without saying a word, was to cut me over the fingers, and before I could put my bayonet into him, he gave me the other cut over the head and I fell."—The First Bengal European Fusiliers in the Delhi Campaign: Blackwood's Magazine, January 1858.

† Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, page 452.

"A large body of horse had made friends with the outlying picquets of the 9th Irregulars on our right flank, who showed them the road into camp at about half-past nine this morning. * * * The mistake of leaving an inlet into camp to be guarded by Hindustanis will not again be committed. Brigadier Wilson had in vain protested against it."—The Siege of Delhi, by H. H. Greathed, pages 104-105.

men came at him (two mounted); the first man he wounded with his pistol, he caught the lance of the second in his left hand and wounded him with his sword. The first man then came on again and was cut down: the third man, (on foot), then came up and wrenched the sword from the hand of Lieutenant Hills (who fell in the struggle), and the enemy was about to cut him down, when Major Tombs (who had gone up to visit his two guns) saw what was going on, rushed in, and shot the man and saved Lieutenant Hills.

"By this time the enemy's cavalry had passed by, and Major Tombs and Lieutenant Hills went to look after the wounded men, when Lieutenant Hills observed one of the enemy passing with his (Lieutenant Hill's) pistol. They walked towards him, the man began flourishing his sword and dancing about. He first cut at Lieutenant Hills who parried the blow, and he then turned on Major Tombs, who received the blow in the same manner. His second attack on Lieutenant Hills was (I regret to say) more successful, as he was cut down with a bad sword-cut on the head, and would have been no doubt killed, had not Major Tombs rushed in and put his sword through the man. I feel convinced that such gallant conduct on the part of these two officers has only to be brought properly forward to meet with an appropriate reward."* *Hills and Tombs received the soldier's most coveted prize, the Cross for Valour.*

Meanwhile the sowars dashed into camp and rode up to the native troop of horse artillery. "Get your guns ready," cried they, "and come away with us to Delhi." The artillerymen answered—"Who are you that give us orders? We obey only our own officers." They then called out to Major Olpherts' European troop, which was unlimbered close by, to fire through them at the mutineers. "A party of foot artillery now advanced, led by Captain Fagan, who had been writing in his tent close by, and had only time to relinquish his pen for a tulwar (sword) and, supported by a company of the 1st Fusiliers, drove one portion of the sowars out of camp, having killed some fifteen of them, and the guns at the mountain battery on our right being brought round to bear opened on them." In the meantime the remainder of the sowars were driven out at the rear by some cavalry. About thirty-five of the sowars were killed, including the man who led them in this daring exploit.

---

* Lieutenant-Colonel M. Mackenzie, commanding the 1st Brigade Horse Artillery, 10th July 1857.—Indian Mutiny, Vol. I, page 318.

"Tombs' account of the affair of the 9th when the enemy's horse rode through our camp was torn up by Mackenzie. He had omitted to say a word about himself to Mackenzie, so Mackenzie gave the General the true version. Hills is getting on very well; he behaved most gallantly."—The Siege of Delhi, by H. H. Greathed, page 119.

Action at the Sabzi Mandi

All this time the cannonade from the city and from many field guns outside raged fast and furious. A large body of sepoys who had posted themselves in the houses and gardens of the suburbs kept up a heavy fire on our batteries and the picquets of the Sabzi Mandi, who found it difficult to hold their own. A column under Brigadier-General Chamberlain was therefore formed to dislodge them. As this column swept up through the Sabzi Mandi, Major Reid was instructed to move down and co-operate with such infantry as could be spared from the main picquets. The insurgents were cleared out of the gardens without difficulty, but in the serais and houses some desperate conflicts took place. The narrow staircases leading to the roofs rang with the crash of musketry, yells and curses, as the rebels were driven, step by step, to the roof where they were bayoneted by our soldiers. By sunset all were driven out and the rebels suffered severely from the fire of our batteries as they returned to the city. Our loss was one officer and forty men killed, eight officers and one hundred and sixty men wounded, and eleven men missing. The loss of the enemy was, about five hundred men, most of whom were killed on the spot.

Action of the 14th July 1857

Five days later there was another hard-fought encounter. In the morning the mutineers, supported by a heavy fire of artillery from the walls, came out in great force to storm the picquets under Hindu Rao's Ridge and at the Sabzi Mandi. Our troops remained on the defensive till the afternoon, when a column was formed under Brigadier Showers to drive the enemy out of the suburbs.* It consisted of six horse artillery guns under Major Turner and Captain Money, the 1st Fusiliers under Major Jacob, and Major Coke's Corps of Punjab Rifles,† with a few of the Guides Cavalry and Hodson's Horse and the Kohat Risala. Brigadier-General Chamberlain accompanied the column, and on passing the front of Hindu Rao's ridge it was joined by Major Reid with all the available men from his position. Under a shower of grape the troops moved on till they came to a wall lined with the enemy, and they stopped short instead of pushing up to it. "Then Chamberlain, seeing that the men hesitated to advance, leaped his horse clean over the wall

* Major-General T. Reed, dated Camp before Delhi, 14th July 1857.

† The 1st Regiment, Punjab Infantry.

A body of eighty horse raised at Kohat by a chief, a personal friend of Major Coke. At the action near Alipur the troop behaved well and gallantly, but the Mir, its leader, was unfortunately killed while pursuing some of the fugitive insurgent infantry.

into the midst of the enemy and dared the men to follow which they did, but he got a ball in his shoulder."*

While the Fusiliers and Coke's men were driving the mass of the enemy through the gardens to the right, Hodson went with the Guides, Gurkhas and part of the Fusiliers along the Grand Trunk Road leading right into the gates of Delhi. "We were exposed to a heavy fire of grape from the walls, and musketry from behind trees and rocks; but pushing on, we drove them right up to the very walls, and then were ordered to retire. This was done too quickly by the artillery, and some confusion ensued, the troops hurrying back too fast. The consequence was the enemy rallied, bringing up infantry, then a large body of cavalry, and behind them again two guns to bear on us." Hodson managed to get eight of his horsemen in front, and to rally some of the Guides Infantry; Greville and Major Jacob coming up at that moment brought forward a few scattered Fusiliers. A body of the enemy's horse now advanced to the charge. But at Hodson's command his scanty band opened fire and the rebel cavalry stopped, reeled, turned, and fled in confusion. Their guns were left deserted, and Hodson attempted to steady his men for a charge to capture them. "We were within thirty paces; twenty-five resolute men would have been enough; but the soldiers were blown, and could not push on in the face of such odds, unsupported as we were, for the whole of the rest of the troops had retired. My eight horsemen stood their ground, and the little knot of officers used every exertion to aid us, when suddenly two rascals rushed forward with lighted portfires in their hands and fired the guns loaded with grape in our faces; and when the smoke cleared away we found to our infinite disgust and chagrin, that they had limbered up the guns and were off at a gallop. We had then to effect our retreat to rejoin the column under a heavy fire of grape and musketry, and many men and officers were hit in doing it. I managed to get the Guides to retire quietly, fighting as they went, and fairly checking the enemy, on which I galloped back and brought up two guns, when we soon stopped all opposition, and drove the last Pandy into Delhi." Our loss was fifteen men killed, sixteen officers and one hundred and seventy-seven men wounded. Among the wounded were "Chamberlain shot through the

* "There is not a braver heart or cooler head in camp; his fault is too great hardihood and exposure in the field, and a sometimes too injudicious indifference to his own life or that of his men."—Hodson of Hodson's Horse, page 180.

arm, and little Roberts." * The loss of the enemy was estimated at a thousand. "For hours carts were seen taking the corpses into the city." "An old temple called by the European soldiers 'The Sammy House,' situated some way down the slope of the ridge towards the city, and within nine hundred yards of the Moree Bastion, which had been for some time held by us, was the scene of hard fighting. Occupied by a party of Guides Infantry it defied all efforts to take it, and next morning eighty dead bodies of mutineers were counted round it."†

Brigr. Wilson assumes the command

On the 17th of July, Major-General Reed, whose health, from the first most feeble, had now entirely failed him, proceeded on sick leave to Simla. He made over command of the force to Brigadier Archdale Wilson of the Artillery, conferring on him the rank of Brigadier-General in anticipation of the sanction of Government, for, as a Colonel, Brigadier Wilson was not the senior officer with the troops at Delhi. He had, however, greatly distinguished himself, especially at the actions of Ghazi-ud-din-Nagar; and he was known to be a skilled artillery officer and a man of nerve and determination of character.‡

18th July. Rebels attack the ridge batteries and Sabzi Mandi

On the 18th July the insurgents again made a sharp and prolonged attack upon the ridge batteries and Sabzi Mandi. Towards the afternoon a column was sent to dislodge them from their position. From the numerous enclosures and broken ground occupied by the insurgents, they were enabled to offer a continued and determined resistance which was successfully overcome by the troops under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Jones, the mutineers being driven with severe loss into the town. This was the last real

*Lord Roberts of Candahar and Waterford.

Hodson of Hodson's Horse, page 176.

Hodson writes—"Only to say I am again mercifully preserved, safe and unhurt after one of the sharpest encounters we have yet had. Shebbeare got wounded early in the fight, so I led the Guide Infantry myself in the skirmish of the villages and suburbs. I charged the guns with some eight horsemen, a party of the Guide Infantry and 1st Fusiliers. We got within thirty yards, but the enemy's grape was too much for our small party. Three of my officers, Shebbeare, Hawes, and DeBrett, slightly wounded, and several men; but though well to the front, my party suffered proportionately least."—Hodson of Hodson's Horse, page 177.

† Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, page 456.

Sammy House or Swamy-house. An idol temple or pagoda. "The Sammy House of the Delhi ridge in 1857 will not soon be forgotten."—Yule's Hobson Jobson, page 672.

‡ "Wilson was an energetic officer, had a sound head and knew his work."—The Sepoy War, by Sir Hope Grant.

"Brigadier Wilson's appointment is a subject of general congratulation."—The Siege of Delhi, by H. H. Greathed, page 125.

contest in the Sabzi Mandi, for by this time the incessant exertions of the engineers had cleared away the old *serais*, walls, and gardens for some distance round the posts held by our picquets in that suburb, while the breastworks * connecting these picquets with the crest of Hindu Rao's ridge were completed and perfected.

While the engineers were engaged in this work, the ridge defences were not neglected and gradually became most formidable. In favourable positions field guns from the captured ordnance were placed, and though the duty on the Foot Artillery was very hard, it was found possible to man all the guns with the aid of the newly-raised Sikh Artillery sent from the Punjab. The "Sammy House" was greatly strengthened and cover provided for the men occupying it,—a very necessary measure, exposed as it was to the fire of the Burn† and Moree Bastions and within grape shot of the latter, while infantry could come up unperceived to within a short distance of it. ‡

Rebels occupy Ludlow Castle

At daybreak on the 23rd of July the enemy again came out in force from the Cashmere Gate, and occupying Ludlow Castle and its neighbourhood opened a fire both on the Metcalfe picquet and the ridge. Fire was opened in reply from the two field guns at the latter picquet and from two more that came up in support, and from such of the guns at Hindu Rao's house as could be brought to bear. But owing to the cover of walls and trees our guns could not silence the fire of the enemy, and a column was sent out under Brigadier Showers to attack them. "Brigadier Showers ably performed the service entrusted to him, and the result was, as anticipated, the speedy retirement of the insurgents into the city." §

For several days nothing occurred save the usual artillery fire on both sides and the skirmishing at our advanced breastwork. "It appears quite strange," wrote one of the besiegers, "to have had no fighting for five full days; and our fellows will begin to think they are badly used." On the 28th of July, however, a force of several thousand men with ten field guns and mortars moved out of the city, prepared to throw a bridge over the canal and attack us in the rear. A moveable column was held in readiness to act against them; and was sent out at night to form an escort during the last march for the convoy with

*"A rifleman said he did not like the new breastworks as men now only get hit on the head."—Siege of Delhi, by H. H. Greathed, page 150.

†Named after Colonel William Burn, who in conjunction with Colonel (afterwards General Sir David) Ochterlony defended Delhi when besieged by Holkar in 1804.

‡Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, page 458.

§Brigadier-General A. Wilson, commanding the Field Force, 12th August 1857, page 334.

five hundred Gurkhas that were expected The convoy reached camp in the morning and the column was again held in readiness to move at an instant's notice.* But the bridge which the mutineers had nearly completed was swept away by a flood, and in the afternoon they returned towards Delhi, a large body of infantry moving from the city at the same time to join them.

1st August 1857

It was the 1st of August, the great Mahomedan festival of the Bukra Eed which, according to the history of Islam, commemorates the day when Abraham intended to sacrifice Ishmael.† It was the custom for a gorgeous procession to come forth on that day from the city and to proceed to the Eedgah, where the Moghul Emperor sacrificed a camel. This year it was determined that a far greater sacrifice should be offered up. The unbelievers were to be exterminated. A royal salute announced the day. The Jumma Musjid rang with the prayers of the faithful, and Brahmin priests stimulated the fanaticism of the followers of Vishnu. In the afternoon, wild with religious enthusiasm, the rebels poured forth from the city gates which were closed behind them. Their zeal rekindled by the loud cries which rang from the minarets of the city mosques, the intrepid fanatics shouting the old Moslem battle-cry which had struck dismay in the ranks of the Roman legion, threw themselves upon our works. A deadly fire from our breastworks checked their advance and broke their ranks. Again and again the assailants rallied and rushed upon the breastworks, but the steady volleys stopped their charge. All that August night the battle raged, the batteries from four bastions poured forth without ceasing their shot and shell, and the ridge was lighted by the flashes of our guns as they sent forth their reply: the air rang with the

---

* Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, page 460.

† The following is the account given by Mohamedan writers :—

"When Ibrahim (the peace of God be upon him) founded Makkah, the Lord desired him to prepare a feast for Him. Upon Ibrahim's (the friend of God) requesting to know what He would have on the occasion, the Lord replied, 'Offer up thy son Ismail'. Agreeably to God's command he took Ismail to the Kábah to sacrifice him, and having laid him down, he made several ineffectual strokes on his throat with a knife, on which Ismail observed, 'Your eyes being uncovered, it is through pity and compassion for me you allow the knife to miss: it would be better if you blindfolded yourself with the end of your turban and then sacrificed me.' Ibrahim acted upon his son's suggestion, and having repeated the words 'Bi-smi'llahi, Allahu Akbar' (*i.e.*, 'In the name of God! God is great'!), he drew the knife across his son's neck. In the meanwhile, however, Gabriel had substituted a broad-tailed sheep for the youth Ismail, and Ibrahim unfolding his eyes observed, to his surprise, the sheep slain, and his son standing behind him."—See Qisasu'l-Ambyia.

wild cries of the fanatics and the rolling of musketry. The day dawned and the fight still continued, and it was past noon when the enemy who had fought manfully retired, baffled. Their loss was great. In front of a breastwork at the right of the "Sammy House," where the fiercest struggle took place, one hundred and ninety-seven dead bodies were counted.

The enemy returned to the city, their hearts sick with deferred hope. By no art and no bravery could they drive us from the ridge. They had made a well planned and desperate assault on our rear and had failed; they had for six weeks, day after day, cannonaded our batteries and attacked our breastworks and had been driven back to the walls. The time they knew was nigh at hand when reinforcements would reach our camp, and they trembled for their fate. The tide had already begun to turn, and we were fast becoming the besiegers and not the besieged. To add to their anxiety their powder manufactory was on the 7th of August accidentally blown up. Large bribes were offered by the Royal Family to the rebels to make another attack, but the majority valued their lives more than gold. A few brave men, however, volunteered to go out and fight the Feringees for a week. They brought some guns out of the Cashmere Gate, and posting them a few hundred yards in advance of the city walls at Ludlow Castle, they plied the Metcalfe Picquet with shot and shell. At the same time a number of infantry skirmishers kept up a nearly constant fire from the brushwood in front of our position. They sometimes advanced with shouts but were rapidly driven back by our fire. As the desultory fighting caused us some loss and much annoyance, it was determined to surprise them and to capture their guns. To effect this a strong body of infantry, composed of Europeans, Sikhs, and Gurkhas, with a troop of horse artillery, and a squadron of the Lancers and the Guides Cavalry, were assembled and placed under the command of Brigadier Showers. The orders were concise and distinct,—"Move up silently and take the guns at Ludlow Castle." As ordered, the column with infantry on either side and the artillery on the road advanced in profound silence on the enemy's position. The first word heard was the challenge of the enemy's sentry, "Ho come dere." "Take that" was the reply as the shot entered his body. Then a volley of musketry awoke the surprised foe who attempted to return it. "Only two guns had been fired when our men closed on the battery. Private Reegan rushing forward prevented the discharge of the third—a howitzer loaded with grape—which, primed and ready, was pointed on our men. The

7th August

Brig. Showers attacks the rebels at Ludlow Castle

artilleryman was in the act of applying the lighted portfire when Private Reegan bayoneted him, but at the same time received a severe wound." The gunners stood to their guns, and putting their backs to the waggons fought till they were killed. Four guns were captured, and our troops, after attacking the rebels who had taken shelter in the adjoining houses and killing many of them, returned to camp. "The return to camp," wrote Hodson, "was a scene worth witnessing, the soldiers bringing home in triumph the guns they had captured, a soldier with musket and bayonet fixed riding each horse, and brave young Owen astride one gun and dozens clinging to and pushing it, or rather them, along with might and main and cheering like mad things." Our loss was serious. An officer was killed, eight wounded and one hundred and nine men *hors de combat*. Among the wounded officers were Brigadier Showers and Major Coke, "while in the act of capturing a gun with his own hand." "Showers was a great loss to us. Unpopular as the Brigadier of a station owing to the sternness of his character, he had gained the admiration and good will of every one before Delhi by his coolness and gallantry, and by the presence of mind and intelligence which never deserted him under the hottest fire."*

7th August Genl. Nicholson

The same day Brigadier-General Nicholson arrived in camp, having ridden in before his column. Of all the heroes who have made the Indian mutiny an epic none strike the imagination like John Nicholson. He was a knight belonging to the time of King Arthur rather than to the present century. Tall of person and of majestic presence, he well justified the title of "Lion of the Punjab." Strong and brave, he had the high moral grace which makes bravery and strength beautiful. He was but a lad when at Ghazni he heard the order given for British soldiers to surrender their arms. Three times in contempt of it he led his men to the attack, and drove the enemy from the walls at the point of the bayonet; and when at last he was forced to give up his sword, he burst into tears in an agony of shame and grief.† Daring and resolute, when the Punjab became a British province he was called on to curb the wild and lawless tribes of the frontier. He

* The First Bengal Fusiliers.—Blackwood's Magazine, January 1858.

"This was a most brilliant affair, satisfactory in every way; and considering the proximity of the enemy's force to Delhi, and that the action was fought under the guns of a heavy battery of theirs, the result must be considered as most felicitous and happy."—The First Bengal European Fusiliers.—Blackwood's Magazine, January 1858.

† Lives of Indian Officers," by John W. Kaye, Vol. II, page 423.

not only tamed them, but he inspired them with such awe and respect that they regarded him as a divine being and worshipped him.* He was engaged in introducing peace and order in the Peshawar valley when the mutiny occurred, and it was at a council of war held at Peshawar that Nicholson suggested the idea of organising a moveable column to suppress mutiny wherever it might appear in the Punjab. The formation of the column was heartily approved by Sir John Lawrence and carried into execution without delay. Brigadier Neville Chamberlain was appointed to command it. When he relinquished the command on proceeding to Delhi as Adjutant-General, Nicholson was appointed to succeed him with the rank of Brigadier-General. He was at the time only thirty-five years of age and a regimental captain in civil employ, but he quickly justified the confidence which all who knew him placed in him. On the 22nd of June he assumed command; two days later he proceeded to Phillour and disarmed the native troops at that station, thus preserving the only arsenal in India which could supply the army before Delhi. His next exploit was the pursuit and annihilation of the mutineers who had murdered many of the Europeans at Sialkot. On receiving the welcome orders to march for Delhi he pushed forward with all speed, and on reaching Umballa he hurried on in advance of his men to consult with General Wilson. After taking council with the Chief he returned to the column and on the 14th of August he marched into camp at the head of it. It consisted of— Arrival of the moveable column

Captain Bourchier's European Horse Battery.
Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment Light Infantry.
The remaining wing of Her Majesty's 61st Regiment.
The 2nd Regiment Punjab Infantry, and

two hundred Mooltanee horse. The reinforcement met with a joyful welcome. After six weeks incessant fighting the British troops had held their own and now succour had come, and the hearts of all were gladdened at the prospect of assaulting Delhi. But before that could be done with success they must wait for the siege-train which, with a large quantity of ammunition, was slowly wending its way from the Punjab.

The day the column marched into camp it was ascertained that a body of the enemy, principally cavalry, had left Delhi in order to cut off Hodson's march to Rohtuck

* Literally deified, according to Colonel Herbert Edwardes. A brotherhood of Fakirs in Hazara abandoned all other forms of religion and took to the worship of Nykkul Seyne when Nicholson went among them.

our communication with the Punjab, and Hodson was sent out to watch them. He took with him a hundred of the Guides Cavalry, twenty-five Jhind horsemen, and his own newly raised corps of two hundred and thirty-three sabres.* Many of the latter had not yet learnt to handle their arms on horseback and many of the horses were half broken, but they were wild brave men from the border, ready to die for one who knew how to command and lead them. As they marched forth out of camp they presented a warlike appearance, dressed in their dust coloured tunics† with scarlet sash and scarlet turbans. The first day they managed to surprise a number of the enemy's irregular cavalry and slew a large number. The flooded state of the country rendered movement extremely difficult, but Hodson pushed on to Rohtuck, on approaching which he had a skirmish with a body of footmen and a few sowars and defeated them. He then encamped for the night on the outskirts of the town. Next morning he was again attacked by about three hundred irregular horse and nine hundred matchlockmen. The assailants were immediately charged and driven back, but as a fire was kept up from the enclosures near the town, Hodson determined to retire and to draw them out into the open country. "Everything turned out as I expected; my men withdrew slowly and deliberately by alternate troops (the troop nearest the enemy by alternate ranks) along the line of the Bohur road, by which we had reached Rohtuck, our left extending towards the main road to Delhi. The Jhind horsemen protected our right, and a troop of my own regiment the left. The enemy moved out the instant we withdrew, following us in great numbers, yelling and shouting and keeping up a heavy fire of matchlocks.

"Their horsemen were principally on their right, and a party galloping up the main road threatened our left flank. I continued to retire until we got into open and comparatively dry ground, and then turned and charged the mass who had come to within from one hundred and fifty to two hundred yards of us.

"The Guides, who were nearest to them, were upon them in an instant, closely followed by and soon intermixed with my own men.

"The enemy stood for a few seconds, turned, and then were driven back in utter confusion to the very walls of the town, it being with

*"At present it is merely an aggregation of untutored horsemen, ill-equipped, half-clothed, badly provided with everything, quite unfit for service in the usual sense of the term, and only forced into the field because I have willed that it shall be so."—Hodson of Hodson's Horse, page 108.

† Their dress gained them the name of the Flamingos.

some difficulty that the officers could prevent their men entering the town with the fugitives. Fifty of the enemy, all horsemen, were killed on the ground, and many must have been wounded." * Hodson brought his men safe back to camp with only thirteen wounded.

On the 24th of August a large body of the enemy with eighteen guns left Delhi with the avowed intention of intercepting the siege-train. At daybreak on the following morning a column under Brigadier-General Nicholson was despatched to follow them and bring them to action. It consisted of about two thousand infantry and cavalry with sixteen horse artillery guns. The march was wearisome and fatiguing to the men. The rain was falling in torrents and the roads were mere quagmires. It was only by putting their shoulders to the wheels that the artillerymen got the guns through two wide swamps. At noon a halt was sounded, but the General, hearing that the rebels were about twelve miles in front at a place called Najafgarh, determined if possible to overtake and rout them before nightfall. The men were worn by the morning's march but their discipline was good, and eager to meet the foe, they cheerfully responded to their General's call and pushed forward. At sunset they reached a branch of the Najafgarh Canal, which the rains had flooded into the depth and dimensions of a river, and found the enemy posted on the other side to the left of the line of advance. Their position extended from a bridge over the main canal to the town of Najafgarh, a distance of a mile and three quarters or two miles.† "Their strongest point was an old serai on their left centre, in which they had four guns; nine more guns were between this and the bridge." The stream was full and rapid and the ford difficult and deep, and with much difficulty and some delay the passage was effected under a heavy fire from the enemy. The evening was far advanced before all the troops had crossed, and Nicholson had only time to make a very hasty reconnaissance. He quickly determined to attack the serai and force the left centre, and then, changing front to the left, to sweep down their line of guns towards the bridge. One hundred men of each corps were left in reserve, and the 61st Foot, the 1st Fusiliers and the 2nd Regiment Punjab Infantry were formed up with four guns on the right and ten on the left flank, supported by the squadrons of the 9th Lancers and the Guides Cavalry. General Nicholson rode down

24th August 1857

Battle of Najafgarh

* From Lieutenant W. S. R. Hodson, commanding the Irregular Horse, 24th August 1857.

† See page 361 for plan.

the line and speaking to the men in his clear commanding voice warned them to hold their fire till within close quarters, and ordered them to lie down below the low ridge on which the guns were posted, but he himself kept his saddle and remained in the centre until the moment came when he could lead them forward. The English batteries now began to play with astonishing activity and accuracy, and after a few rounds Nicholson gave the word and the men rose alert from the ground and rushed over the hillock. Then amidst a heavy fire of musketry and artillery they worked their way forward through the deep morass. They gained ground only by degrees, and many fell beneath the storm of grape, canister and musketry. But they fired not a shot, they went forward. Nicholson riding in front cheered them on till they came within thirty yards of the enemy's batteries and then he gave the word "charge", and with a volley and a loud English shout they rushed the guns. Close and desperate then was the fight, but the British soldiers won their way and carried the serai at the point of the bayonet. Then changing front they swept down the enemy's line towards the bridge. The rebels finding the whole position of their guns had been turned, made little resistance, and were soon in full retreat across the bridge with our guns playing upon them. Our troops followed hard and thirteen of the rebel guns were captured. The General supposed the conflict was at an end when it was reported to him that a strong village in the rear was still occupied by the enemy. "I immediately sent orders to Lieutenant Lumsden, who was then nearly abreast of the village, to drive them out; but though few in number, they had remained so long that our troops were on all sides of them, and seeing no line of retreat they fought with extreme desperation."* The 1st Punjab Rifles were driven back and their commander killed, and the 61st Foot had to be sent in support before the place was taken. "Indeed, more properly speaking, it was not taken but was evacuated by the enemy during the night."† It was dark before the battle was over and, after fourteen hours marching and fighting, the troops had to bivouac in the field without food or covering of any kind. The bridge was blown up during the night by our sappers, and the enemy having retreated to Delhi, the force returned to camp next morning. Our loss was about one hundred me[n]

* From Brigadier-General J. Nicholson, commanding the 4th Infantry Brigade, dat[ed] Camp before Delhi, the 28th August 1857.

†Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, page 464.

*hors de combat*; three officers were dangerously wounded, two of whom died. "To Brigadier-General Nicholson's judgment, energy and determination," wrote General Wilson, "I attribute mainly the glorious results of the expedition, and next to the steadiness and gallantry in action and the cheerfulness under great privation and fatigue exhibited by the officers and men placed under his command."

3rd Sep. Arrival of Siege-Train

No further attempt was made to molest the siege-train, and on the 3rd of September over thirty pieces of heavy ordnance, with ample supplies of ammunition arrived in camp. The engineers had in the meanwhile been busy making preparations for the commencement of active operations for the capture of the city. The first step taken was to dig a trench to the left of the Sammy House, at the end of which a battery was constructed for four 9-pounders and two 24-pounder howitzers. The object of this battery was to prevent sorties from the Lahore or Kabul Gate passing round the city wall to annoy our breaching batteries, and also to assist in keeping down the fire of the Moree Bastion. It moreover led the enemy to believe that we would attack them from this side. But, contrary to their expectation, it was resolved to push the main attack on the left, because the river would completely protect our flank as we advanced and there was better cover on that side. The front to be attacked consisted of the Moree, Cashmere, and Water Bastions with the curtain walls connecting them. The bastions were the only part on which guns could be mounted as the connecting curtains were merely parapets made strong enough only for a musketry fire, and therefore if we could silence the bastions we could break the wall without difficulty. By the 6th of September all the reinforcements had arrived, and it was determined that the siege should be at once commenced and prosecuted with the utmost vigour. Our available force amounted in round numbers to 6,500 infantry, 1,000 cavalry and 600 artillery, and of these only 3,317 were British troops.* As we had too few artillerymen, volunteers were called upon from the Lancers and 6th Dragoon Guards to work the batteries, and all the gunners of the horse artillery were ordered into the trenches. In the trenches the old Sikh artillerymen who had dealt death into our ranks at Ferozeshah and Sobraon, and whom John Lawrence had persuaded to

Preparations for the assault

* "The European corps were mere skeletons, the strongest only having 409 effective rank and file, while the 52nd Regiment Light Infantry, which three weeks before had arrived with fully 600 rank and file out of hospital, had now only 242."—Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, page 466.

leave their ploughs and come to Delhi, also did good service for us. Some companies of Muzbee Sikhs were partially trained to remedy the scarcity of sappers, and a body of coolies bravely lent their aid to erect the batteries.

7th Sep. Construction of the batteries

On the 7th of September in the dusk of the evening the first battery was silently traced out seven hundred yards from the Moree Bastion. The moon rose on a busy scene; a long string of camels brought the fascines and sandbags, and hundreds of men were busy in raising them up. The work had to be finished by dawn, before the enemy discovered our operations and made their completion impossible. The work went on as quietly as possible, but some sound attracted the attention of the mutineers and a flash from the Moree Bastion lit up the sky and a shower of grape ploughed up the ground amid the workmen and killed several of them. Then swiftly followed another shower and more men fell. If the fire continued the work must be relinquished, for the men were quite exposed. But fortunately the rebels, thinking the sound proceeded only from some working parties cutting brushwood, ceased firing, believing that they had succeeded in scaring them. All through the night every man worked his hardest, but when dawn broke only one gun had been mounted on its platform, and the enemy, seeing what was being done, opened fire. Round after round of shot and grape came crashing against the battery, but our men continued their work and at last it was completed. Then our guns belched forth their fire and the masonry of the fortifications began to fall, and by the afternoon the Moree Bastion had ceased to fire and was a heap of ruins. This battery was afterwards known as Brind's battery, being commanded by Major Brind, who worked it with great effect till the end of the siege.* It consisted of five 18-pounders and one howitzer to the right,

No. 1 Battery or Brind's Battery

* It was said of Major Brind that he "never slept," and the statement was no great exaggeration. I am told that he more than once addressed his men, saying, as he shouldered a musket, "Now you lie and rest. Your commandant will defend the battery." The same informant, himself an officer of the highest gallantry, often mentioned in preceding pages of this narrative, said to me: "We talk about Victoria Crosses—Brind is a man who should be covered with them from head to foot." See also letters of Major Reid, now (1875) Sir Charles Reid, one of the foremost of the Delhi heroes: "Battery No. 1 was commanded by my dear old friend Major Brind, who had been constantly on duty with me on the Ridge, and who had given me most able assistance on the night of the Eed attack. Indeed, on all occasions the exertions of this noble officer were indefatigable. He was always to be found where his presence was most required; and the example he set to his officers and men was beyond all praise. A finer soldier I never met."—Kaye's Sepoy War, Vol. III, page 560.

with four 24-pounders to the left under the command of Major Kaye, which were to play on the Cashmere* Bastion.

On the evening of the 8th September we seized Ludlow Castle within six hundred yards of the city. It had always formed an advanced picquet of the enemy† and it was a matter of surprise that they should have let it be taken without a fight. But there is little doubt the enemy still thought the attack was to be on the right, where all the fighting had hitherto been and where all our old batteries were located. To the left of Ludlow Castle and a little in advance stood an enclosed garden called the Kudsia Bagh, and both places were now occupied by strong detachments and formed our chief support to the left attack. During the night of the 9th and 10th No. 2 Battery was completed and partially armed, but not yet unmasked. It was constructed immediately in front of Ludlow Castle, five hundred yards from the Cashmere Bastion. It was made in two portions,‡ the right half for seven heavy howitzers and two 18-pounders; the left half, about two hundred yards distant, was for nine 24-pounders. The whole of the eighteen guns were destined to silence the fire of the Cashmere Bastion, to knock away the parapet right and left that gave cover to the defenders, and to open the main breach by which the town was to be stormed.§ The right portion was under the command of Major Kaye‖ and the left under Major J. H. Campbell, until he was compelled from a severe grape shot wound to make over the command to Captain E. B. Johnson.

No. 2 Battery

* A miniature embrasure erected in the north-west corner of the courtyard of the new police barracks marks the spot where the right section of the battery under the immediate command of Major Brind was situated. Another miniature embrasure behind the bungalow on the opposite side of the road marks the site of the left section. On the 10th this section caught fire, but Lieutenant Lockhart and six or seven Gurkhas gallantly mounting under a heavy fire the top of the parapet, succeeded by pouring sand on the blazing battery in extinguishing the flames. The section however was destroyed.

† "They were driven out of it on the 23rd of July and 12th of August, when the four guns were taken, but it was no advantage for us to hold it until we were prepared to adopt the offensive in earnest."—The Siege of Delhi, by H. H. Greathed, page 230.

‡ Two miniature embrasures mark the spot. Lord Roberts served in this battery during the bombardment.

§ "A Year's Campaigning in India," by Captain J. G. Medley, Bengal Engineers, page 80.

‖ He was transferred from the left section of Battery No. I after it had been destroyed.

No. 4 Battery

On the night of the 10th September No. 4 Battery was also made in the Kudsia Bagh. It consisted of ten heavy mortars, and was under the command of Major Tombs.*

No. 3 Battery

The first site chosen for the left breaching battery was discovered to be bad, and on the night of the 10th of September Captain Taylor in searching for a better place found a large building, an old custom house, about a hundred and sixty yards from the Water Bastion, which the enemy with the most unaccountable negligence had neither destroyed nor occupied. It was seized and a battery that night commenced behind it. The rebels, discovering that our men were working in that direction, poured in an incessant shower of shot and shell. Thirty-nine men were killed and wounded that night. But with rare courage did the workmen continue their task. "They were merely the unarmed native pioneers and not meant to be fighting men. With the passive courage so common to natives, as man after man was knocked over they would stop a moment, weep a little over their fallen friend, pop his body in a row along *with* the rest and then work on as before." At dawn the working party was withdrawn or every man would have been destroyed. On the 11th the heavy guns were drawn into position under a sharp and constant fire of musketry which severely galled the men. When finished the battery mounted six 18-pounders. It was commanded by Major Scott.†

The breaching battery opens fire, 11th Sep.

At 8 o'clock on the morning of the 11th September, the great breaching battery opened fire, and as the shot told and the stones began to fly a loud cheer burst forth from the artillerymen. The Cashmere Bastion attempted to reply but was quickly silenced, and the bastion and curtain came rushing down on all sides. On the 12th of

* When at Delhi, Major Cunliffe of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry and myself tried one morning to discover the spot where this battery was situated, but we were unable to find it. In the evening Lord Roberts kindly drove Major Cunliffe to the Kudsia Bagh, and spent an hour in searching for the spot, but the actual position of the battery has escaped his most accurate memory.

†"The establishment of Major Scott's battery within one hundred and eighty yards of the wall, to arm which heavy guns had to be dragged from the rear under a constant fire of musketry, was an operation that could rarely have been equalled in war."—Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, page 481.

A miniature embrasure in the Kudsia Bagh marks the spot where this battery was situated.

September, No. 3 Battery was unmasked, and fifty guns and mortars from the four batteries poured their storm of shot and shell upon the city. Night and day was the overwhelming fire continued. But the garrison did not allow the bombardment to proceed without interruption. Unable to work a gun from any of the bastions, they brought them into the open and enfiladed our batteries. They got a gun to bear upon our front from a hole in the curtain wall. They sent rockets from one of their Martello towers, and they maintained a perfect storm of musketry from their advanced trench and from the city walls. No part of the batteries was left unsearched by their fire. Though three months' incessant work in them had made our men skilful in using the cover they had, many were laid low by the deadly fire of muskets and enfilading artillery. Our loss during the six days the trenches were open was three hundred and twenty-seven.

Engineer officers examine the breaches

On the night of the 13th September four engineer officers were sent down to examine each of the two breaches near the Cashmere and Water Bastions. Medley and Lang stole through the enemy's skirmishers, reached the edge of the ditch undiscovered, descended it and soon would have been at the top of the breach when they heard footsteps coming towards it. They climbed back to their own side and, throwing themselves down on the grass, waited in silence. "A number of figures immediately appeared on the top of the breach, their forms clearly discernible against the bright sky and not twenty yards distant. We however were in the deep shade and they could not apparently see us. They conversed in a low tone, and presently we heard the ring of their steel ramrods as they loaded. We waited quietly hoping they would go away when another attempt might be made. Meanwhile we could see that the breach was a good one, the slope easy of ascent, and that there were no guns on the flank. We knew by experience too that the ditch was easy of descent. It was however desirable if possible to get to the top, but the sentries would not move." After waiting a few minutes Medley gave the signal, and the party started to their feet and quickly retreated towards the camp. "Directly we were discovered a volley was sent after us; the balls came whizzing about our ears, but no one was touched."* Medley reported the breach to be practicable, and a similar report having been received from Home and Greathed, orders were at once issued for the assault to take place the coming morning.

* "A Year's Campaigning in India," by Captain J. G. Medley, page 99.

The assaulting columns

The infantry of the storming force was organised in five columns. The first under Brigadier-General Nicholson consisted of—

| | Men. |
|---|---|
| Her Majesty's 75th Regiment ... ... | 300 |
| The 1st Bengal European Fusiliers ... ... | 250 |
| The 2nd Punjab Infantry .. ... ... | 450 |

It was to storm the breach near the Cashmere Bastion and escalade the face of the bastion. The engineers attached to this column were Medley, Lang and Bingham.

The second column under Brigadier Jones of Her Majesty's 61st Regiment consisted of—

| | Men. |
|---|---|
| Her Majesty's 8th Regiment ... ... | 250 |
| The 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers ... ... | 250 |
| The 4th Regiment of Sikh Infantry ... ... | 350 |

It was to storm the breach in the Water Bastion. The engineers with this column were Greathed, Hovenden, and Pemberton.

The third column under Colonel Campbell of Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment of Light Infantry consisted of—*

| | Men. |
|---|---|
| The 52nd Regiment Light Infantry ... ... | 200 |
| The Kumaon Battalion of Gurkhas ... ... | 250 |
| The 1st Regiment Punjab Infantry ... | 500 |

It was to assault by the Cashmere Gate after it had been blown up. The engineers were Home, Salkeld, and Tandy.

The fourth column under Major C. Reid, commanding the Sirmur Battalion, consisted of the Sirmur Battalion of Gurkhas and Guides and such of the picquets (European and native) as could be spared from Hindu Rao's house, altogether 860 men, and 1,200 men of the Cashmere Contingent. It was to attack the suburbs of Kissengunge and Paharipore, and support "the main attack by effecting an entrance at the Cabul Gate after it should be taken." The engineers attached to this column were Maunsell and Tennant.

* "The Colonel commanded ours, consisting of the 52nd, Kumaon Battalion of Gurkhas, and Coke's regiment of Punjab Irregulars. We could only muster 260 of all ranks, the Gurkhas 200, and Coke's regiment 500 men."—Historical Record of the 52nd Regiment (Oxfordshire Light Infantry) 1755-1858," by W. S. Moorsoom.

The fifth or reserve column under Brigadier Longfield, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, consisted of—

| | Men. |
|---|---|
| Her Majesty's 61st Regiment ... ... | 250 |
| The 4th Punjab Infantry ... ... ... | 450 |
| The Beluch Battalion ... ... ... | 300 |
| The Jhind Contingent ... ... ... | 300 |

and 200 of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles who joined after the assault had been made. It was to await the result of the attack and, on the columns entering the city, to take possession of the posts which the General had previously assigned to it. The engineers were Ward and Thackeray.

Long before dawn broke the assaulting columns had taken their appointed places. The first column was marched silently down to the Kudsia Bagh; the second a little to the right; and the third waited on the high-road which leads to the Cashmere Gate. There were some six thousand five hundred men who were going to take that strong city defended by thirty thousand desperate and disciplined rebels. Twelve hundred of that force were British soldiers. A handful of men, but terrible in their strength, their discipline and the passions awakened in their hearts. Toil and hardship and the memory of their slaughtered women and children had made them savage and determined to wreak vengeance on the guilty city.* An incessant play of artillery was kept up on the walls in order to drive the enemy from the breaches and protect the columns as they formed. It was intended that the assault should be delivered at the break of day; but many of the men belonging to the different regiments of the storming force had been on picquet duty all night, and it took some time for them to join their respective corps. The sun had risen high over the horizon† when the loud roar of the guns suddenly ceased, and each soldier during the brief moment of silence braced himself for the coming conflict. Then Nicholson gave the signal. The Rifles with a loud cheer dashed to the front in skirmishing order and at the same moment the heads of the first two columns appeared from the Kudsia Bagh and moved silently and steadily against the breach.

*The news of the foul massacre at Cawnpore had reached the soldiers.

†" Some unavoidable delay took place which detained the advance, and it was already daydawn when the columns got fairly in motion.—" A Year's Campaigning in India," by Captain J. G. Medley, page 101.

" It was broad daylight when we assaulted."—Historical Record of the 52nd Regiment (Oxfordshire Light Infantry) 1755-1858, by W. S. Moorsoom.

The first column

No sooner were the front ranks of the first column seen by the rebels than a storm of bullets met them from every side and officers and men fell fast on the crest of the glacis. Then for many minutes amidst a blaze of musketry the soldiers stood at the edge of the ditch, for it was found impossible to lower the ladders. Dark figures crowding in the breach hurled stones at their heads and dared them to come on. Then the ladders were thrown into the ditch and the men leaped into it and raised them against the escarp. The heroic Nicholson at the head of his part of the column was the first to ascend and reach the breach and the soldiers pressed after him. The other section diverged a little to the right to escalade the adjoining bastion. Lieutenant FitzGerald of the 75th was the first to mount and fell mortally wounded. But many took his place. The breaches were filled with the dead and dying and for a few seconds along the battlements the conflict raged fiercely, but the rebels were hurled back and the ramparts which had so long defied us were our own.

The second column

The second column had also carried the breach at the Water Bastion. Led by Greathed and Hovenden of the Engineers, who marched ahead with the ladder party, they emerged from the cover of No. 3 Battery. No sooner were they seen then they were met by so terrible a discharge of musketry that both the engineer officers fell severely wounded, and of the thirty-nine ladder men twenty-nine were wounded in a few minutes. Their comrades swiftly seized the ladders and, after one or two vain attempts, reared them against the escarp. Then amidst showers of stones and bullets the soldiers ascended, rushed the breach and, slaying all before them, drove the rebels from the walls.

The third column Explosion of the Cashmere Gate

The third column had in the meantime advanced towards the Cashmere Gate, and halted while the party who were to blow in the gates went forward. "Covered by the fire of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles this party advanced at the double towards the Cashmere Gate: Lieutenant Home with Sergeants John Smith and Carmichael and Havildar Madhoo, all of the Sappers, leading and carrying the powder bags, followed by Lieutenant Salkeld, Corporal Burgess, and a section of the remainder of the party. The advanced party reached the gateway unhurt, and found that part of the drawbridge had been destroyed, but passing across the precarious footing supplied by the remaining beams they proceeded to lodge their powder against the gate. The wicket was open and through it the enemy kept up a heavy fire upon them. Sergeant Carmichael was killed while laying his powder, Havildar Madhoo being at the same time wounded. The powder being laid,

the advanced party slipped down into the ditch to allow the firing party under Lieutenant Salkeld to perform its duty. While endeavouring to fire the charge, Lieutenant Salkeld was shot through the leg and arm, and handed over the slow match to Corporal Burgess, who fell mortally wounded just as he had successfully performed his duty. Havildar Tiluk Sing, of the Sappers and Miners, was wounded and Ram Nath, sepoy of the same corps, was killed during this part of the operation."

"The demolition having been successful, Lieutenant Home happily unwounded, caused the bugler to sound the regimental call of the 52nd Regiment as the signal for the advance of the column. Fearing that amid the noise of the assault the sound might not be heard, he had the call repeated three times, when the troops advanced and carried the gateway with entire success."* Salkeld mortally wounded, handing over the portfire and bidding his comrade light the train, is one of those incidents which will remain till the end of time conspicuous on the page of history.

The fourth column under Major Reid advanced from the Sabzi Mandi towards Kissengunge, the Cashmere Contingent co-operating in two divisions; the main body under Major R. C. Lawrence acting as a reserve, and a detachment under Captain Dwyer attacking the Eedgah upon the right. The latter was so sharply attacked by the insurgents who were in great force that, after losing a great number of men and four guns, it was completely routed. Major Reid finding the Jummoo Contingent engaged moved down the road towards Kissengunge to their support. "The enemy opened fire from the bridge over the canal and from behind walls and the loopholed serai of Kissengunge. Major Reid fell wounded in the head. The fall of their gallant leader checked the advance of the Gurkhas. The Fusiliers came to the front at the double, led by Captain Wriford.

The fourth column

* From Lieutenant-Colonel R. Baird Smith, Chief Engineer, Delhi Field Force, 17th September 1857, pages 394 and 395.

"The storming party and supports were almost mixed. There was such a row we could not distinguish the bugle, nor did we hear the explosion. We then saw the Colonel, Synge, who was acting Brigade-Major, and the head of the reserve, coming round the corner, so, seeing something was wrong, Crosse ran on, meeting as he started Bayley shot through the left arm, and after a little check at the mantlet—a door-like affair in the causeway, (which by the way, at the bridge, was only two or three beams,) Crosse got in first through the gate, closely followed by Corporal Taylor, who behaved very well in this affair. The samll spare door that all these large gates have was the portion blown in, but the large gates were also partly displaced. * * * * The Colonel and Synge were the first six inside."—Historical Record of the 52nd Regiment (Oxfordshire Light Infantry), 1755-1858, by W. S. Moorsoom.

"The rush of the Rifles and the Fusiliers placed them for the moment in possession of the breastwork at the end of the serai; but those men, unsupported, were unable to maintain the position under the heavy flanking fire to which they were exposed."

"The native troops lined a garden to the right of the road, and Lieutenant R. H. Shebbeare, whose gallantry in this trying affair was the admiration of every one, with a few of the Guides and some Europeans, took possession of a mosque. Every effort was made here to re-form the troops and charge the enemy's position, but without success, though many officers sacrificed themselves in the attempt."*

Captain Muter, 60th Rifles, who succeeded to the command of the advance after Major Reid's fall, the next senior officer to Major Reid, Major Lawrence, being in command of the reserve and therefore some way in the rear, fearing that the enemy's great strength might encourage him to attack our batteries on the hill, judiciously withdrew the advanced troops to the Sabzi Mandi. When Major Lawrence became aware of Major Reid's fall he assumed command of the whole column, made all subsequent dispositions, and maintained the defence of the ground in the neighbourhood of the canal.†

The enemy, elated with their success, attacked them vigorously in great numbers from the Lahore Gate. There was grave danger of their breaking into our unguarded camp or turning the flank of our storming parties. The guns from Hindu Rao's house however checked their advance by pouring shrapnel amongst them, and at the critical moment Brigadier Hope Grant brought up the cavalry brigade which had been covering the assaulting columns. "In an instant," wrote a gallant officer of Hodson's Horse, "horse artillery and cavalry were ordered to the front and we went there at the gallop, bang through our own batteries, the gunners cheering us as we leapt over the sandbags, &c., and halted under the Moree Bastion under as heavy a fire of round shot, grape and canister, as I have ever been under in my life."‡ The artillery dashed to the front, unlimbered, and opened upon the enemy. From the gardens and houses of Kissengunge, only two or three hundred yards off, the enemy poured upon them a deadly fire of musketry, and showers of grape came from the Lahore Bastion. Owing

* From Captain D. D. Muter, Her Majesty's 1st Battalion 60th Royal Rifles, Indian Mutiny, page 413.

† Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, page 478.

‡ Letter from Lieutenant MacDowell, second in command of Hodson's Horse.—Hodson of Hodson's Horse, page 216.

to the nature of the ground our troopers could not charge and "had we retired, they would at once have taken our guns. Had the guns retired with us we should have lost the position." For two hours the troopers drawn up in battle array sat still while their ranks were every minute cruelly rent by musket ball and grape. "Not a man flinched from his post, though under this galling fire for two hours." The Brigadier and four officers composing his staff had their horses killed under them; two of them were wounded. The Brigadier himself was hit by a spent shot. Of Tombs' troop alone, twenty-five men out of fifty, and seventeen horses, were hit. The 9th Lancers had 38 men wounded, 61 horses killed, wounded and missing, and the officers lost ten horses. "Nothing daunted," wrote the Brigadier, "by their casualties, these gallant soldiers held their trying position with a patient endurance; and on my praising them for their good behaviour they declared their readiness to stand the fire as long as I chose."* He added—"The behaviour of the native cavalry was also admirable. Nothing could be steadier, nothing could be more soldierlike than their bearing." At last a party consisting of an officer and eighty of the infantry of the Guides came down to the support of the cavalry, and, though so small a number, went gallantly into the gardens and took up a position in a house close to the battery. "The officer in command, a most gallant young fellow—Lieutenant Bond—was wounded in the head, and had to be taken away; but the Guides held out most bravely, till they got surrounded in the house and were in great danger. A detachment of the Beluch Battalion under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar, however, came to their assistance and brought them away in safety. The fire now slackened, and we were enabled to retire a short distance where we had little to fear."†

* Incidents in the Sepoy War, by General Sir Hope Grant, page 126.

† Brigadier J. Hope Grant, C.B., Commanding the Cavalry Brigade, Delhi Field Force, 17th September 1857.—Indian Mutiny, Vol. I, page 397.

"The Guides Cavalry, commanded by Captain Sanford,—a most excellent and useful officer on outpost duty—lost one native officer killed and one non-commissioned officer and fourteen privates wounded. Lieutenant Hodson commanded a corps raised by himself, and he is a first rate officer, brave, determined, and clear-headed."

One of the officers present wrote—"I found time, however, for the admiration of Hodson, who sat like a man carved in stone, and as calm and apparently as unconcerned as

The first column

Meanwhile the first column had swept along the circuit of the walls, taking the Moree Bastion and the Cabul Gate. On reaching the head of the street at the Cabul Gate the enemy again made a resolute stand, but were speedily driven forward. A portion of the first column was halted here and proceeded to occupy the houses round the Cabul Gate, while the remainder continued the pursuit. At the end of the ramp, which led up to the Cabul Gate, the road becomes a narrow lane bounded on the right by the wall of the city, and on the left by houses with flat roofs and parapets which afforded convenient shelter for sharp-shooters. Sixty yards from the ramp the wall and lane suddenly bend, and on the city side there is a strong lofty house with a blank wall, broken by only two windows. At the bend the road was blocked by a brass field gun,* and a hundred yards further on there was another gun which commanded it. Behind both were bullet-proof screens, and projecting from the wall was the Burn Bastion, armed with heavy field pieces and capable of containing a thousand men. As the troops advanced up Rampart Road, the enemy opened a heavy and destructive fire from the guns on the road and a field piece planted on the wall. The English soldiers, raising a shout, rushed and took the first gun on the road, but were brought to a check within ten yards of the second by the grape and musketry with which the enemy plied them, and by the stones and iron shot which they rolled on them. Seeking all the scanty shelter they could find, the men retired leaving behind the gun they had captured. After a short pause they were re-formed and the order was given to advance. Once again the Fusiliers, scathed with fire from both sides, rushed forward and seized and secured the gun. They

---

the sentries at the Horse Guards, and only by his eyes and his ready hand, whenever occasion offered, could you have told that he was in deadly peril and the balls flying amongst us as thick as hail."—Hodson of Hodson's Horse, page 216.

* The above account of Rampart Road was written after visiting the lane in the company of Lord Roberts, who discussed with me what took place. The writer of the article, "The 1st Bengal European Fusiliers in the Delhi Campaign," which was published in Blackwood's Magazine, January 1858, and from which the historians of the Mutiny have taken their account, states that "about 160 yards up this formidable position was a brass field gun." But we know that Nicholson was killed just after the first gun had been captured for the second time, and a tablet marks the spot where he fell, which is a few yards from where the road bends. The gun was, therefore, in all probability, posted at the bend, which is sixty yards from the ramp.

plunged forward, and had gone but a few yards, when their gallant leader Major Jacob fell mortally wounded. As he lay writhing in agony on the ground two or three of his men wished to carry him to the rear, but he refused their aid and urged them to press forward against the foe. The officers bounding far ahead of their men were swiftly struck down, and the soldiers seeing their leaders fall began to waver. At this moment the heroic Nicholson arrived, and springing forward called with a stentorian voice upon the soldiers to follow him, and instantly he was shot through the chest. Near the spot grows a tall graceful tree and Nicholson ordered himself to be laid beneath its shade, and said he would wait there till Delhi was taken. But for once he was disobeyed and removed to his tent on the ridge.* Captain Brookes, 75th Regiment, finding the men falling thickly, drew them off and retired to the Cabul Gate. Here he was joined by the second column under Brigadier Jones, who having taken possession of the walls, also found it necessary to hold fast by the Cabul Gate.

Brigadier Nicholson wounded

The third column, after storming the Cashmere Gate, speedily re-formed at the main-guard. A party was detached from it to clear the Water Bastion, which was done at the point of the bayonet, "the enemy who escaped the bayonet jumping over the parapets on to the river side where they were destroyed." The remainder, fighting every step, reached the Jumma Musjid, but they were unable to force it open without powder bags or artillery, and fell back to the neighbourhood of the church and joined the reserve.

The third column

The reserve had followed the third column and proceeded to occupy the Cashmere Gate, the Water Bastion, Skinner's house, and other buildings in the same quarter. When the day closed the walls of Delhi were in our possession, but we had gained but little more. The great city with the strong palace, the Fort of Selimgurh, and the defensible magazine, had still to be taken, while the camp and all it contained was weakly guarded. The little ground we had gained had been won at a severe loss. Three out of the four officers who commanded the assaulting columns had been disabled. The 1st Bengal Fusiliers alone had lost nine officers, and of seventeen serving with the Engineers one had been

The reserve

* Lord Roberts informs me that, at the Cashmere Gate, he found a dooly deserted by its bearers. On opening the curtains, he discovered Nicholson, who said that he was in great agony, and asked him to have him removed to the hospital. Lord Roberts collected some men together and had him carried into camp.

X Told. be in more detail. See p. 402

killed and eight wounded severely.* How deadly the strife was may be gathered from this—eleven hundred and four men and sixty-six officers, or about two men in nine, were killed or wounded.

Capture of the town

The task of carrying the rest of the town was carried out day by day with skill and caution. From the time of entering the city an uninterrupted and vigorous fire from our guns and mortars was kept up on the Palace, Jumma Musjid, and other important posts in the possession of the rebels, and, as we took up our positions, our light guns and mortars were brought forward and used with effect on the streets and houses in their neighbourhood. At dawn on the 16th the magazine was stormed and taken with slight loss to us. The same day the enemy left Kissengunge. "During the 17th and 18th," General Wilson wrote, "we continued to take up advanced posts in the face of considerable opposition on the part of the rebels and not without loss to ourselves, three officers being killed and a number of men killed and wounded. On the evening of the 19th the Burn Bastion was surprised and captured by a party from the Cabul Gate, and early next morning the Lahore Gate and Garstin Bastion were likewise taken and held." The same afternoon, the gates having been blown in, the palace of the Moghuls which had witnessed the cruel murder of Englishmen, women and children, was occupied by our troops. Next day the King who had

| Number.* | | Corps or Department. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2nd-Lieutenant F. L. Tandy ... | Bengal Engineers. | Killed. |
| 2 | Lieutenant W. W. H. Greathed ... | | Wounded very severely. |
| 3 | Lieutenant F. R. Maunsell ... | | Wounded severely. |
| 4 | Lieutenant J. G. Medley ... | | Wounded severely. |
| 5 | Lieutenant P. Salkeld ... | | Wounded dangerously. |
| 6 | Lieutenant G. T. Chesney ... | | Wounded very severely. |
| 7 | Lieutenant H. A. Brownlow ... | | Wounded dangerously. |
| 8 | Lieutenant J. St. J. Hovenden ... | | Wounded severely. |
| 9 | 2nd-Lieutenant R. C. B. Pemberton .. | | Wounded slightly. |

"To Captain Chesney (very severely wounded), Brigade-Major of Engineers, I have also hearty acknowledgments to make for the uniform efficiency, zeal, and intelligence with which he has conducted the duty of his office."—Lieutenant-Colonel R. Baird Smith, Indian Mutiny, Vol. I, page 393.

allowed that foul massacre to take place within the palace was taken prisoner, and the bodies of his sons lay on the spot where four months before had lain those of their unfortunate victims.*

The news of the capture of the Moghul Palace and the complete acquisition of the city consoled the death-bed of Nicholson. When they brought him into camp the blood was flowing from his side and he was almost fainting from agony. The surgeon dressed his wound, but there was little hope. The pain he suffered was most excruciating. "Throughout these nine days of suffering," wrote Neville Chamberlain, "he bore himself nobly; not a lament or a sigh ever passed his lips, and he conversed as calmly and clearly as if he were talking of some other person's condition and not his own." His first care was for his country, and from his bed he aided the last military operations with his counsels. Day by day he grew weaker but his intellect remained unclouded, and when life was fast ebbing away the stern warrior sent a message of tender humility to his oldest and dearest friend† and one to his mother counselling her to be patient for his loss.‡ The next morning the noble and fearless spirit of John Nicholson was at rest. "He looked so peaceful" wrote the comrade who had watched by his death-bed. "The Sirdars of the Mooltanee Horse, and some other natives, were admitted to see him after death, and their honest praise could hardly find utterance for the tears they shed as they looked on their late master."

*"The King, the Begum Zeenut Mehal, are close prisoners, and to-day the Princes Mirza Moghal, Abulbakr, and Khair Sultan were brought in by Hodson from Humayun's tomb and shot at the Delhi Gate. Their bodies are now lying at the Kotwali, where so many of our poor countrymen were murdered and exposed."—Demi-official from W. Muir, Esq., Indian Mutiny, Vol. I, page 369.

"The oral evidence goes far to show, that while the troops at Delhi were prepared for the outbreak, and the palace retainers were in some measure ready for mischief, yet the King himself and his councillors had not contemplated taking the lead in so serious a movement. Consequently, when the mutineers first arrived the King's conduct was most vacillating. He asked them why they had come to him, for he had no means of maintaining them. They replied that unless he joined them, they could not make head against the English. He immediately yielded, however: and by his subsequent behaviour he identified himself with the cause of his rebels, and made their acts his own. As regards the massacre of forty-nine Christians within the palace walls, it is probable that the King himself was not a prime mover in that dreadful deed, and that if left to his own devices, he would not have had the prisoners murdered. There is little doubt that he could have saved them had he been so minded. It is quite certain that he made no effort to do so, and from his own subsequent letters, it is clear that he was a consenting party to the murder."—Letter from Lord Lawrence.

† Before quitting him, I wrote down at his dictation the following message for you: "Tell him I should have been a better man if I had continued to live with him, and our heavy public duties had not prevented my seeing more of him privately. I was always the better for a residence with him and his wife, however short—give my love to them both."—Brigadier-General Neville Chamberlain to Sir Herbert Edwardes.

‡ "Tell my mother that I do not think we shall be unhappy in the next world. God has visited her with a great affliction, but tell her she must not give way to grief."—Lives of Indian Officers, by Sir John William Kaye, Vol. II, page 181.

He was buried in the old cemetery near the Cashmere Gate, not far from the breach through which he had led his soldiers. The body was brought from his tent on a gun-carriage. "But no roar of cannon announced the departure of the procession from camp; no volleys of musketry disturbed the silence which prevailed at his grave; no martial music was heard. Thus without pomp or show we buried him." A plain substantial tomb marks his place of rest, and the inscription is answerable to the monument. It informs us that "he led the assault on Delhi, but fell in the hour of victory mortally wounded, and died 23rd September 1857, aged 35 years."

Remarks on the siege

So ended this great siege, one of the most memorable in the annals of England. It had lasted for more than twelve weeks, and during that time the small force of besiegers fought more than thirty well contested combats against a vast and disciplined host. Neither heat nor rain nor pestilence destroyed their courage or crushed their spirits. In the men's tents they made merry and, like the Greeks before Troy, they had their sports. Stricken to death, the soldier told his officer he would soon be up again and be ready for a brush with the mutineers. These warriors worn with disease, worn with constant duty under a burning sun, reduced in numbers, stormed in the face of day a strong fortress defended by 30,000 desperate men provided with everything necessary to defy assault. The list of killed and wounded bears testimony to the intrepidity displayed by all arms of the service. The effective force at Delhi never amounted to 10,000 men, and 992 were killed and 2,845 wounded.* Many more died from disease and exposure. This loss recalls to memory some of the bloodiest passages in our military history. But the annals of the Peninsular and Crimean wars can hardly afford a parallel to the slaughter at

* The casualties at Delhi were greater than those sustained by the troops engaged in the following operations—

1. Havelock's campaign from date of leaving Allahabad to the first relief of Lucknow inclusive.
2. Outram's subsequent defence of Lucknow until relieved by Sir Colin Campbell.
3. Sir Colin Campbell's relief of Lucknow.
4. Outram's defence of Alumbagh.
5. Windham's defence of Cawnpore.
6. The whole of Sir H. Rose's campaign from first to last, including the casualties in Brigadier Smith's Brigade which joined him at the re-occupation of Gwalior.
7. The siege and capture of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell.
8. Whitlock's campaign from first to last.

The whole of the above do not come within 200 of those sustained by the Delhi Field Force, namely 3,837, exclusive of those of the Jhind and Cashmere Contingents—

| | |
|---|---|
| Strength of Delhi Force ... ... ... ... | 9,366 |
| Casualties ... ... ... ... | 3,837 |
| Strength in Crimea ... ... ... ... | 55,530 |
| Reinforced to ... ... ... ... | 97,174 |
| Casualties ... ... ... ... | 13,959 |

Delhi. In the long siege of Sebastopol the effective strength amounted to 97,134, and the casualties to 13,959.* The losses of the infantry regiments at the siege of Delhi best illustrate the arduous nature of the

*My best thanks are due to His Excellency Lord Roberts of Candahar and Waterford for the following table showing the casualties in the different arms of the service in the Crimea and Delhi—

ENGINEERS.

| Crimea. | | Delhi. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Strength ... | 95 officers | Effective on 11th September | ... 722 |
| | 1,644 men | Sick | ... 214 |
| Total ... | 1,739 of whom | Total | ... 936 of whom |
| 9 officers ... | 32 men were killed | 4 officers | ... 40 men were killed |
| 13 ,, ... | 86 ,, wounded | 18 ,, | ... 67 ,, wounded |
| 22 ,, ... | 118 | 22 | 107 |
| 118 | | 107 | |
| 140 total, or 8·00 per cent. | | 129 total, or 13·7 per cent. | |

ARTILLERY.

| Crimea. | | Delhi. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Strength ... | 388 officers | Effective on 11th September | ... 1,350 |
| | 10,723 men | Sick | ... 257 |
| Total | ... 11,111 of whom | Total | ... 1,607 of whom |
| 11 officers ... | 121 men were killed | 6 officers | ... 70 men were killed |
| 30 ,, ... | 632 ,, wounded | 21 ,, | ... 267 ,, wounded |
| 41 ,, | 753 | 27 | 337 |
| 753 | | 337 | |
| 794 total, or 7·15 per cent. | | 364 total, or 22·6 per cent. | |

CAVALRY.

| Crimea. | | Delhi. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Strength ... | 8,720 officers and men, of whom | Effective on 11th September | ... 1,422 |
| | | Sick | ... 618 |
| | | Total | ... 2,040 of whom |
| 9 officers ... | 114 men were killed | 2 officers | ... 45 men were killed |
| 26 ,, ... | 237 ,, wounded | 6 ,, | ... 98 ,, wounded |
| 35 ,, ... | 351 | 8 | 143 |
| 351 | | 143 | |
| 386 total, or 4·42 per cent. | | 151 total, or 7·3 per cent. | |

INFANTRY.

| Crimea. | | Delhi. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Strength ... | 76,294 officers and men, of whom | Effective on 11th September | ... 6,372 |
| | | Sick | ... 1,985 |
| | | Total | ... 8,357 of whom |
| 125 officers ... | 2,831 men were killed | 33 officers | ... 828 men were killed |
| 435 ,, | ... 10,306 ,, wounded | 83 ,, | ... 2,224 ,, wounded |
| 560 ,, | ... 12,737 | 116 | 3,052 |
| 12,737 | | 3,052 | |
| 13,297 total, or 17·43 per cent. | | 3,168 total, or 37·9 per cent. | |

The effective strength of troops at Delhi on the 11th September was 7,794.
Killed and wounded between the 8th and 20th September 1,674, or 21·5 per cent.

service. The Rifles began with 440 of all ranks; a few days before the storm they received a reinforcement of two hundred men: their total casualties were 389. The Sirmur Battalion of Gurkhas began 450 strong, and was joined by a draft of 90 men. Its total casualties amounted to 319. The Guides commenced with about 550 (cavalry and infantry) and the casualties were 303. Of the Artillery, who had done splendid service in the heavy batteries and in numerous engagements, 365 were killed or disabled.* Of the Engineer officers two-thirds and of the Engineer department 293, were killed or wounded. The returns bear testimony to the severe loss suffered by each regiment, and the reports which are now collected together record in simple and manful terms a tale of which Englishmen can never grow weary as long as they reverence deeds of valour. They set forth the indomitable courage and perseverance, the heroic self-devotion and fortitude, the steady discipline and stern resolve of English soldiers.†

"In the name of outraged humanity," wrote Lord Canning, "*in* memory of innocent blood ruthlessly shed, and in acknowledgment of the first signal vengeance inflicted upon the foulest treason, the Governor-General in Council records his gratitude to Major-General Wilson and the brave army of Delhi. He does so in the sure conviction that a like tribute awaits them, not in England only, but wherever, within the limits of civilisation, the news of their well-earned triumph shall reach."

* "There can be no brighter passage in the history of the Bengal Artillery than that which will tell of their exertions before Delhi, whether in the heavy batteries or in the various engagements in which field artillery alone took part."—Lieutenant Norman's Narrative, page 482.

† General Order by the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Fort William, 6th November 1857.

# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# STATE PAPERS

## INDIAN MUTINY

## 1857-1858

# THE INDIAN MUTINY

## CHAPTER I

### BARRACKPORE AND BERHAMPORE

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Major* W. A. J. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 24, dated Head-Quarters, Presidency Division, Barrackpore, 24th January 1857.*

I have the honor to forward herewith, for immediate submission to the Government of India through its Military Secretary, the accompanying letter in original from the Officer Commanding at Dum-Dum, dated the 23rd instant, together with two others as marginally noted reporting that an unpleasant feeling exists amongst the native portion of the men attached to the depot for instruction in rifle practice, caused by the belief that the grease used in the preparation of the ball cartridges received from the Arsenal in Fort William consists of a mixture of the fat of cows and pigs.

1. Letter, dated 23rd January, 1857, from the Officer Commanding Depot of Musketry, to the Station Staff Officer at Dum-Dum.

2. Letter, dated 22nd January, 1857, from the Officer Commanding Rifle Instruction Depot, to the Adjutant of that Depot.

2. This foolish report must have been invented and circulated by some evil disposed persons, possibly the *khalasi* or other workmen employed in that arsenal, and, though no doubt totally groundless, still it will be now most difficult to eradicate this impression from the minds of the native soldiers, who are always suspiciously disposed when any change of this sort affecting themselves is introduced.

3. I would accordingly beg leave to recommend, for the consideration and orders of Government, that the Officer Commanding the Rifle

Depot may be authorised to adopt the necessary measures in view t obtaining from the bazar whatever ingredients may be required for th preparation of the bullet patch, which the sepoys themselves may b allowed to make up.

4. This appears to me to be the only remedy, though it will doubt less be attended with much additional trouble and inconvenience.

---

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* C. S. Reid, *Commanding at Dum-Dum, to Major* A. B Ross, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Presidency Division,—No. 12, date Dum-Dum, 23rd January 1857.*

I have the honor to forward, for submission to the Major-Genera Commanding the Presidency Division, a letter, in original, with annexur from Major J. Bontein, Commanding the Depot of Musketry at thi station, and to request the favor of his orders on the subject therei contained as early as convenient.

---

*From Brevet-Major* J. Bontein, *Commanding Depot of Musketry, to the Stati Staff Officer at Dum-Dum,—dated Dum-Dum, 23rd January 1857.*

I have received the accompanying report from Brevet-Capta J. A. Wright, one of the officers attached to the depot of musket under my command.

2. A rumour of this nature had attracted my attention for so days previously, but I was willing to believe it a mere idle prejud which would not assume any form of consequence. Brevet-Capta Wright's statement, however, and my subsequent enquiry, has convin me that the case is of sufficient importance to require a reference higher authority.

3. I last evening paraded all the native portion of the depot, a called for any complaints that the men might wish to prefer. At le two-thirds of the detachment immediately stepped to the front, inclu ing all the native commissioned officers. In a manner perfec respectful they very distinctly stated their objection to the pres method of preparing cartridges for the new rifled musket. The mixt employed for greasing cartridges was opposed to their religious feeli and as a remedy they begged to suggest the employment of wax a oil in such proportions as, in their opinion, would answer the purp required.

4. I have felt it my duty to bring this circumstance to the kn ledge of the officer commanding the station, and I would further requ

that my report may be forwarded through the appointed channel for the consideration of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

---

*From Lieutenant and Brevet-Captain* J. A. Wright, *Commanding the Rifle Instruction Depot, to the Adjutant of the Rifle Instruction Depot,—dated Dum-Dum, 22nd January 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of Major Bontein, Commanding the Depot, that there appears to be a very unpleasant feeling existing among the native soldiers who are here for instruction, regarding the grease used in preparing the cartridges, some evil disposed persons having spread a report that it consists of a mixture of the fat of pigs and cows.

2. The belief in this report has been strengthened by the behaviour of a *khalasi* attached to the magazine, who, I am told, asked a sepoy of the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, to supply him with water from his *lota;* the sepoy refused, observing he was not aware of what caste the man was. The *khalasi* immediately rejoined—"You will soon lose your caste, as ere long you will have to bite cartridges covered with the fat of pigs and cows,"—or words to that effect.

3. Some of the depot men, in conversing with me on the subject last night, said that the report has spread throughout India, and when they go to their homes their friends will refuse to eat with them. I assured them (believing it to be the case) that the grease used is composed of mutton fat and wax; to which they replied—"It may be so, but our friends will not believe it; let us obtain the ingredients from the bazar and make it up ourselves; we shall then know what is used, and be able to assure our fellow-soldiers and others that there is nothing in it prohibited by our caste."

In conclusion, I most respectfully beg to represent that by adopting the measure suggested by the men, the possibility of any misunderstanding regarding the religious prejudices of the natives in general will be prevented.

---

*Demi-official from Colonel* A. Abbott, C.B., *Inspector-General of Ordnance and Magazines, to Major* W. A. J. Mayhew, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated 27th January 1857.*

I hear that an objection has been made by the sepoys to use the cartridges made for Enfield rifles agreeably to the instructions sent from home, because one end of each cartridge (that which contains the ball) is greasy.

It is absolutely necessary that grease should be used, and the composition used for patches is said to be unfit for cartridges. It was of cocoanut oil and beeswax. The present grease is tallow. I think that a committee had better decide what grease shall be employed. In the meantime *practice* cartridges may be issued to sepoys without grease, and the men may *see* that grease of unobjectionable quality is applied.

The wax and oil would, I dare say, answer well enough if used immediately, though it dries up if the cartridges are kept long in store.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Major* W. A. J. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Barrackpore, 28th January 1857.*

I beg leave to report, for the information of Government, that an ill-feeling is said to subsist in the minds of the sepoys of the regiments at Barrackpore. A report has been spread by some designing persons, most likely Brahmins or agents of the religious Hindu party in Calcutta, (I believe it is called the *Dhurma Subha*), that they (the sepoys) are to be forced to embrace the Christian faith.

On this report was grafted, as an overt act to cause them to lose caste, the distributing amongst them of ball cartridges for the new Enfield rifle that had the paper forming them greased with the fat of cows and pigs.

2. I should not have allowed these idle and groundless rumours to have had any weight on my mind, knowing that the latter circumstance (regarding the cartridges) would be remedied as soon as reported to higher authority, and trusting to the well-known repugnance of all officers with native regiments to act or do anything that could be construed into a wish or desire to interfere with the religious prejudices of the men under their command.

3. But the circumstance of a sergeant's bungalow being burnt down at Raneegunge, supposed to have been caused by an incendiary, [a wing of the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, from this station being now there], and also three incendiary fires having occurred at this station within the last four days;—one, the electric telegraph bungalow, and since then two bungalows that were unoccupied; the second occurring only last night; as also Ensign F. E. A. Chamier, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, having taken a lighted arrow from the thatch of his own bungalow;—has confirmed in my mind that this incendiarism is caused by ill-affected men, who wish thus to make

known or spread a spirit of discontent, and induce the sepoys to believe they are all labouring under some grievance, which they have not the manliness to make known to their officers.

4. Perhaps those Hindus who are opposed to the marriage of widows in Calcutta are using underhand means to thwart Government in abolishing the restraints lately removed by law for the marriage of widows, and conceive if they can make a party of the ignorant classes in the ranks of the army believe their religion or religious prejudices are eventually to be abolished by *force*, and by *force* they are all to be made Christians, and thus by shaking their faith in Government lose the confidence of their officers by inducing sepoys to commit offences (such as incendiarism) so difficult to put a stop to or prove, they will gain their object.

5. Brigadier Grant directed commanding officers of regiments at this station the day before yesterday to parade their corps, and ask them if they had any grievance to complain of. Three of the officers have reported their men to be perfectly satisfied, and Colonel S. G. Wheler, Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, assured them the rumour so industriously circulated was false, and the native officers and men said they were satisfied that it was so, but one native officer respectfully asked if any orders had been received regarding the Enfield rifle cartridges. This he could not answer, as the letter permitting the *ghee* or other material to be used for that purpose by the men only arrived this morning. I have, however, directed its contents to be made known to every regiment in the cantonment, and a copy to be sent to Lieutenant-Colonel C. S. Reid, Commanding at Dum-Dum, for Major Bontein's information.

6. It is my purpose, should this uneasy feeling not abate, to parade the brigade, and myself explain the absurdity of the notion that any, the most distant, intention to interfere with their religion is contemplated by Government.

7. I am sorry to add that I this morning heard that the Officer Commanding Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment in Fort William wrote to the officer in command of the wing of that regiment at Dum-Dum to warn a company to be ready to turn out at any moment, and had distributed to the men of the company ten rounds of balled ammunition, informing that officer that a mutiny had broken out at Barrackpore amongst the sepoys!!! No copy of this letter or note was sent to Lieutenant-Colonel C. S. Reid, Commanding at Dum-Dum, nor to Brigadier Grant, or to myself. I need not enlarge on the great

impropriety of such a proceeding, as if it becomes known to the sepoys, it will undoubtedly create an ill-feeling amongst them.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Major* A. SANDERS, *Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Army,—No. 43, dated Head-Quarters, Presidency Division, Barrackpore, 5th February 1857.*

I beg that you will do me the honor to submit, for the consideration and orders of Government, my strong recommendation that the wing of the 2nd Native Infantry (Grenadiers) now at Raneegunge may be relieved by a similar detachment of the 63rd Regiment from Soorie, to enable the former to return to Barrackpore.

2. I am induced to make this proposal for the following reasons:—

*1st.*—The wing of the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, at this station is more than usually short of European officers, having only attached to it one captain and three subalterns, two of the latter being very young and inexperienced lads.

*2nd.*—By re-uniting both wings, therefore, the corps will be rendered more efficient, though even then the number of senior officers present will be much too few.

3. The head-quarters wing has been for the last nine months on detached duty in the district, during which period both officers and men have been receiving a higher rate of pay (full batta), which is, in my opinion, a distinction not altogether desirable to draw between the wings of the same regiment longer than is absolutely unavoidable.

4. Had the wing at Barrackpore been more efficient in point of officers than it is, I might have felt disposed to suggest that it should relieve the other at Raneegunge, but under existing circumstances this measure would not be at all expedient.

5. I further desire that the 2nd Regiment Native (Grenadier) Infantry should be brought together, that I may have an opportunity of inspecting that corps, for from the circumstance of the bungalows being set fire to at Raneegunge and also in this cantonment simultaneously, I have a strong suspicion that an ill-feeling exists in that regiment, which by having it together under my own eye I may be able to remove.

6. I am therefore of decided opinion that the detachment for Raneegunge should be furnished by the 63rd Regiment, Native Infantry, and the Government may probably consider that a smaller force than a complete wing is now sufficient for the duties of that outpost. Perhaps

a couple of companies, or 200 men, would answer every military purpose, in consideration of the present easy communication by railway between Raneegunge and Barrackpore.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Major* W. A. J. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 44, dated Head-Quarters, Presidency Division, Barrackpore, 7th February 1857.*

With reference to my official letter to your address, No. 24, dated the 24th ultimo, I have now the honor to forward, for submission to the Government, the Proceedings of a Special Court of Inquiry which has been assembled at Barrackpore for the purpose of ascertaining from the evidence of a selected portion of the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, the cause of their continued objection to the paper of which the new rifle cartridges are composed.

2. A perusal of the several statements and opinions recorded in these proceedings clearly establishes in my judgment that a most unreasonable and unfounded suspicion has unfortunately taken possession of the minds of all the native officers and sepoys at this station, that grease or fat is used in the composition of this cartridge paper; and this foolish idea is now so rooted in them, that it would, I am of opinion, be both idle and unwise even to attempt its removal.

3. I would accordingly beg leave to recommend, for the consideration of Government, the expediency (if practicable) of ordering this rifle ammunition to be made up of the same description of paper which has been hitherto employed in the magazines for the preparation of the common musket cartridge, by which means this groundless suspicion and objection could be at once disposed of.

---

*PROCEEDINGS of a Special Court of Inquiry assembled at Barrackpore on Friday, the 6th of February 1857, at 11 A.M., at the Mess of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, by order of Brigadier* C. GRANT, C.B., *Commanding at Barrackpore, for the purpose of investigating such matter as may be laid before it by the Officiating Brigade-Major.*

PRESIDENT:

*Brevet-Colonel* S. G. WHELER, *34th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

MEMBERS:

*Major* H. W. MATTHEWS, *43rd Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Captain* G. N. GREENE, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

INTERPRETER:

*Lieutenant* A. F. CORBETT, *43rd Regiment, Native Infantry.*

The Court met at the time appointed by station orders.

Letter No. 29, dated 5th February 1857, from the Officiating Brigade-Major, addressed to the President of the Court, is read and appended to the Proceedings, marked "A."

Letter No. 89, dated 4th February 1857, from Captain N. C. Boswell, Commanding the Left Wing, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, addressed to the Major of Brigade, is read and appended to the Proceedings, marked "B."

Demi-official note from the Brigadier Commanding at Barrackpore, of no date, addressed to the President, Court of Inquiry, is read and appended to the Proceedings and marked "C."

Captain N. C. Boswell, Commanding the Left Wing, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, is desired to call in his evidence.

*1st Witness.*

*Byjonath Pandy, sepoy, 5th Company, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry,* appears in Court, and having had explained to him the provisions of para. 7, section 22 of the Military Regulations, voluntarily states as follows:—

*Question*—Were you on parade on the evening of the 4th instant, when the new cartridges, &c., were shown to the men of the regiment?

*Answer*—I was.

*Question*—Did you make any objection to the materials of which those cartridges were composed?

*Answer*—I felt some suspicion in regard to the paper, if it might not affect my caste.

*Question*—What reason have you to suppose that there is anything in the paper which would injure your caste?

*Answer*—Because it is a new description of paper with which the cartridges are made up, and which I have not seen before.

*Question*—Have you ever seen or heard from any one that the paper is composed of anything which is objectionable to your caste?

*Answer*—I heard a report that there was some fat in the paper; it was a bazar report.

*Question*—Are these the cartridges and paper which you examined on the parade?—(the paper and cartridges being shown to the witness)

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—The Court from a careful examination of the papers of which the cartridges are made up are unable to detect anything beyond the appearance of ordinary paper. Examine the paper again carefully in the light, and endeavour to explain to the Court what you see objectionable in it.

*Answer*—My suspicion of the paper proceeds from its being stiff and like cloth in the mode of tearing it; it seems to us different from the old paper in use amongst us.

The witness withdraws.

*2nd Witness.*

*Chand Khan, sepoy, 7th Company, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry*, appears in Court, and having had explained to him the provisions of para. 7, section 22 of the Military Regulations, voluntarily states as follows:—

*Question*—Do you object to the paper of which the new cartridges are made, now lying before the Court; and if so, on what grounds?

*Answer*—I have no objection to the bullet or powder, it is only the paper which I have doubts about, which appears to be tough; and in burning it, it smells as if there was grease in it.

*Question*—Were you present when a piece of the paper was burnt, and when?

*Answer*—On the evening of the 4th instant a piece of the cartridge paper was dipped in water and afterwards burnt; when burning it made a fizzing noise and smelt as if there was grease in it.

*Question*—Who were present when this burning of the paper took place?

*Answer*—Two or three were present; I do not recollect what their names are.

A piece of the cartridge paper is burnt in Court by the witness.

*Question*—Are you still of opinion that there is any smell of grease in it?

*Answer*—No, there is not.

*Question*—Have you now any objection to use these cartridges with paper of that description?

*Answer*—I object to this paper being used, as every one is dissatisfied with it on account of its being glazed, shining like wax-cloth.

The witness withdraws.

*3rd Witness.*

*Subadar Khoda Buksh, 9th Company, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry,* is called into Court, and the provisions of para. 7, section 22 of the Military Regulations, explained to him—

*Question*—Do you object to anything in the new cartridge which lies before the Court?

*Answer*—I have no objection to the cartridge myself, but I know there is a general report in the cantonment that the paper is made up with fat.

*Question*—Do you know where the report comes from?

*Answer*—I do not know.

*Question*—Examine the paper now shown to you, and see if you can detect any grease in it, or anything objectionable in it.

*Answer*—There is nothing that I can see objectionable in it.

*Question*—If you carried a musket, would you then have any objection to load the musket with the cartridge?

*Answer*—I would use it if there was no grease in it.

The witness withdraws.

*4th Witness.*

*Jemadar Buddun Singh, 6th Company, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry,* called into Court, and the provisions of para. 7, section 22 of the Military Regulations, explained to him—

*Question*—Have you any objection to the new cartridge which lies before the Court?

*Answer*—Nothing; except the paper, which I have some suspicion about, as I have never seen anything of the kind before, and the general report is that there is grease in it.

The witness withdraws.

*5th Witness.*

*Jemadar Gunness Singh, 10th Company, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry,* being called into Court, and the provisions of para. 7, section 22 of the Military Regulations, explained to him—

*Question*—Have you any objection to the cartridge which lies on the table?

*Answer*—I have no objection to the cartridge myself, but there is a report amongst the men that there is grease in it.

*Question*—How did this report get abroad?

*Answer*—I do not know.

*Question*—What, in your opinion, would be the best plan to undeceive the minds of the men on this point?

*Answer*—I know no other way than to substitute other paper in its place.

The witness withdraws.

*6th Witness.*

*Jemadar Golaub Khan, 2nd Company, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry*, is called into Court, and the provisions of para. 7, section 22 of the Military Regulations, explained to him—

*Question*—Have you any objection to the use of the cartridges now lying before you?

*Answer*—I have objection to the paper, as there is a report got about that there is grease in it.

*Question*—Can you prove yourself that there is grease in it, or have you taken any measures to do so?

*Answer*—There is grease in it I feel assured, as it differs from the paper which has heretofore been always used for cartridges.

The witness withdraws.

*7th Witness.*

*Jemadar Ram Sing, 9th Company, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry*, is called into Court, and the provisions of para. 7, section 22 of the Military Regulations, explained to him—

*Question*—Have you any objection to the use of the cartridges now lying before you?

*Answer*—A report got about, which I think came from the magazine *khalasis* in Calcutta, that there was some grease in the paper; on this account I have some suspicions about it.

*Question*—How can this suspicion be removed from your mind?

*Answer*—I cannot remove it.

The witness withdraws.

*8th Witness.*

*Jemadar Wuzeer Khan, 7th Company, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry*, called into Court, and the provisions of section 22, para. 7 of the Military Regulations, explained to him—

*Question*—Have you any objection to the use of the cartridges lying upon the table?

*Answer*—I have no objection to it; it appears to be new.

*Question*—Would you have any objection to use it in the way the old cartridges are used ?

*Answer*—I should have some objection in consequence of the suspicion which exists generally in the cantonment.

The witness withdraws.

*9th Witness.*

*Havildar-Major Ajoodiah Singh, 8th Company, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry*, called into Court, and the provisions of section 22, para. 7 of the Military Regulations, explained to him—

*Question*—Have you any objection to the use of the cartridges lying on the table ?

*Answer*—I have suspicions about the paper on account of the bazar report that there is grease in it.

*Question*—Have you taken any measures to prove whether this report is true ?

*Answer*—I have tried it in oil and also in water, and where it was wet with the oil it would not dissolve; after this trial I thought there was no grease in it.

*Question*—By the experiment, in your opinion, there was no grease in the paper; would you object to bite off the end of the cartridge ?

*Answer*—I could not do it, as the other men would object to it.

The witness withdraws.

*10th Witness.*

*Havildar Bheekun Khan, 10th Company, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry*, called into Court, and the provisions of section 22, para. 7 of the Military Regulations, explained to him—

*Question*—Have you any objection to the use of the cartridges lying on the table ?

*Answer*—I suspect that there is cow and pig grease in them from a bazar report.

*Question*—If you had any doubt, why did you not ascertain the point from your officer ?

*Answer*—I could not report it to the officer, it being merely a bazar report.

*Question*—When the paper and cartridge were shown you upon parade, had you any reason to suppose that there was any grease mixed with the paper ?

*Answer*—I have heard that it smells of grease when it is burnt.

The witness withdraws.

The Court closes its proceedings and adjourns *sine die.*

## A.

*From Captain* S. RICHARDS, *Officiating Major of Brigade, to Brevet-Colonel* S. G. WHELER, *Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, President, Court of Inquiry,—No. 29, dated Barrackpore, 5th February 1857.*

I am directed by the Brigadier Commanding to request you will have the goodness to instruct the Court, of which you are nominated President in this day's station orders, thoroughly to investigate the subject of the objection to the paper forming a part of the new rifle cartridges, reported in the accompanying letter, No. 89, dated 4th February 1857, from Captain N. C. Boswell, Commanding the Left Wing, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, to the Officiating Major of Brigade.

## B.

*From Captain* N. C. BOSWELL, *Commanding Left Wing, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, to Brigadier* C. GRANT, C.B., *Commanding at Barrackpore,—No. 89, dated Barrackpore, 4th February 1857.*

I have the honor to report that, in obedience to instructions contained in a note of yesterday's date from the Brigadier Commanding the Station to the address of officers commanding regiments at the station, I yesterday afternoon, at a parade of the wing under my command, had fully explained to the men of the wing that the cartridges for the new rifles were to be made up exactly like the five produced on parade, and of the same paper as that sent with the cartridges, and that the sepoys would dip the cartridges themselves in wax and oil before using them.

I took the cartridges into the ranks and showed them to the men (having one broken open); and upon my asking several of the men here and there in the ranks if they could see anything objectionable in them, their reply, made in the most civil but soldierlike manner, was "that the paper was not the same as that used for the old cartridges, and that they thought there was something in it."

I deem it my duty to report this circumstance for the information of the Brigadier Commanding, as I imagine there will be no difficulty in substituting the old cartridge paper for that made use of in the construction of the new cartridges.

## C.

*Demi-official from Brigadier* C. GRANT, C.B., *Commanding at Barrackpore, to Brevet-Colonel* S. G. WHELER, *Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, President, Court of Inquiry.*

On the Court of Inquiry to-day, besides the evidence of what occurred on parade from Captain N. C. Boswell and the men (sepoys) who

107

*Question*—Would you have any objection to use it in the way the old cartridges are used?

*Answer*—I should have some objection in consequence of the suspicion which exists generally in the cantonment.

The witness withdraws.

*9th Witness.*

*Havildar-Major Ajoodiah Singh, 8th Company, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry,* called into Court, and the provisions of section 22, para. 7 of the Military Regulations, explained to him—

*Question*—Have you any objection to the use of the cartridges lying on the table?

*Answer*—I have suspicions about the paper on account of the bazar report that there is grease in it.

*Question*—Have you taken any measures to prove whether this report is true?

*Answer*—I have tried it in oil and also in water, and where it was wet with the oil it would not dissolve; after this trial I thought there was no grease in it.

*Question*—By the experiment, in your opinion, there was no grease in the paper; would you object to bite off the end of the cartridge?

*Answer*—I could not do it, as the other men would object to it.

The witness withdraws.

*10th Witness.*

*Havildar Bheekun Khan, 10th Company, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry,* called into Court, and the provisions of section 22, para. 7 of the Military Regulations, explained to him—

*Question*—Have you any objection to the use of the cartridges lying on the table?

*Answer*—I suspect that there is cow and pig grease in them from a bazar report.

*Question*—If you had any doubt, why did you not ascertain the point from your officer?

*Answer*—I could not report it to the officer, it being merely a bazar report.

*Question*—When the paper and cartridge were shown you upon parade, had you any reason to suppose that there was any grease mixed with the paper?

### A.

*From Captain* S. Richards, *Officiating Major of Brigade, to Brevet-Colonel* S. G. Wheler, *Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, President, Court of Inquiry,—No. 29, dated Barrackpore, 5th February 1857.*

I am directed by the Brigadier Commanding to request you will have the goodness to instruct the Court, of which you are nominated President in this day's station orders, thoroughly to investigate the subject of the objection to the paper forming a part of the new rifle cartridges, reported in the accompanying letter, No. 89, dated 4th February 1857, from Captain N. C. Boswell, Commanding the Left Wing, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, to the Officiating Major of Brigade.

### B.

*From Captain* N. C. Boswell, *Commanding Left Wing, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, to Brigadier* C. Grant, c.b., *Commanding at Barrackpore,—No. 89, dated Barrackpore, 4th February 1857.*

I have the honor to report that, in obedience to instructions contained in a note of yesterday's date from the Brigadier Commanding the Station to the address of officers commanding regiments at the station, I yesterday afternoon, at a parade of the wing under my command, had fully explained to the men of the wing that the cartridges for the new rifles were to be made up exactly like the five produced on parade, and of the same paper as that sent with the cartridges, and that the sepoys would dip the cartridges themselves in wax and oil before using them.

I took the cartridges into the ranks and showed them to the men (having one broken open); and upon my asking several of the men here and there in the ranks if they could see anything objectionable in them, their reply, made in the most civil but soldierlike manner, was "that the paper was not the same as that used for the old cartridges, and that they thought there was something in it."

I deem it my duty to report this circumstance for the information of the Brigadier Commanding, as I imagine there will be no difficulty in substituting the old cartridge paper for that made use of in the construction of the new cartridges.

### C.

*Demi-official from Brigadier* C. Grant, c.b., *Commanding at Barrackpore, to Brevet-Colonel* S. G. Wheler, *Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, President, Court of Inquiry.*

On the Court of Inquiry to-day, besides the evidence of what occurred on parade from Captain N. C. Boswell and the men (sepoys) who

107

objected to the cartridge paper, it is desirable to have the evidence of all the senior and highest caste native commissioned and non-commissioned officers, Hindus; as also all the subadars, jemadars or havildars of the Mahomedan religion, and direct them to examine the paper of which the Enfield rifle cartridge is made, the powder and the bullet. To explain to them that the cartridge is different from the musket, the paper being thinner but more tough, so that the cartridge may contain the quantity required to throw the bullet to the utmost range without being of too long a form; for if it was made of the old thick paper, without it was made very long, it could not contain the powder required, the bore of the Enfield rifle being so much smaller; that the material of the paper is the same, but it is more carefully made; the powder a little stronger perhaps, and the bullet made of lead to the shape that will go most true to the mark aimed at from long distances.

The new Enfield musket is much lighter and therefore less fatiguing for a sepoy to carry on a long march; in fact, a very superior weapon to the old musket; and that all European and the Turkish Mahomedan Army are gradually being armed with it.

Let each native officer be asked separately if he can point out anything in the paper, powder or bullet that can in any way militate with the caste of the men.

Have the answers and opinions of each native officer carefully inserted in the Proceedings of the Inquiry.

Lieutenant J. Hearsey, A.D.C., has kindly come forward to attend the inquiry with his Enfield rifle, he having passed the Enfield School of Practice, and explain anything that may be required.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Major* W. A. J. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Head-Quarters, Presidency Division, Barrackpore, 8th February 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of Government and of the Commander-in-Chief, the following circumstances which have taken place at this station.

2. On receiving the orders of Government that an allowance would be authorised for the purchase and preparation of a grease such as the sepoys could have no objection to, for applying to the cartridges of the Enfield rifle, and having been supplied by Colonel Abbott, Inspector-General of Ordnance and Magazines, with some cartridges made up at the arsenal, also the paper in sheets, I directed Brigadier Grant to make known to commanding officers of regiments my desire that the order of

the Government should be distinctly explained by them to their respective battalions on parade, and that the paper sent by Colonel Abbott with the cartridges should be shown to all the Native officers and men.

3. This was accordingly done, and I confess I was surprised to learn that the paper (which has a somewhat glazed appearance) excited their suspicion that it had been prepared with grease as one of the materials, and Captain Boswell, who commands the wing of the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, at this station, sent me a report that such was the impression on the minds of his men.

4. Colonel S. G. Wheler, Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, also waited upon me, and stated that the same objection had been raised by the men of his corps.

5. I lost no time in ordering Brigadier Grant to assemble a Special Court of Inquiry to investigate this matter, and the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the wing of the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, were to be directed to attend and to state freely and plainly any objection they had or could possibly have to the use of this new ammunition.

6. The Court accordingly met, and was attended by my son, Lieutenant John Hearsey, a College passed officer, who is now residing with me, and has been instructed in the Musketry School at Hythe when lately in England on sick furlough. Lieutenant Hearsey took with him to the Court one of these Enfield rifles and materials for making up the cartridges, to show to the native officers. This was done; the rifle was much admired, but they still objected to the glazed paper, frankly stating their suspicion that it contained grease, and they would prefer to have the cartridges made up of the old paper which had been so long served out to them. In short, their suspicions are fairly roused on the subject of cow and pig fat, and it will be quite impossible to allay them, unfounded though they be.

7. The Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry were yesterday transmitted to you, for the purpose of being laid before Government and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

8. On Friday night, the 6th instant, between the hours of eight and nine o'clock, Brigadier Grant, Colonel Wheler, and Lieutenant Allen of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, waited upon me at my quarters, and the two first named informed me that Lieutenant Allen had startling matter to communicate. This will be found in the written statement of that officer hereto appended. A descriptive roll of the

109

sepoy who gave the information in question is likewise attached to this letter.

9. I immediately directed the Brigadier to order Lieutenant Allen and Lieutenant Harris, Adjutant of the 70th Regiment, Native Infantry, an intelligent young officer, to mount their horses and ride in the direction of the spot indicated where these delegates were to meet, and to bring me intelligence if they saw them assembled, or any men returning from that direction. I also instructed the Brigadier to lose not a moment in having the roll of every company called in its battalion lines, and all men absent to be reported to him. Brigadier Grant's official report on this subject is hereto annexed, from which it will be seen that all were present in their respective lines, save a few whose absence was satisfactorily accounted for. It is likewise shown by this report that the two officers returned from their mission without having seen any party assembled or proceeding to their lines from the spot indicated.

10. There can be little doubt but that a bad spirit prevails amongst the sepoys, particularly in the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry. The simultaneous fires at Barrackpore and Raneegunge (certainly by incendiarism) afford strong and reasonable ground for such a suspicion; though I am happy to add that none have occurred for several nights past, which may be perhaps attributed to there being strong picquets posted in the officers' lines from which patrols are constantly sent to watch and apprehend any suspicious persons who may be moving about.

11. I have also directed that a register shall be taken of all bazar people and camp followers, in order that the bad characters may be summarily ejected from cantonments, and I have further offered a reward of one thousand rupees to be paid to any person who may come forward and produce such evidence as will convict the incendiary or incendiaries of the telegraph and other bungalows.

12. Deeming it to be my duty to keep the Government fully informed of all that may be occurring at this station, I have thought it proper to enter into these details.

13. I, moreover, consider it necessary to add my conviction that the sepoys are tampered with by designing villains when on duty in Fort William and Calcutta, it having been frequently noticed by old military residents at this station that after frequent absences on such detached duty, many of them return to their lines with strange ideas and unsettled minds. I therefore think that if it could be possibly

managed to have all the duties in that garrison and in Calcutta exclusively taken by the European regiment and the native militia, *especially in Calcutta*, the arrangement would be highly desirable.

14. It is my intention to have the brigade paraded to-morrow, and myself explain the absurdity of the notion that Government entertains the most distant intention of interfering with their religion or caste.

---

*STATEMENT made by Lieutenant* A. S. ALLEN, *34th Regiment Native Infantry, and countersigned by Lieutenant-Colonel* S. G. WHELER, *Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, dated Barrackpore, 8th February 1857.*

On Friday, the 6th instant, about 7 P.M., as I was sitting in the verandah of my bungalow, a sepoy, belonging to the company of which I have charge, came up to where I was, and said he wished to speak to me privately on some family matters; at the same time requesting that I should tell my servant, who was standing close by, to go away, as he did not wish him to hear what he was about to say. I accordingly directed my servant to withdraw, and then enquired of the sepoy what it was that he had to communicate. He began by saying that he had become cognisant of a plot amongst the men of the different regiments, four in number, at this station, that they were apprehensive of being forced to give up their caste and be made Christians; and that consequently they were determined to rise up against their officers, and commence by either plundering or burning down the bungalows at Barrackpore; they next proposed to proceed to Calcutta and attempt to seize Fort William, or, failing that, to take possession of the Treasury. Delegates from the different regiments were to assemble the same evening, about eight or nine o'clock, at a large tree close to the station magazine, and concert what their future proceedings should be; that an artilleryman had informed them of the approaching arrival of a European regiment from Dinapore, as also that artillery were being brought down to assist in carrying out the measures of Government, and consequently unless immediate action was arranged on the part of the sepoys, it would shortly be too late for their doing anything, and therefore some decided line of conduct must at once be settled. The sepoy, my informant, on my expressing doubts as to the probability of his story, begged that I would go myself to the place of meeting indicated by him, when I could satisfy myself by personal observation of

the correctness of his statement. But he entreated that I would not mention his name to any one, as if his comrades suspected his being a spy on their conduct he was apprehensive of their using violence towards him, or at all events that he would be unable to find out anything hereafter with regard to their intentions and proceedings. He further stated that the burning down of the electric telegraph office was part of a concerted plan to prevent the Government receiving speedy information of what was going on. Also, that the men of other regiments were to be informed of what was being done here, and that they were to be called upon to co-operate with their comrades, the affair being one which concerned them all equally. He also said that it was proposed to seize the magazine here, and obtain possession of the arms and ammunition kept there. On hearing all this I directed the sepoy to return to his lines, and if he could hear anything additional on the subject, that he was to come to me again and communicate what more he knew.

As the information appeared of sufficient importance to be laid before the authorities, I proceeded to the quarters of Colonel Wheler, commanding my regiment, and stated to him what I had heard. Colonel Wheler and myself then went to Brigadier Grant's house, and I repeated the substance of what I knew to him. The Brigadier considered it necessary to lay the matter before the Major-General Commanding the Division, and we accordingly went to Major-General J. B. Hearsey about nine o'clock the same night, and I again told all the above facts. I was then directed to ride round by the place where the meeting of the sepoys was to have taken place, and to observe whether anybody was there. I accordingly did so, but saw no one in the neighbourhood of the magazine except the sentries, who challenged as usual. On my return from this mission, I met Brigadier Grant near the gate of my own compound, when I told him of the result of my observations, and that I had seen nothing suspicious. When I arrived at my own house it was about 10 P.M.

112

Descriptive long roll of a sepoy belonging to No. 8 Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.

| Regtl. No. | Rank and Name. | Caste. | Present age. | Height. | | Village. | Pergunnah. | District. | Date of enlistment. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Yrs. | Ft. | In. | | | | | "Scinde." |
| 1097 | Sepoy Ram-sahai Lalla. | Kait. | 30 | 5 | 7½ | Kundahar | Nagaon | Lucknow | 26th Feb. 1844. | A steady, well-behaved man; reads, writes, and speaks English, and has kept the books and written for the company for six months past. He has also acted as Pay Havildar of the company satisfactorily during two months past. Is kote sepoy. (Sd.) A. S. ALLEN, *Lt.*, *In charge of company.* WUZEERABAD, *The 1st Nov. 1852.* |

BARRACKPORE, *The 8th Feb. 1857.* } (Sd.) S. G. WHELER, *Lt.-Col.*, *Comdg. 34th Regt., Nat. Infy.*

(Sd.) A. STEWART ALLEN, *Lt.*, *In tempy. charge of No. 8 Co., 34th Regt. Native Infy.*

---

*From Brigadier* C. GRANT, C.B., *Commanding at Barrackpore, to Major* A. H. ROSS, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Presidency Division,—dated Barrackpore, 8th February 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of Major-General J B. Hearsey, Commanding the Presidency Division, that agreeably to instructions, on the night of the 6th instant Lieutenant Allen, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, and Lieutenant Harris, Adjutant, 70th Regiment, Native Infantry, proceeded to the tree near the magazine of this station, and did not find any persons in the vicinity.

I have also to report that the roll was called in every regiment at the same time during the night of Friday, and all the men reported to be present in their lines.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Major* W. A. J. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 47-D, dated Head-Quarters, Presidency Division, Barrackpore, 11th February 1857.*

I have the honor to enclose, for the information of Government, a voluntary deposition made yesterday before Brigadier Grant,

Colonel Wheler, and Captain Drury, of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.

2. This mutinous spirit would seem to have taken deep root among the sepoys here.

3. On the afternoon of the 9th instant I assembled the whole of the troops now present at the station, and addressed them on the parade, pointing out the absurdity of the dread of their religious prejudices being interfered with and other matters concerning the introduction of the new rifle greased cartridges and paper, and with good effect. I think from what I have since heard I do not consider it advisable to seize and confine the sepoys named by the jemadar until I can obtain further evidence, because his sole deposition will not convict.

4. I am of opinion that as the force here consists of Native infantry only, without Europeans or either of the two other arms, artillery or cavalry, to fall back upon in case of a serious outbreak, this is sound policy.

---

*DEPOSITION of Jemadar* DURRIOW, *8th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, taken at Barrackpore on the 10th day of February 1857 in presence of Brigadier* C. GRANT, C.B., *Commanding at Barrackpore, Colonel* S. G. WHELER, *Commanding 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, Captain* C. C. DRURY, *8th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, Lieutenant* B. H. BAUGH, *Adjutant, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.* INTERPRETER—*Lieutenant* A. F. CORBETT, *43rd Regiment, Native Infantry.*

*Jemadar Durriow, 8th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry*, having been solemnly affirmed, states as follows:—

On the night of the 5th instant (February 1857), soon after eight o'clock roll-call, two or three men (sepoys) came to me and made me accompany them to the parade ground, where I found a great crowd assembled, composed, to the best of my belief, of the men of the different regiments at this station; they had their heads tied up with cloths, leaving only a small part of the face exposed; they asked me to join them, and I asked them what I was to join them in: they replied that they were willing to die for their religion, and that if they could make an arrangement that evening, the next night (6th February 1857) they would plunder the station and kill all the Europeans, and then go where they liked.

I told them they had better go to their lines, and explained to them that if they did anything of this kind, they would not get such

good masters in future. I went away after this, and the crowd dispersed.

*Question*—How many men do you suppose were assembled ?

*Answer*—About three hundred.

*Question*—Did you recognise anybody in the crowd ?

*Answer*—The two men who took me away were sepoys, by name Kassee Persaud Doobie, No. 8 Company, and Mohun Sookul, No. 7 Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.

*Question*—Were there any non-commissioned officers, or commissioned Native officers in the crowd ?

*Answer*—I cannot say; they all had their heads so tied up that I could not recognise any.

*Question*—How long were you with the crowd before they dispersed ?

*Answer*—About a quarter to half-an-hour.

*Question*—What arrangements were made with regard to killing the Europeans and plunder of the station ?

*Answer*—Nothing further than that if they could settle anything that night, then the affair was to come off on the ensuing night, the 6th February 1857.

*Question*—Did you recognise the voices of any of the speakers in the crowd ?

*Answer*—I think I recognised that of Mookta Persaud Pandy, drill-havildar, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.

*Question*—What prevented the proposed assembly taking place on the night of the 6th February 1857 ?

*Answer*—I don't know.

*Question*—Has any similar meeting taken place since the 5th instant, or do you know if any such is contemplated by the men ?

*Answer*—There has been none since nor do I know if any meeting is contemplated.

*Question*—You say you recognised the voice of the drill-havildar, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry. Can you state anything that he said ?

*Answer*—No, I cannot.

*Question*—Are you aware if any particular regiment takes the lead in these disturbances ?

*Answer*—No, I think they are all equally implicated.

115

Colonel Wheler, and Captain Drury, of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.

2. This mutinous spirit would seem to have taken deep root among the sepoys here.

3. On the afternoon of the 9th instant I assembled the whole of the troops now present at the station, and addressed them on the parade, pointing out the absurdity of the dread of their religious prejudices being interfered with and other matters concerning the introduction of the new rifle greased cartridges and paper, and with good effect. I think from what I have since heard I do not consider it advisable to seize and confine the sepoys named by the jemadar until I can obtain further evidence, because his sole deposition will not convict.

4. I am of opinion that as the force here consists of Native infantry only, without Europeans or either of the two other arms, artillery or cavalry, to fall back upon in case of a serious outbreak, this is sound policy.

---

*DEPOSITION of Jemadar* DURRIOW, *8th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, taken at Barrackpore on the 10th day of February 1857 in presence of Brigadier* C. GRANT, C.B., *Commanding at Barrackpore, Colonel* S. G. WHELER, *Commanding 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, Captain* C. C. DRURY, *8th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, Lieutenant* B. H. BAUGH, *Adjutant, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.* INTERPRETER—*Lieutenant* A. F. CORBETT, *43rd Regiment, Native Infantry.*

*Jemadar Durriow, 8th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry*, having been solemnly affirmed, states as follows :—

On the night of the 5th instant (February 1857), soon after eight o'clock roll-call, two or three men (sepoys) came to me and made me accompany them to the parade ground, where I found a great crowd assembled, composed, to the best of my belief, of the men of the different regiments at this station ; they had their heads tied up with cloths, leaving only a small part of the face exposed ; they asked me to join them, and I asked them what I was to join them in : they replied that they were willing to die for their religion, and that if they could make an arrangement that evening, the next night (6th February 1857) they would plunder the station and kill all the Europeans, and then go where they liked.

I told them they had better go to their lines, and explained to them that if they did anything of this kind, they would not get such

good masters in future. I went away after this, and the crowd dispersed.

*Question*—How many men do you suppose were assembled?

*Answer*—About three hundred.

*Question*—Did you recognise anybody in the crowd?

*Answer*—The two men who took me away were sepoys, by name Kassee Persaud Doobie, No. 8 Company, and Mohun Sookul, No. 7 Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.

*Question*—Were there any non-commissioned officers, or commissioned Native officers in the crowd?

*Answer*—I cannot say; they all had their heads so tied up that I could not recognise any.

*Question*—How long were you with the crowd before they dispersed?

*Answer*—About a quarter to half-an-hour.

*Question*—What arrangements were made with regard to killing the Europeans and plunder of the station?

*Answer*—Nothing further than that if they could settle anything that night, then the affair was to come off on the ensuing night, the 6th February 1857.

*Question*—Did you recognise the voices of any of the speakers in the crowd?

*Answer*—I think I recognised that of Mookta Persaud Pandy, drill-havildar, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.

*Question*—What prevented the proposed assembly taking place on the night of the 6th February 1857?

*Answer*—I don't know.

*Question*—Has any similar meeting taken place since the 5th instant, or do you know if any such is contemplated by the men?

*Answer*—There has been none since nor do I know if any meeting is contemplated.

*Question*—You say you recognised the voice of the drill-havildar, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry. Can you state anything that he said?

*Answer*—No, I cannot.

*Question*—Are you aware if any particular regiment takes the lead in these disturbances?

*Answer*—No, I think they are all equally implicated.

115

*Question*—Do you know how the late fires in the station originated, and whether they were the work of sepoys or others?

*Answer*—I do not know; I was only relieved from fort duty* on the 3rd February.

The foregoing deposition was taken in presence of us, this 10th day of February 1857.

(Sd.) C. GRANT, *Brigadier, Commanding at Barrackpore.*
" S. G. WHELER, *Lieutenant-Colonel, Commanding 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
" C. C. DRURY, *Captain, in charge of No. 8 Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
" B. H. BAUGH, *Lieutenant, Adjutant, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
" A. F. CORBETT, *Lieutenant, 43rd Regiment, Native (Light) Infantry,—Interpreter.*

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated 11th February 1857.*

I have this moment received the enclosed statement of Sepoy Ramsahai Lalla, 8th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, from Brigadier Grant. It gives but little more information than his first statement, which no doubt has been laid before Government.

I have every reason to believe all is now quiet, but I must try and get such evidence as will convict the leaders of this intended outbreak, if I possibly can.

*EXAMINATION of Sepoy* RAMSAHAI LALLA, *8th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

*Question*—Are you aware that a meeting of the sepoys of the different regiments at this station was held on Thursday, the 5th instant?

*Answer*—Yes, there was, but I only heard of the assembly next day, and cannot state with certainty what took place there. I only know that a second meeting was arranged for the following night, Friday, at which I heard that the sepoys intended taking an oath and arranging what their future proceedings were to be. I understood the

* Duty in Fort William.

116

*Answer*—(contd.)

delegates or representatives from each of the four regiments at Barrackpore were to attend on this occasion. This is all I know on the subject of the first meeting, but I considered it my duty to go to the officer in charge of my company, and whom I know well, having been in the habit of writing for him for several years, and whom I believe to have confidence in me. I waited till evening on Friday before I gave the information, as I was anxious to be quite certain that this second meeting was to take place, and having ascertained that it actually was to be at the time appointed, I then proceeded to the quarters of Lieutenant Allen, the officer in question, and imparted the information to him, at the same time begging that if he doubted me, he would go himself to the appointed place, between eight and nine o'clock, when he would be sure to perceive some assembly or meeting going on. I returned to the lines of my regiment, and shortly afterwards, at eight o'clock, roll-call was held as usual, when all were present, but on their names having been answered, and between eight and nine o'clock, the men began to proceed to the place of assembly. This I saw with my own eyes, and forthwith returned to Lieutenant Allen's quarters, to tell of it, and suggest his proceeding to the place indicated at once. Lieutenant Allen was not in his house, but returned in a short time, when I mentioned these circumstances to him, and I then went back again to the lines. Shortly afterwards the roll was called, when all were found present in their lines. I am convinced that the reason of there being no assembly that night was owing to a suspicion having gone abroad amongst the men of the different regiments that their intentions had been discovered, and that consequently it would be both unadvisable and dangerous for them to meet together that night. But if Lieutenant Allen had been able to go to the parade ground, near the magazine, about nine o'clock, he must have seen some sepoys about the place, either going or returning. I do not think that the calling of the roll about 10 P.M. had any effect in preventing their assembly, as their

*Answer*—(concld.)

intention was abandoned for that night on their becoming aware that news of the affair had got abroad and come to the knowledge of the authorities. The various orderlies or sepoys of the different guards about cantonments could easily have sent information to the different lines that something was going on connected with their intended proceedings.

The foregoing statement has been written down by me from the sepoy's own mouth, and on being read over to him, he declares that it was what he meant to state, and that it was not in his power to give any more information on the subject of these meetings, nor could he mention the names of any of those concerned; at least if he did, he would not reveal them, saying, and truly, that though he had his suspicions, it would be impossible for him to bring direct proof, as all concerned would combine together against him, and a single man's evidence would be worthless in such a case. I have no doubt of the correctness generally of this sepoy's revelations, as I have always found him a respectable and well-behaved man, and one whose word may be relied on, as far as my knowledge of him goes.

BARRACKPORE,
*The 11th February 1857.*

(Sd.) A. S. ALLEN, *Lieut.*,
*34th Regt. Native Infantry.*

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Barrackpore, 11th February 1857.*

We have at Barrackpore been dwelling upon a mine ready for explosion. I have been watching the feeling of the sepoys here for some time; their minds have been misled by some designing scoundrels who have managed to make them believe *that their religious prejudices, their caste,* is to be interfered with by Government. "*That they are to be* FORCED *to turn Christians.*"

2. Any reasonable person would doubt, after the experience we have had, that such an absurd notion could possess them, but nevertheless *it is a fact,* and it will take time to dispossess their minds of this stupid idea.

3. I was told that a circumstance occurred at Dum-Dum, where the school of practice for the Enfield rifle is assembled, which I may say gave credence amongst them to this supposition.

118

4. A sepoy from one of the regiments here was walking to his *chowka* to prepare his food, with his *lota* full of water. He was met by a low-caste *khalasi* (it is said one of the magazine or arsenal men). This *khalasi* asked him to let him drink from the *lota*. The sepoy, a Brahmin, refused, saying—"I have scoured my *lota*; you will defile it by your touch." The *khalasi* rejoined—"You think much of your caste, but wait a little, the *Saheb-logue* will make you bite cartridges soaked in *cow* and *pork* fat, and then where will your caste be?" The sepoy made this speech known amongst his comrades at Dum-Dum; the report was not long in travelling to this station; the men brooded over it for some time at Dum-Dum, and though it seems to have been known to the officer there, it was treated as a silly and foolish notion, until Major Bontein perceived it had taken hold of their minds as a fact, when he reported it to me. I lost no time in writing to Calcutta, making known what had occurred, and suggesting a small allowance might be granted to the officer at Dum-Dum to purchase wax and *ghee* or cocoanut oil by the hands of one of the high caste men, and direct *him* to grease the bullet portion of the cartridge before the men when they were served out for practice.

5. This I had every reason to believe would practically convince the men of the falsity of the *khalasi's* speech, and that every care would be taken that their caste would not be interfered with. It seems to have had all the effect desired at the school of practice at Dum-Dum, and as no cartridges were to be served out or practice was to take place here, I could not dream that it would become a cause of trouble or disaffection at this place.

6. Colonel Abbott sent me a parcel of cartridges and paper; and as the burning of the telegraph bungalow and several officers' thatched houses had occurred at this station,—certainly by incendiaries, for Sonthal arrows with lighted matches attached to them had been taken out of the thatch,—I ordered officers commanding corps to parade their men, and explain to them that no grease would be used in the cartridges but what would be applied by one of themselves when they were required to use the new Enfield rifle. The paper sent by Colonel Abbott was not the same kind of which the common cartridge is made, and had a glazed or shining appearance; *this excited suspicion in their minds*, and such was reported to me by Captain N. C. Boswell, Commanding a wing of the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry; and Colonel S. G. Wheler, Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, also waited upon me and made known that this shining appearance was

deemed by the Native officers and men to be caused by the objectionable fat or grease mixed with the paper in the process of making it.

7. I had a Court of Inquiry assembled, before which the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the wing of the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, were examined as to their opinion and feeling on this point; the proceedings have been sent to Government. Amidst all this business the alarm in Fort William took place, and the company of Europeans was hurried from Dum-Dum without any report being made to me. I had succeeded in putting a stop to the incendiarism here by posting strong picquets, and sending patrols constantly through the lines of thatched bungalows, and by issuing an order that all houses burnt were not to be rebuilt with thatched roofs, and that all thatched verandahs or "lean-tos" affixed to *pucca* houses were to be removed, for the last attempt at incendiarism was the firing of one of these thatched verandahs. The fires occurring at Raneegunge about the same period fixed suspicion strongly on the men of the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, as Sonthal arrows had been used in igniting the bungalows, and that regiment had been employed in the Sonthal District. I reported the objection the Native officers and men had raised to the glazed paper to Government, and as I deemed it folly to fight with such shadows, recommended it should be changed to the old cartridge paper; to this I have received no answer. On the 6th instant a Kait sepoy, who can read and understand English, waited in the evening on Lieutenant A. S. Allen, of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, and informed him that a meeting was to take place amongst the disaffected men of the different regiments between eight and nine at night, to discuss what should be done to prevent their religious prejudices or tenets from being abused by the Government and *Saheb-logue*. This was immediately made known to me, as I have reported, and I took measures to find out if it was true. I learnt nothing. The Native officers of the different regiments must have known it, yet they reported it not to their European officers. The day before yesterday a jemadar of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, sent one of my orderlies (or a sepoy) to me to ask my permission to wait upon me. I replied—"By all means; but the rules of the service required that he should have the consent of his immediate commanding officer." The jemadar asked for the permission he desired the next day. When questioned by Colonel Wheler and Lieutenant Bunbury, he stated he wished to communicate all he knew on the subject of evil disposition now prevailing amongst the sepoys. This was

120

made known to Brigadier Grant, who instantly waited upon me to report the circumstance. I directed a Court to be formed, and that the jemadar's (by name Durriow) statement should be taken on solemn affirmation, which was done, and I forwarded it yesterday to Government.

8. I must mention that I had the whole brigade paraded on Monday afternoon, the 9th, and myself energetically and explicitly explained in a loud voice to the whole of the men the folly of the idea that possessed them that the Government or that their officers wished to interfere with their caste or religious prejudices; and impressed upon them the absurdity of their for one moment believing that they were *to be forced* to become Christians. I told them the English were Christians of "*The Book,*" *i.e.*, "Protestants;" that we admitted no proselytes but those who being adults could read and fully understand the precepts laid down therein; that if they came and threw themselves down at our feet imploring to be made "*The Book*" Christians it could not be done; they could not be baptised until they had been examined in the tenets of "*The Book*" and proved themselves fully conversant in them, and then they must of their own good-will and accord desire to become Christians of "*The Book*" ere they could be made so. I asked them if they perfectly understood what I said, especially the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry; they nodded assent. I then dismissed the brigade.

9. I have since heard from the officers commanding regiments that their Native officers and men appeared quite "*khoosh*" (pleased) and seemed to be relieved from a heaviness of mind that had possessed them.

10. I cannot but with great caution put any man into confinement, unless I can get full proof of his being one of or a leader at a mutinous meeting, and this is yet wanting.

11. May I state my opinion in regard to the policy of having five or six regiments of native infantry assembled in brigade here, without any European corps of infantry or artillery or cavalry at a *point d'appui*, in case of a mutiny occurring? You will perceive in all this business the native officers were of no use. *In fact, they are afraid of their men,* and dare not act. All they do is to hold themselves aloof, and expect by so doing they will escape censure as not *actively* implicated. This has always occurred on such occasions, and will continue to the end of our sovereignty in India. Well might Sir Charles Metcalfe say—"that he expected to awake some fine morning, and find India had been lost to the English Crown."

12. I had written thus far intending to send this letter to Major-General Low, but having just received a note from Major Mayhew, Deputy Adjutant-General, that Government wished me to communicate direct, I have altered it to the address of Colonel Birch, Military Secretary to Government. I have kept no copy of it.

13. The only circumstance that led to a suspicion of an ill-feeling here was the incendiarism, and I reported it. I could not, nor can I yet fix it, on the sepoys. I can only, as others do, *suspect.*

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major* W. A. J. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 388, dated Fort William, 11th February 1857.*

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 165, of yesterday's date, forwarding a communication from the Major-General Commanding the Presidency Division, bringing to notice a spirit of disaffection prevailing among the native troops at Barrackpore, and in reply to acquaint you that Government are of opinion that Major-General J. B. Hearsey should be requested to keep on the alert to detect meetings among the sepoys, and that he should instruct the officers of the several regiments to go into the lines of their corps and converse with the men, and make use of their best native officers for the purpose of convincing the sepoys that their apprehensions are groundless.

2. The native officers of the several regiments should be reminded by their commanding officers of paras. 16 to 21 of G. G. O. No. 132, of the 23rd January 1856, which hold the native officers responsible to Government for the conduct of the men.

Herewith sent for ready perusal.

3. The delay which has occurred in submitting to Government a report of the proceedings at Barrackpore the Governor-General in Council considers most reprehensible; and His Lordship in Council desires that it may be ascertained where it lies, in order that notice may be taken of it at once. Apparently this delay has not been in your office. It was only on the afternoon of the 10th that Government was informed of what occurred on the 6th instant, and General Hearsey's report is dated the 8th.

4. The Major-General was to have addressed the regiment at Barrackpore on parade on Monday morning, the 9th, and up to this hour nothing is known to Government of the result.

122

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Barrackpore, 12th February 1857.*

I had this morning the honor to receive from the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army a copy of your letter to that officer's address, No. 388 of yesterday's date, and in reply to the first and second paragraphs beg to acquaint you, for the information of Government, that the directions contained therein have been this forenoon, at my own quarters, by myself, carefully communicated to the Brigadier and the several officers commanding regiments at this station, for their particular guidance. I may, however, observe that the measures adverted to had already been carefully adopted by them.

2. As regards the third paragraph of your letter, allow me to remark that if any undue delay has occurred in your receipt of my letter dated the 8th instant, such cannot be attributed to any want of attention of myself or the divisional staff officer, since the letter alluded to was written and despatched to the post office at this station on the day I obtained Lieutenant Allen's written statement. Unfortunately that officer got one day's leave of absence from his commanding officer to visit Calcutta on duty connected with a deceased officer's estate, without my knowledge, so that one day was lost.

3. Not having any mounted orderlies or express camels, I have no other public means of communicating with Calcutta but by the post office, which leaves this station at 3 P.M., a most inconvenient hour. Government may rest assured of my being constantly on the alert to prevent any unauthorised or mutinous assemblages of the sepoys; and further, that I shall not hesitate to seize and confine every man against whom I can procure sufficient proof of being an adviser or leader in these most discreditable proceedings.

4. I have this moment heard from Major H. W. Matthews, Commanding the 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry, that one of his Native doctors has informed him of a conversation he accidentally overheard. I enclose this statement in original. If the *kossid* mentioned could be intercepted *en route* to Dinapore, it might lead to a discovery of the originators of this foolish conspiracy.

5. I have taken no copy of this letter to save delay.

---

*STATEMENT sent by Major* H. W. MATTHEWS, *Commanding the 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry,—dated 12th February 1857.*

*Ramjan Khan, Native Doctor,* states as follows :—"I overheard a sepoy of the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, mention at the

hospital to some one that a *kossid* had been sent to the *Ung-ka-pultan** at Berhampore and to the regiments at Dinapore, informing them that ten or twelve of us have raised a disturbance, and we want you to support us."

Ramjan said he did not remember the date that he heard the above, but it was some days ago. I told him to try and find out the sepoy's name and company whose conversation he had overheard.

---

*Telegram from Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General* G. W. A. Lloyd, *Commanding the Dinapore Division,—No. 469-56, dated Fort William, 13th February 1857.*

It is understood that a *kossid* has been sent to the Native regiments at Dinapore with a letter from some men of the 2nd Grenadier Regiment, requesting the men at Dinapore to support them in raising a disturbance. Measures should be taken without delay to trace this letter, and if possible, to secure the *kossid.*

---

*From Major-General* J. B. Hearsey, c.b., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Head-Quarters, Presidency Division, Barrackpore, 13th February 1857.*

In continuation of my letter of yesterday's date, I have now the honor to transmit, for the information of Government, reports in original from the four officers commanding native corps at this station regarding the present feeling of their men, and other matters connected with this subject, which is I think satisfactory.

2. To prevent delay I have considered it advisable to address you direct, and to send the packet by my son, Captain Hearsey, as the post office arrangements would seem to be defective.

---

*From Colonel* J. D. Kennedy, *Commanding the 70th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Captain* S. Richards, *Officiating Major of Brigade, Barrackpore,—No. 26, dated Barrackpore, 12th February 1857.*

With reference to an extract of a letter from Government, read this morning to commanding officers of regiments by the Major-General Commanding the Presidency Division, in presence of the Brigadier Commanding, I have the honor to report, for the information of Brigadier C. Grant, that some time during the past month I was

* The 19th Bengal Native Infantry.

124

in the lines of my regiment conversing quietly with the native officers upon the apparent disaffection that seemed to exist in this station amongst some of the men; and that again on the 3rd instant, I proceeded to the lines, taking with me the five new cartridges and the sheets of paper I had that forenoon received from the Brigadier. That I explained to my native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and sepoys that there was nothing in the least objectionable to their religion or caste in either the one or the other, distributing at the same time the cartridges and paper amongst them, that they might themselves closely examine them. This they did, when one and all told me they were perfectly satisfied with them, and also with my explanation and assurance that no greased cartridges would be served out to them by Government.

2. I further beg to add that the men of my regiment thoroughly understood and were perfectly satisfied after hearing the address made to the troops the other evening by Major-General J. B. Hearsey, Commanding the Division. The words of the report made to me were that the men were quite "*khoosh*."

---

*From Captain* N. C. Boswell, *Commanding the Left Wing, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, to Major* A. H. Ross, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Presidency Division,—No. 94, dated Barrackpore, 12th February 1857.*

I have the honor, in accordance with the instructions communicated to me this day by the Major-General Commanding the Division, to report for his information that I am decidedly of opinion that the address made by him to the men of the wing under my command at parade on the evening of the 9th instant had a most beneficial effect on the minds of the men.

2. Any apprehension which might have existed amongst them appeared to be done away with, and they expressed to the Major-General himself, when questioned by him, that they fully understood his address.

3. The men of the wing under my command continue to behave in the most orderly, quiet, and soldierlike manner.

---

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* S. G. Wheler, *Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major* A. H. Ross, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Presidency Division,—dated Barrackpore, 12th February 1857.*

In accordance with the wishes of the Major-General Commanding the Division, expressed by him at the meeting of the commanding

officers this day assembled at his quarters, I have the honor to state, for his information, that on the 26th January last I spoke to the native officers and men on parade, denying the false reports that were spreading about the station to the effect that we intended to make them all Christians by force; and which I reported as having done to the Brigadier commanding the station the next day in a demi-official note. Since which I have spoken to the subadar-major and native officers separately, warning them of the responsibility which rests upon them, and the consequences they will draw upon themselves if they conceal from their officers any meetings or assemblies of men which they hear are likely to take place at, or near, or at a distance from their lines, or any matter whatever which they know is likely to prove injurious to their officers or the service at large.

*From Major* H. W. Matthews, *Commanding the 43rd Regiment, Native (Light) Infantry, to Major* A. H. Ross, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Presidency Division,—No. 23, dated Barrackpore, 12th February 1857.*

Having this morning heard Major-General J. B. Hearsey, Commanding the Presidency Division, read part of a letter he had received from the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, I have the honor to report that I have already in person explained to the native commissioned officers and others under my command that it is their duty to bring to my notice every occurrence affecting the discipline and credit of the corps. I beg further to state that I have been and am endeavouring to ascertain the cause of the excitement prevailing amongst the troops, and to find out the leaders of the disaffected. I have to add that I believe the speech lately made to the troops by the Major-General had a good effect; and it was reported to me that the men of my regiment returned to their lines well pleased and satisfied.

*From Major-General* J. B. Hearsey, c.b., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* C. Chester, *Adjutant-General of the Army, Meerut,—dated Head-Quarters, Presidency Division, Barrackpore, 13th February 1857.*

Referring to my official communication to your address, No. 3 of the 25th ultimo, I have now the honor to transmit, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, copies of several letters which I have since addressed to the Deputy Adjutant-General and Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Army for direct submission to the Government of India, having reference to the same subject,—namely, an uneasy and groundless apprehension in the minds of the

sepoys of the regiments at Barrackpore that their religion and caste were to be interfered with by Government.

2. In explanation of this correspondence being unaccompanied by various documents connected therewith, I would beg to state, for His Excellency's information, that to save time, which was of much importance, copies of these papers were not taken.

3. This omission can be, however, remedied hereafter by the Deputy Adjutant-General being authorised to obtain copies from the Military Secretary's Office, if the Commander-in-Chief is of opinion that this measure is desirable.

4. I am happy to be able to add that all unpleasant excitement in the minds of the Native troops at Barrackpore on this subject has now quite subsided, never again to revive I confidently hope.

---

*MEMORANDUM from Colonel* K. YOUNG, *Judge Advocate-General of the Army, to Colonel* C. CHESTER, *Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 182, dated Meerut, 24th February 1857.*

[Report upon papers relating to disaffection among the Native troops at Barrackpore.]

A spirit of disaffection has been found to exist amongst the Native troops at Barrackpore, arising apparently from an idea that has got abroad amongst them that the fat of cows and pigs enters into the composition of the paper with which the cartridges for the new rifles are made up; and it is also supposed that the sepoys are under the impression, misled by some designing enemies of the British Government, that it is intended to force them to embrace the Christian religion. A Court of Inquiry was held to investigate the subject of the objection to the cartridge paper, and the proceedings clearly show that the men have got the absurd idea into their heads, on account of the glazed appearance of the paper, that grease of some kind is used in preparing it. In the first instance it seems that the objection was understood to apply merely to the composition used in greasing the cartridges, but the enquiry has shown that the objection goes also to the paper.

2. On the evening of the day on which the Court of Inquiry sat (the 6th February), a sepoy of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, came to the officer of his company, Lieutenant Allen, and told him of a plot amongst the sepoys, who were apprehensive of being forced to give up their caste and be made Christians, to plunder Barrackpore and attempt to seize Fort William or the Treasury. A meeting of delegates

from different regiments was, Lieutenant Allen's informant said, to take place the same night; and, at his suggestion, Lieutenant Allen, having reported the matter to the senior authorities, proceeded with their sanction in the direction indicated, but saw no appearance of any meeting, and the roll having been called in every regiment at the same time all the men were reported to be present in their lines. The sepoy who gave the information to Lieutenant Allen, when subsequently questioned on the subject, stated that he knew that a meeting had taken place on the 5th February, though he was not present at it himself, and he understood that it was then arranged that another meeting should be held on the following night (the 6th); and he adds that after he returned to the lines from Lieutenant Allen's he actually saw the men leaving their lines and proceeding to the place of assembly, but he supposes that a suspicion must have got abroad that their intentions were discovered, inducing them consequently to abandon the projected meeting. The sepoy informant (Ramsahai Lalla) appears to bear a very good character, and there seems no reason to doubt his story, except that he has probably very much exaggerated matters. He has not named any individuals who were present at the meeting of the 5th. But on the 10th February, a Native officer of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, Jemadar Durriow, came forward of his own accord and stated that he was involuntarily present at the meeting on the 5th February, two or three men (sepoys) having come to him after the eight o'clock roll-call and made him accompany them to the parade ground where he found a great crowd, composed to the best of his belief of the men of the different regiments at the station, to the number of about three hundred, who had their heads tied up with cloths, leaving only a small part of the face exposed. The jemadar says that the question of killing the Europeans and plundering the station was discussed, but he reasoned with the mutineers, and at length on his going away they dispersed. The jemadar mentions the names of two sepoys who took him away, and he thinks he recognised the voice of the drill-havildar of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry. The above is apparently all the principal information that has been hitherto obtainable regarding these mutinous proceedings at Barrackpore, and I am requested to state what course I consider best to be pursued towards the parties implicated in the night meetings, and to report as to the possibility or otherwise of substantiating charges against any of them.

3. The only individuals against whom charges could be framed are the two sepoys who took away the jemadar to the meeting on the

5th, and their conviction would be dependent upon his evidence, corroborated as it would be in some measure by the testimony of the sepoy who gave Lieutenant Allen notice of the intended meeting on the 6th. I do not think that the trial of these men would be desirable. The best course, it appears to me, would be to take no active steps at present in the matter, but for Major-General J. B. Hearsey to quietly proceed in his enquiries, when, if further information is eventually procurable, fixing the guilt of assisting at these mutinous meetings on the men named or on others, to place them on their trial or to summarily discharge them, as circumstances may render most expedient.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—No. 96, dated Head-Quarters, Presidency Division, Barrackpore, 5th March 1857.*

In forwarding for the orders of Government the enclosed letter, dated the 2nd instant, received yesterday evening from the Officer Commanding the Depot of Musketry at Dum-Dum, I beg distinctly to state my opinion that the new mode of loading the Enfield rifle (as proposed by Major Bontein) should be adopted, and taught not only at this but at the two other depots.

2. This new mode of loading may be considered as a part of the intended drill for a new weapon about to be introduced into the service, and not as a concession extorted by discontented men. I am the more convinced that this would be proper, since I have myself already carefully explained to the whole of the Native troops at Barrackpore, at a general parade, that neither the Government nor its officers ever have or ever will interfere with their caste prejudices, or permit others to meddle with such.

3. By introducing this new mode of drill,—namely, breaking the cartridge with the hand instead of by biting it,—all discontent or uneasy feeling in regard to their caste prejudices on that account will be or ought to be effectually removed. We shall thus be keeping our word with the sepoys, and at the same time introducing a better plan of loading with reference to their religious scruples.

4. I propose, therefore, with the sanction of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council to empower Major Bontein to adopt this alteration in the rifle exercise.

5. I beg to add that a copy of this and of Major Bontein's letter will be sent to Army Head-Quarters, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

*From Brevet-Major* J. BONTEIN, *Commanding Depot of Musketry, to Major* A. H. Ross, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Presidency Division, Barrackpore,—dated Dum-Dum, 2nd March 1857.*

I am sorry that it should be my duty to report, for the information of Major-General Hearsey, Commanding the Division, an unwillingness on the part of some of the sepoys (Hindus belonging to the Dum-Dum School of Musketry) to bite the cartridge according to the established regulation for loading the rifle musket.

2. This unwillingness has not manifested itself in any decided form, for the course of instruction has not yet arrived at that period when the cartridge is brought into practice; however, as the feeling of objection has been expressed in my presence, I feel it my duty to bring the circumstance to notice.

3. During the past week the European and native officers belonging to this depot have been learning the process of cartridge-making, which forms a portion of the course of instruction at the Hythe School of Musketry. The native officers performed this duty with perfect readiness; accordingly I ordered No. 2 section, composed of sepoys belonging to the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, and 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, to attend the lecture room for similar instruction.

A sepoy of the name of Petum Singh of the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, stated his objections to the process. I immediately called upon him in the presence of the other men to explain his reason; he was quiet and respectful in his manner. He said that individually he had no objection; but that on rejoining, the men of his regiment would consider that he had forfeited caste if he put the cartridge to his mouth. I replied that he had not *then* been required to bite the cartridge. I gave him the option to obey my orders and take his place amongst the other men at cartridge-making, or I should not allow him to join his section at instruction, and should punish him for disobedience. My order was of course immediately attended to, and thus to the extent of cartridge-making no difficulty exists.

4. This sudden and very unexpected participation in a feeling which I had heard existed elsewhere has induced me to make further enquiry, and in venturing to offer the following suggestion, I trust that I may not be suspected of inclining to favor a groundless caprice, or yielding in the smallest degree to an unwarrantable spirit of opposition on the part of the Native soldier. Amongst the men of this depot there never has been the least tendency to insubordination; my orders have on every occasion been implicitly obeyed, and even in the

instance now brought to the notice of the Major-General there was not a symptom of disrespect nor unsoldierlike remonstrance.

5. The question with which I now venture to trouble Major-General J. B. Hearsey, and further to solicit a reference to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, is whether the existing regulation for loading the firelock or rifle musket may not, with increase of efficiency and advantage to the service, be slightly modified.

6. Permit me to quote the regulation as it now stands—The firelock being at the word "*Prepare to load*" placed on the ground six inches in front of the body, and held *at the full extent of the left arm*, the recruit receives the order "*Load*," upon which the regulation says—

"*1st*—Bring the cartridge to the mouth, holding it between the fore-finger and thumb with the ball in the hand, and bite off the top; elbow close to the body."

7. The above regulation is at present in force; but I would submit that the practice of biting the cartridge is a mere remnant of the platoon exercise introduced in the days of the flint and steel firelock, when the musket being brought to the right side with the left hand, for the purpose of *priming*, it was almost impossible to use the cartridge without the aid of the teeth. However, as the system was of long standing, and no objection could be pointed out to the materials employed, beyond an absurd dislike to the new quality of cartridge-paper, I very naturally enquired why they should not adhere to the old established practice. If I may trust the statement of the native officers belonging to this depot, it would appear that, notwithstanding the existence of the *rule*, it has been always more or less evaded throughout the service. The *form* of biting the cartridge has been duly observed, but the *practice* has been to tear it immediately afterwards with the left hand.

8. The truth of this statement will doubtless be disputed by most commandants and adjutants of regiments. I give the information as it has reached me; and with every deference to my superiors in rank, I would respectfully observe that it is quite as probable as it is practicable.

9. Having thus entered upon the present state of feeling with regard to biting the cartridge, and having ventured to point out the peculiar character of the existing regulation, I beg permission to bring to the notice of Major-General J. B. Hearsey a plan whereby all difficulty may be accommodated, and the same end attained in a manner more military and (under certain physical difficulties) more effectual.

10. I would suggest that at the third motion of the order "*Prepare to load*," the left hand, instead of holding the musket at the full extent of the arm, should, after placing it on the ground in front of the body, slip up and seize the rifle at the brass band or tip to the stock. It will then be in a position to meet the right hand, which conveys the cartridge from the pouch, to tear off the cartridge paper in place of using the teeth, and (at the fourth motion of the word "*load*," when the right hand seizes the head of the ramrod) to return to the centre part of the stock ready to throw up the firelock into the *capping position* at the sixth command of the platoon exercise.

11. The above suggestion I offer with every deference to the judgment of superior experience. I do not in the least intend to consult the caprice of the native soldier. My motive is an *increase* of *efficiency*, and I venture to believe that if Major-General J. B. Hearsey will be pleased to forward my letter with his recommendation to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the plan proposed will be found to contain all that is desirable in the process of loading either the Enfield rifle or common firelock.

12. In conclusion, to return to the state of feeling upon this question at the Dum-Dum School of Musketry, I beg that I may be favoured with such instructions as the Major-General may deem best suited to the occasion.

13. I do not anticipate any positive refusal to bite the cartridge in the first instance; but I am prepared to find that the Hindu sepoys will as above described go through the *form* only, adopting at the same time their old practice.

14. I can either tacitly overlook this pending the decision of authority, or I am prepared to obey the orders of the Major-General and enforce the due observance of the regulation. In the latter case I may possibly have prisoners for disobedience of orders.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. Hearsey, c.b., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* C. Chester, *Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 11, dated Head-Quarters, Presidency Division, Barrackpore, 6th March 1857.*

I beg that you will do me the honor to submit to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief the accompanying copies of letters as per margin, which I yesterday forwarded to Colonel Birch, for the information and orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council.

1. Letter No. 96, dated 5th March 1857, from the Major-General Commanding the Division, to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department.
2. Letter, dated 2nd March 1857, from Major J. Bontein, Commanding Musketry Depot at Dum-Dum, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Presidency Division.

*Demi-official from Lieutenant-Colonel* W. St. L. Mitchell, *Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, Berhampore, to Major* A. H. Ross, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—dated Berhampore, 16th February 1857.*

I received your letter of the 13th February 1857 yesterday; by the same post I received a letter from Colonel Birch, Military Secretary to Government, dated Council Chamber, Fort William, 13th February 1857, informing me that a *kossid* had been sent to my regiment from some men in the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, at Barrackpore, requesting the men of my regiment to support them in raising a disturbance. This morning early I went to the lines of my regiment and made private enquiries of the sergeant-major, the subadar-major and the drill-havildar, each separately, and they declared positively in the presence of my adjutant that no *kossid* had arrived in the lines: if any *kossid* had arrived and tried to create a bad feeling towards Government in the minds of the men of my regiment, they would certainly have heard of it and reported the circumstance to me. At eleven o'clock this day I assembled all the Native commissioned and non-commissioned officers (pay and color havildars) of my regiment at the mess-house, and questioned them as to what reports they had heard regarding the Enfield rifle and ammunition about to be served out to the Bengal Army: the subadar-major replied that the report was that the cartridges about to be served out to the army were made up with cows' and pigs' fat, so that when the sepoys bit off the end of the cartridges they would lose caste. I asked all present if they believed such a report; they said they did not believe that Government would serve out anything with cows' and pigs' fat to Hindu and Mussulman soldiers, as both were contrary to their religious prejudices. There has not been the slightest appearance of uneasiness in the minds of the men of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry. About a fortnight ago a Brahmin pay-havildar, a man of good character, and in whom I have great confidence, said to me—"What is this story everybody is talking about, that Government intends making the native army use cows' and pigs' fat with the ammunition for their new rifles?" I asked him if he believed there was any truth in the report; he replied he could not believe it. I assured him he might set his mind at rest on the subject, for if the men of the regiment had any doubts on the subject, I would apply to the Major-General Commanding the Division to allow the pay-havildars of companies to provide any grease that was required for their companies, so that the men of the regiment

might see what grease they used and how it was prepared. This conversation was circulated through the regiment, and nothing more was thought of it.

If any *kossid* was sent from Barrackpore, whatever message he may have brought has had no effect upon the men of my regiment.

I have desired the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers of my regiment to report to me without delay any rumours connected with the army that may reach the regiment from any quarter. At the close of this meeting I had paras. 6, 7, 8, and 9 of section 9 of the Standing Orders for the Native Infantry read and explained to all present.

I have now been nearly sixteen months in command of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, and I consider the men as a body are quiet, orderly and obedient, and some of the native officers very superior to the generality of native officers; I mean they are well educated men for their rank in life.

If anything occurs here to make me change my opinion, I will immediately report the same to you for the information of the Major-General Commanding the Division.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, Fort William—dated Barrackpore, 21st February 1857.*

I deem it my duty to forward the accompanying letters to be laid before the Governor-General of India in Council, being very desirous that every matter connected with the ill-feeling or discontent of the sepoys of the Barrackpore brigade should be laid before Government.

It is evident to me that having failed in the first attempt, a second is being or is about to be made on the men to induce them to misbehave.

Who the authors are I can only suspect, but my suspicion leads to the followers of the King of Oudh.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Major* W. A. J. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, Calcutta,—No. 85, dated Barrackpore, 1st March 1857.*

I have the honor to forward, for submission to Government, the enclosed demi-official letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, dated the 27th ultimo, reporting the mutinous conduct of that battalion on the night of the

26th idem, and the measures which he consequently adopted for the restoration of order and discipline.

2. I have directed Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell by this day's dâk to exert his utmost endeavours to discover the ringleaders of this disgraceful outbreak, and particularly whether the party of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, alluded to were the originators of such.

3. I have despatched a copy of Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's letter to Army Head-Quarters for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

---

*Demi-official from Lieutenant-Colonel* W. St. L. Mitchell, *Commanding the 19th Regiment Native Infantry, to Major* A. H. Ross, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—dated Berhampore, 27th February 1857.*

On the 25th a detachment of European invalids, under the command of Lieutenant Ferris, Her Majesty's 29th Regiment, arrived at this station, bringing with them a guard of one havildar, one naick, and twelve sepoys of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, which was relieved the same day by a guard of the same strength from my regiment. The havildar's party of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, are encamped on the left of our lines, about a hundred yards. Yesterday I ordered a parade for this morning for exercise, each man to be served with fifteen rounds of blank ammunition. It is the custom in this regiment to serve out the copper caps to the men in the afternoon and the blank cartridges in the morning; the men refused the caps, saying there was a doubt how the cartridges were prepared; this information was given to me by my adjutant between seven and eight o'clock. I went down with him to the lines, and called up all the native commissioned officers in front of the quarter-guard and explained to them that the cartridges about to be served out in the morning were cartridges made up by the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, upwards of a year ago, and that they had better tell the men of their companies, that those who refused to obey the orders of their officers were liable to the severest punishment. The native officers said they would speak to the men of their companies, and they had no doubt everything would pass off quietly. I ordered a general parade in the morning of all the troops in the station. Between ten and eleven o'clock at night, as I was about to sleep, I heard the sound of drums and a shout from the direction of the lines. I dressed immediately, went over to my adjutant's quarters, and directed him to assemble all the officers at my quarters quietly. I then went to Captain Alexander and directed him to

bring his cavalry as soon as possible into cantonments, and to be ready at some distance on the right of our lines. I then went to the artillery lines and got the detachment of artillery, guns, and ammunition, ready for immediate action. I must explain that by the time I got to the adjutant's quarters the drill-havildar of the regiment was making his way to the adjutant's quarters. I asked what the disturbance was in the lines; he said the regiment had broken open the bells-of-arms and had forcibly taken possession of their arms and ammunition, and that they had loaded their muskets. As soon as I got the cavalry and artillery ready, I marched down with the officers of the regiment to the lines. I found the men in undress formed in line and shouting. Some voices among them called out—"Do not come on, the men will fire."

I loaded the two guns with grape, dismounted some of the troopers, and marched down on the men (leaving the guns within range behind). I called a bugler, sounded the officers' call, on which the native officers and a number of men surrounded us, and I asked them the meaning of all this disturbance. The native officers made all kinds of excuses, begging that I would not be violent with the men. I then addressed the men and asked them what they had to complain of. I told them that I had explained to the native officers some days ago that if grease was required to be used for the new cartridges I would apply to the Major-General Commanding the Division to allow the pay-havildars of companies to make up what was required for their companies; the men said they were never told so by the native officers.

I told the officers they must immediately call upon their men to lay down their arms; the native officers told me the men would not do so in the presence of the guns and cavalry, but if I would withdraw them they would go off quietly to their lines. This was about three o'clock in the morning. I ordered a parade at sunrise, and retired, sending the cavalry to their lines and the guns to the magazine. This morning at sunrise I went to parade; the regiment turned out as usual. I inspected the arms and examined the pouches; several of the men had not their ten rounds of ammunition in pouch, some had nine rounds and a bullet with the mark of the screw in it, as if a charge had been drawn. The parade this morning was quiet and orderly; after inspection I had the Articles of War read to the men; saluted the colours; and dismissed the parade. I have ordered an European Court of Inquiry to assemble at the mess-house at eleven o'clock, the proceedings of which I will forward without any delay to you. It is 9 A.M. I have just returned from parade. All is quiet. I must close, as the dâk is going out.

*P.S.*—I will detain the guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, until I hear from you. On second thoughts I countermanded the general parade, and had only the parade of my own regiment.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Major* W. A. J. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, Calcutta,—No. 86, dated Barrackpore, 2nd March 1857.*

In continuation of my letter of yesterday's date, No. 85, I have the honor to forward another demi-official communication in original on the same subject, dated the 28th ultimo, from the Officer Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, at Berhampore, which I request may be at once submitted for the information of Government through the Military Secretary.

2. A copy of Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's letter will be transmitted to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief by this day's dâk.

---

*Demi-official from Lieutenant-Colonel* W. ST. L. MITCHELL, *Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major* A. H. ROSS, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—dated Berhampore, 28th February 1857.*

Yesterday, after my letter to your address was despatched, a Court of Inquiry was assembled at the mess-house at eleven o'clock, the proceedings of which will be continued to-day, and these proceedings will, in all probability, elucidate the whole matter.

Yesterday evening the adjutant reported to me that the men, instead of sleeping in their lines, had assembled for the purpose of sleeping by the bells-of-arms; they were however quite orderly, and made no noise, but appeared to dislike leaving their arms. I did not think it right to do anything further last night than order a parade this morning. I formed a hollow square, had out the four senior sepoys from each company, and asked them their objections to the cartridges; they said that they were doubtful about their being greased. I opened cartridges of all sorts, service and blank, left us by the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, and some balled practice lately received from Calcutta. I burnt them before the men, but as amongst the blank cartridges there were some made with a more highly glazed paper, they accepted the other paper as all right but mistrusted the glazed; they said they would be satisfied if both papers equally stood the test of water; of course the unglazed paper took up water readily, and they expressed their

137

opinion the other was greased. I enclose the two different sorts of paper; one of each kind has been wetted and one not. I told the men that I would not allow them to seize the kotes, and that if they did it to-night, I would put a section of each company on duty over the kotes with double sentries. I write to you in a demi-official form for the information of the Major-General Commanding. When the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry are closed, I will then send you a statement of the whole business. I have kept a copy of this letter. I don't enter it into the letter book, as the contents would soon be spread over the lines. I had not time to take a copy of my letter to you yesterday, but will thank you to send me a copy at your leisure.

---

*Telegram from Captain* S. H. BECHER, *Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, to Major* W. A. J. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Roorkee, 10th March 1857.*

Your letter No. 140, with enclosure. Received also from Major-General J. B. Hearsey copy of Colonel Mitchell's letter, dated 28th February, to Major A. H. Ross. The Commander-in-Chief thinks the Government may already have issued instructions about the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, so inform Government and state His Excellency recommends removal of this corps as soon as possible by land to Dinapore, and the 8th Regiment, Native Infantry, to be sent to Barrackpore by water, but not to start until 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, has quitted the station. In the possible event of 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, refusing to march, a European force must (the Commander-in-Chief observes) be sent from Dinapore, and this station reinforced from the provinces. If Government approves, this measure will of course be carried out direct from Calcutta. A reply by telegraph to Meerut requested.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, Fort William,—No. 94, dated Barrackpore, 5th March 1857.*

I have the honor to forward herewith a letter, in original, dated the 2nd instant, with two enclosures, from the Officer Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, at Berhampore, which I beg you will do me the favor to submit for the information of Government.

138

2. This despatch only reached me an hour ago, and as there is no time to take a copy for transmission to Army Head-Quarters, I request that you will oblige me by causing this to be done hereafter, if considered by you to be desirable.

3. I send this by a special messenger.

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* W. St. L. Mitchell, *Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major* A. H. Ross, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—dated Berhampore, 2nd March 1857.*

Enclosed I have the honor to send you a petition from the men of my regiment to the Major-General Commanding the Division. You will observe that what has now occurred has been owing to rumours they have heard during the last two or three months. The European Court of Inquiry is still sitting, and I hope their proceedings will explain the whole of this mystery.

*TRANSLATION of the petition from the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and sepoys of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major-General* J. B. Hearsey, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division.*

Hitherto this regiment has been always obedient in every way, and marched and halted whenever ordered without question of any sort. For the last two months or more it has been rumoured that new cartridges have been made in the magazine at Calcutta on the paper of which bullocks' or pigs' fat was spread, and that it was the intention of Government to coerce the men to bite them. On this account we are very much afraid on the score of our religion. The colonel, on hearing this, assembled the native officers and told them that on the arrival of the new muskets he would make such arrangements as would satisfy them, that is to say, that such grease as was necessary should be prepared before the sepoys by the pay-havildars of companies. With this we were perfectly satisfied. After some time, some fresh stores arrived from Calcutta, and on the 26th of this month we received orders, on the following day to fire fifteen rounds of blank cartridge per man. At four o'clock in the afternoon the cartridges were received at the bells-of-arms and inspected by us. We perceived them to be of two kinds, and one sort appeared to be different from that formerly served out. Hence we doubted whether these might not be the cartridges which had arrived from Calcutta, as we had made none ourselves, and were convinced that they were greased. On this account, and through religious

139

scruples, we refused to take the caps. At half-past seven o'clock the colonel accompanied by the adjutant came upon parade, and very angrily gave orders to us, saying—"If you will not take the cartridges, I will take you to Burma, where, through hardship, you will all die. These cartridges are those left behind by the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, and I will serve them out to-morrow morning by the hands of the officers commanding companies." He gave this order so angrily that we were convinced that the cartridges were greased, otherwise he would not have spoken so. The same night, about a quarter to eleven, shouts of various kinds were heard; some said there is a fire, others that they were surrounded by Europeans; some said that the guns had arrived, others that the cavalry had appeared. In the midst of this row the alarm sounded on a drum, then from fear of our lives the greater number seized their arms from the kotes. Between twelve and one o'clock, the 11th Regiment, Irregular Cavalry, and the guns with torches arrived on the parade with the commanding officer, which still more confirmed our suspicions of the cartridges being greased, inasmuch as the commanding officer appeared to be about to carry his threats into execution by force. We had been hearing of this sort of thing for the last two months or more, and here appeared to be the realization of it. On this the colonel called all the native officers and said to them very angrily—"This is a very bad business; we don't fear to die, and will die here." Then the native officers in the most respectful manner represented to him—"The sepoys are fools, whereas you have sense and judgment. Do not at this time speak so angrily, for this is a matter affecting their religion, and that is no slight thing. Please to send the artillery and cavalry away." The colonel agreed to this, and sent each officer with his native officer to his company to soothe and explain to the men. The sepoys represented that all men value their religion, and we believe we shall lose caste by biting these cartridges, and on seeing the artillery and cavalry we became more frightened. The officers then said to the men—"We will ask the colonel to send away the cavalry and guns," which was accordingly done. At the same time, however, the colonel said—"I will have a general parade in the morning, when I will have the Governor-General's orders read out." On this the native officers again represented to him that only a short portion of the night remained, and if he had the cavalry and guns there so soon again the men would only believe that they were intended to act against them. It would be better if he only paraded the regiment alone. At first he would not agree to this, but on its again being represented to him by the adjutant, he agreed

to it. The men then lodged their arms and went to their lines. They all appeared on parade on the following morning. On the 28th again, according to orders, there was another parade, at which the cartridges which the men had refused to fire were inspected, when assuredly two kinds of cartridges were found,—one kind of white thin paper, and the other darker and thicker. On burning and submerging the two, the difference still was evident, which did not remove the distrust. The colonel put up specimens of each kind of paper, and has sent them to you. From that time onwards all duties have been properly carried on, and so shall be as long as we live. We will faithfully obey all orders. Wherever in the field of battle we are ordered to go, there shall we be found. Therefore, with every respect we now petition that since this is a religious question, from which arose our dread, and as religion is, by the order of God, the first thing, we petition that as we have done formerly we may be now also allowed to make up our own cartridges, and we will obey whatever orders may be given to us; and we will ever pray for you.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Barrackpore, 7th March 1857.*

I have the honor to forward the Proceedings of a European Court of Inquiry held at Berhampore, by order of Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, in regard to the mutinous conduct of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, which has already been reported by me to Government.

As the whole of the circumstances regarding this outbreak are fully detailed in it I do not think it requires me (unless I am called upon to do so) to offer any further opinion on this most untoward occurrence.

---

*From Lieutenant* I. F. MACANDREW, *Adjutant, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Captain* W. C. ALEXANDER, *Commanding the 11th Irregular Cavalry,—No. 51, dated Station Staff Office, Berhampore, 27th February 1857.*

I have the honor to inform you, by direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, commanding the station, that the Court of Inquiry, of which you are appointed President, is assembled for the purpose of investigating the cause and origin of the men of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, having broken open their bells-of-arms and seized their arms last night. You are authorised to summon such witnesses as you may require.

*PROCEEDINGS of an European Court of Inquiry held at Berhampore, on the 27th day of February 1857, by order of Lieutenant-Colonel* W. St. L. Mitchell, *Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, for the purpose of investigating such matter as may be laid before it.*

President:

*Captain* W. C. Alexander, *11th Regiment, Irregular Cavalry.*

Members:

*Captain* J. B. Y. Matheson, *52nd Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Captain* E. H. C. Wintle, *61st Regiment, Native Infantry.*

Interpreter:

*Lieutenant* J. Vallings, *19th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

Pursuant to Station Orders of this date, the Court assembled at 11 A.M. at the mess-house of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry.

President, Members, and Interpreter all present.

Letter No. 51, from the Station Staff Officer, is produced and annexed to the Proceedings.

*1st Witness.*

*Lieutenant Isaac Forsyth MacAndrew, Adjutant, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and states—

Last night, about seven o'clock, a report was made to me by the sergeant-major and drill-havildar that the men of the regiment had refused to take the caps served out to them, in accordance with regimental custom, the evening before a parade for firing blank ammunition, the cartridges being served out in the morning. I immediately went to the colonel, and reported their refusal. He took me with him to the quarter-guard of the regiment, and sent for the native officers, to whom he explained that the objections of the sepoys to take the cartridges were groundless; inasmuch as these cartridges were not of a new construction, but the same as had been served to the army for years, and were made up in the regimental magazine by the sepoys of the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry. The colonel further told the native officers that he would parade the regiment in the morning, and that the officers of companies should serve the cartridges out to the men upon the parade, according to the roll of the company; and that the first man who refused to take the cartridges should be tried by a court-martial. We then went home, and the colonel directed me to send an order to Captain W. C. Alexander, Commanding the 11th Regiment, Irregular Cavalry, to have his regiment on the parade of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, at six o'clock in the morning; he also directed me to bring down the post guns at the same time. About twelve o'clock, I was

awoke by the colonel and havildar-major informing me that the men had broken open the bells-of-arms, seized their muskets, and were making a great noise in the lines. The colonel directed me to assemble all the officers at his quarters, and to get out the guns immediately prepared for service. When this was done, we all went with the guns down to the parade and halted about two hundred and fifty yards in front of the sergeant-major's bungalow, and found the 11th Regiment, Irregular Cavalry, drawn up at some distance on the right of the parade. The colonel directed me to tell Captain Alexander to move up his regiment close to the guns; at this time the men were in a state of great excitement, shouting loudly. The colonel then directed me to go to the quarter-guard and sound for the Native officers to assemble in front. The drum was beat twice in my presence to call them, and I sent two sepoys of the guard for the same purpose. When I heard some of the native officers answer across the tank that they were coming, I returned to the colonel to report it. When I approached the guard I was challenged in the usual manner some distance to the right and to the front by a man in Hindustani clothes with belt and musket. I answered to his challenge "officer," and he called out to the guard: "He is the adjutant." I went up to the guard without any further challenge, except from the sentry there. The guard was perfectly steady, and received me as usual with shouldered arms, and a drummer without hesitation obeyed my order to sound for the native officers. The native officer in command of the guard informed me that the men in the lines had loaded, and would fire upon me if I crossed that way. When I returned to the colonel I reported this, and he ordered the guns to be loaded with grape. He then told me to remain there, and not to allow the artillery or cavalry to advance until he returned. He went towards the men, and on his return I went down to them. They offered no violence whatever, but evinced great mistrust of the cartridges, and declared they would not surrender their arms until the artillery and cavalry were removed. This was eventually done, and they lodged their arms and were quiet for the rest of the night. This morning at seven o'clock they turned out for parade, and were orderly and obedient. Their pouches were inspected, and such as were deficient in the number of cartridges they ought to have had were marked for future proceedings. After the parade was dismissed, and I was the only officer left upon parade, the subadar-major reported to me that the men were at the kotes, and would not go to the lines; and sure enough the companies were standing there. I proceeded at once to my own

company, and sent to call the colonel. In reaching my own company, I ordered them to lodge their arms at once and go to their lines. They obeyed, and the others followed their example. By the time the colonel reached the parade again, they had gone. I then went home.

*Question*—What was the cause of the men turning out?

*Answer*—When I went down among them they told me that the reason was that the artillery and cavalry was sent for, and they thought that they would be attacked.

*2nd Witness*

*Brevet-Captain L. R. Newhouse, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and states as follows:—

About a quarter-past seven in the evening of the 26th, the orderly-havildar of my company informed me that the men would not receive their caps. I told the man to go away, and that I would see about it in the morning. And as I was officer of the day, the native officer of the day reported to me that the men would not take their caps. I then told him to go and report the matter to the adjutant and commanding officer.

*Question*—Did either the orderly-havildar or native officer of the day give any reason for the men not taking the caps?

*Answer*—The orderly-havildar said that the men refused to take the caps in the evening because they were afraid of losing them.

*Question*—What induced you to go down to the lines to report the circumstance to the colonel of the men refusing to take their caps?

*Answer*—Being orderly officer, I considered it my duty to report it, and for that purpose went to his quarters. Being told that he had gone to the lines with the adjutant, I went there too, thinking the matter was something serious.

*Question*—Did the native officer of the day report to you that the men had broken open the kotes and seized their muskets, and did he give any reason for their doing so?

*Answer*—Yes, he did report that the kotes had been broken open and the muskets taken out; but I am not exactly certain what reasons he gave for their doing so.

*Question*—Did you at any time hear the cause of their forcibly taking the muskets out of the kotes?

*Answer*—Yes. When I went to my own company to try and persuade the men to give up their arms, they refused to do

*Answer*—(concld.)

so, saying that they had taken them out to defend themselves against the cavalry, which had been ordered down. Upon this I called for the subadar of the company; but the men replied with a laugh that he had been away, and had been absent since ten o'clock in the day. I remember no one in particular saying so, except Jhoolun Singh, pay-havildar. The men also said that the subadar had sent away his family and traps.

*3rd Witness*

*Sergeant-Major John Frawley, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and questioned as follows:—

*Question*—When did you first hear that the men of your regiment were dissatisfied?

*Answer*—Yesterday evening, the 26th, after I had dismissed the evening drill, the pay-havildars of companies came to me and made me the usual reports at evening roll-call. Three of them did not come up with the others, *viz.*, Hussen Khan of No. 5 Company, Thackoor Sing of No. 7, and Kaleechurn of No. 8. Hussen Khan came up the first of these three, as I was going to my bungalow. I asked him why he had not come up with the other havildars. He replied that he went to see if the caps had been served out, and that he found that they had not. I asked him the reason why they were not. He told me that the men refused to take them, as they had some doubts about the cartridges. I asked him if any other companies had refused. He said he did not know, but thought they had also refused. I then called all the orderly-havildars, who came up. I asked them one by one whether their companies had refused to take the caps. They all, with the exception of No. 5 orderly-havildar, replied that the men had said that they would do all alike. No. 5 orderly-havildar distinctly said that they refused to take them. Both the subadar-major and havildar-major were present, as also the drill-naick. I told the subadar-major to look after the regiment, as he was not in uniform, and explain to the

145

*Answer*—(concld.)

regiment that there were no blank cartridges in the magazine from Calcutta, the only blank cartridges were those made over by the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, which regiment we relieved here, and that I would go and report the circumstances to the adjutant, which I did.

*Question*—After your return to the lines, did anything further occur?

*Answer*—Yes; after the drum-major and orderly-havildars had left after making the reports at eight o'clock roll-call, the drum-major returned immediately, and told me that he had heard that a number of men, supposed to be of the light company, got into the tank on the left front of the lines and vowed that if any man was taken out of the tank in the morning that they would rescue him. I sent the drum-major to acquaint the adjutant, as I could not then leave the lines considering the state the regiment was in. Between ten and eleven o'clock, as I was lying awake in my bed, I heard a rush made on the bells-of-arms with shouting by the men of the regiment, the doors of which were forced open, the arms and accoutrements taken out and carried to the lines. I got up immediately, and went to see what it was all about. Shortly after this, the havildar-major came up and reported what had taken place. I directed him to report the matter immediately to the adjutant, and also sent Rampersad, sepoy of No. 3 Company and drill-instructor, who also came up with him. As far as I can remember, between twelve and one o'clock the 11th Regiment, Irregular Cavalry, came up. When the regiment arrived, the men on discovering it rushed out of the lines shouting, and assembled near the kotes. I left my bungalow and went to the cavalry for protection. I remained there until Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell and the officers of the regiment arrived. All the officers went to the lines, and the colonel left me in charge of the guns.

I beg further to state that on one occasion I was warned to leave, and on another not to approach my bungalow.

146

*Question*—Do you know why the men broke open the kotes and seized the arms?

*Answer*—No; I cannot give any reason, except that they most probably expected to be attacked by the cavalry and artillery. Had there been any other reason they would have waited till the morning, when they could have had their arms without forcing the kotes.

The Court adjourned at 4 P.M.

---

*Saturday, 28th February 1857.*

The Court re-assembled this day at eleven o'clock.

*4th Witness*

*Shaik Kureem Bux, subadar, No. 4 Company, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry*, is called into Court, and states as follows:—

On the evening of the 26th, after sunset roll-call, the orderly-havildar of my company reported to me that all was correct. I then went to my house. In less than half an hour after this the kote-havildar and orderly-havildar came and told me that the men would not take their percussion caps. I asked the reason why. They said that it was rumoured amongst the men that the cartridges were suspicious, and that they said "We will not lose caste by taking them." The subadar-major then summoned all the native officers at his house, and said to them you must try and settle this matter at eight o'clock roll-call, and report it also at once to the officers commanding your companies. About an hour afterwards I heard that the commanding officer had come down to the lines, and had summoned the native officers to him. At this time a considerable body of men had assembled around the colonel, who was very angry. I did not hear all that he said; but I heard him say that they must take the cartridges, otherwise they would be sent to China and Burma, where they would all die; "and recollect that I will have a parade to-morrow morning, and have the cartridges served out to you by the officers of companies, and those that refuse to take them will be imprisoned or transported." He also said the objections you make to the cartridges are perfectly groundless, as they are all ones which we received from the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry. The colonel then went to his house. At eight o'clock roll-call I explained to my company what the colonel had said. No one made a reply to this. So I then went to my house. I doubted at the time whether they

believed me. About a quarter to eleven o'clock, I heard a great noise in the lines. The orderly-havildar reported to me that the men of my company and of all the rest had taken their arms and accoutrements from the kotes. I went to the men, whom I found with their arms and belts on. I asked them what was the meaning of it. Some said that Europeans were coming to kill them, others said the artillery was coming, and others the cavalry. I found I could do nothing with them, so I returned to my house and told the orderly-havildar to go and report it to the officer commanding the company. The orderly-havildar said—"The officer will be asleep." I said—"That does not signify; you must wake him up and report it." He went and did so. I remained in my house. After twelve o'clock I heard the colonel was on parade through the orderly-havildar—who said—"Be quick, the colonel has called for all the native officers." I went to him and found the artillery and cavalry were on the parade. The colonel ordered us to separate our companies from the others and call the roll. The European officers were also present, and each tried to assemble his company. Lieutenant Macdonald, in charge of my company, tried also, but without effect. All the native officers then went to the colonel. He was very angry. I said to him—"Don't be angry now, as it is of no use. Excuse the men now, as they are ignorant men. Kindly send the cavalry and artillery away, and everything will be settled in the morning." The colonel consented, but said he will have a parade of all the troops. I again begged of him to refrain from having the cavalry and artillery there; he at first refused, saying—"I command all the troops, and can assemble them when I choose." I did not think it proper to further urge him, so said nothing more. The colonel then went away. I was, however, afraid of the consequences, as so short a time would intervene should this order be carried into effect, so spoke to the adjutant and quartermaster, and begged of them to ask the colonel not to have the artillery and cavalry on parade, as the men would be still suspicious of being forced. The adjutant then rode after the colonel, and returning shortly said the colonel has consented to have the regiment parade alone. We then all went to the lines. In the morning, the regiment was assembled on the parade at the appointed hour; the muskets and pouches were examined, and the names of those written down who had not the proper number of cartridges, or whose cartridges were broken. After this the parade was dismissed. At sunset roll-call I warned the men to be careful for the future about what they did, or else it would be the worse for them. They replied

148

that they were in fear of their lives, and wished to keep their muskets by them or sleep by the kotes. I said—"You can do as you please, but I must report it." At eight o'clock roll-call I went to the kotes, and found some men there sitting or lying down. I cannot say whether they had their arms or not. I told the orderly-havildar to go and report it to the officer commanding the company. I then returned to my house and slept. I was awoke by the orderly-havildar, who said—"It is the officer's orders that you go and sleep by the kote also." I told my servant to take my bed there, and went myself. A private inspection of companies had been ordered for the morning, but I was then told that there was to be a parade under the colonel, when he would arrange the cartridge business. In the morning, at parade, the colonel sent to the magazine for some of all the different kinds of cartridges, and called forward four men from each company, before whom he explained where the different kinds had come from, and burnt some of the paper in which the cartridges were, to let them see if there was any smell. Some of the men said, of the cartridges served out the paper was of two kinds, whence our suspicions. The colonel sent for these cartridges from the kotes, and said there is no difference in them. Some of the men said one paper is thicker than the other; if you will put them in water, one will soak up water more rapidly than the other. The colonel then sent for some water and immersed the paper in it, when the thinner paper soaked immediately, the thicker, on which there is "size," did not soak up the water so readily. The colonel then said to the subadar-major—"Keep this by you, and at half-past eight o'clock bring it to me. I will pack it up and send it to the General for his inspection through the post office."

*Question*—When the men, on the night of the 26th, seized their muskets, did they assign any reason for so doing?

*Answer*—Yes; they said it was rumoured amongst them that Europeans were coming, and others, and that they were prepared to die rather than lose caste, and they did it to defend themselves.

*Question*—Have you any idea what caused the sepoys to think that the cartridges contained anything that might affect their caste?

*Answer*—It was first talked about after the arrival of a guard of sepoys from Calcutta escorting Government stallions, and afterwards another party of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, who came with European invalids,

149

*Answer*—(concld.)

confirmed the doubts in the minds of the men, and then, the last cartridges that were about to be issued having in each bundle one or two cartridges made with paper of a different kind, led the men to suppose that there was some foundation for the report. The men had also made up their blank ammunition in every other instance themselves, and they knew that a short time before ammunition for the regiment had arrived from Calcutta.

The Court adjourned at 4 P.M.

---

*Monday, 2nd March 1857.*

The Court re-assembled this day at eleven o'clock.

*5th Witness*

*Doolum Sing, naick, pay-havildar, Light Company, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and states—

After sunset roll-call, when the men were about to be dismissed, they asked me to petition the subadar-major that they might not have the cartridges served out to them, as they had doubts about them. He spoke to them about it, and told the orderly-havildar to report it to the sergeant-major. Later in the evening, I heard that the colonel and the adjutant had come down to the lines and summoned the native officers, when he told them that at the parade for the morning he would have the cartridges distributed by the officers of companies, and the men should be made to bite them. At a quarter to eleven o'clock, the locks of the bells-of-arms were broken, and the arms taken out by the sepoys. About twelve o'clock I was in my hut, when I heard Brevet-Captain Newhouse, commanding my company, had called for me. I went to him at the bells-of-arms; he asked me where the subadar was. I said he is probably in his hut. Then Gobind Tewary, sepoy, and others said he is taking away his family and property to the village behind the lines. When Brevet-Captain Newhouse ordered them to lodge their arms in the kote, they did so.

*Question*—What do you suppose was the object of the men in breaking open the kotes and seizing their arms ?

*Answer*—Because they were apprehensive of danger, and were afraid of losing their caste by being made to take the cartridges.

150

*Question*—Have you any idea what caused the sepoys to think that the cartridges contained anything that might affect their caste?

*Answer*—There have been reports flying about for the last two months, probably brought from Calcutta by travellers and command parties from Barrackpore.

*6th Witness*

*Bijoo Sing, havildar-major, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and states—

About 11 A.M., of the 26th, at orderly hours, I received orders from the adjutant that there would be a parade on the morrow with fifteen rounds of blank ammunition. I asked whether all the companies were to have alike. He said "Yes." I then went to the lines, and at the sergeant-major's bungalow the orderly-havildars were informed of the order, which they promulgated in their respective companies. At sunset, the orderly-havildar of No. 5 Company reported to me that the sepoys would not take the percussion caps; after him the orderly-havildar of No 7 Company reported the same, as also of the light company. The sergeant-major then summoned all the orderly-havildars, and inquired of them what the matter was. They said, the sepoys say,—"Why should we take the caps, as we won't take the cartridges until the doubt about them is cleared up." I then went with the sergeant-major to the adjutant's quarters and reported it. He then went to the colonel's and ordered us to the lines. I heard, about half-past seven, when in the lines, that the colonel and adjutant were in the quarter-guard, and had summoned the native officers and havildars. I went there too. The colonel enquired why they would not obey orders and take the cartridges. The subadar-major said they suspect that the paper of the cartridges is greased with pigs' and bullocks' fat. The colonel said—"There is no cause for suspicion; these cartridges were left here by the regiment we relieved." The subadar-major said—"The sepoys are suspicious, and will not believe what we say." The colonel said—"Leave them alone now, and in the morning I will have them distributed by the officers of companies," upon which he went away and we returned to the lines. After eight o'clock roll-call the men went away to their huts. About half-past ten a sepoy awoke me. By this time the kotes had been broken open. I went to the adjutant and reported it.

*Question*—What was the cause of the sepoys breaking open the kotes and arming themselves on the night of the 26th?

*Answer*—There was a rumour that the cavalry were about to seize the kotes.



151

*Question*—What reason had the sepoys to suppose that there was anything objectionable in the cartridges?

*Answer*—I do not know.

The Court adjourned at 4 P.M.

---

*Tuesday, 3rd March 1857.*

The Court re-assembled this day at 11 A.M.

*7th Witness*

*Beharee Sing, jemadar, 6th Company, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and states—

I was on duty at the quarter-guard on the night of the 26th, about 10-45 P.M. I was asleep, and awakened by a cry of "fire," on which I ordered the alarm to be sounded. I looked about, but could see no signs of fire. The noise increased, and I heard that the kotes were being broken open. I ordered the guard to look after the treasure and colors. The men after seizing their muskets went to their huts. The men of my guard all remained steady. The subadar-major, Subadar Kureem Bux, Subadar Mahomed Ali, and Jemadar Davee Sing came and asked me why I had sounded the drum. I replied—"Because I heard shouts of fire."

*Question*—What was the cause of the men breaking open the kotes?

*Answer*—I do not know.

*8th Witness*

*Drum-Major James Renny* is called into Court, and states—

After tattoo roll-call on the night of the 26th, I went with all the orderly-havildars to make the usual report to the sergeant-major. On returning to the band lines, Heeraloll and Peter Christian and several other band boys asked me if I had seen anything. I said—"What?" They replied—"The whole of the light company and part of No. 8 Company went into the tank, and took oath about something or other." I went and reported this directly to the sergeant-major. As he had no one else to send, I volunteered to go and report to the adjutant, which I did, and then returned to the lines. About eleven o'clock, the men, with a shout that Europeans were coming, rushed on the kotes, broke them open, and seized their arms. I assembled the band boys and drummers, and called the roll. They were all present. I sent them to the lines, telling them not to move out of them. I then went to the sergeant-major, and remained with him until the cavalry arrived, upon which he joined them, and I took away his family and put them under the

protection of the Nizamut guard. I then returned to the sergeant-major's bungalow. The sentry who was on duty there, whom I believe to be a nephew of the drill-naick, Dulput Sing, then said to me—"It was well that you all got away in time, as a great mob came here and searched for the sergeant-major and his family, and not finding them they broke open the pound of which he was in charge, and let all the cattle go. They even searched the pound for him." I then went by the rear of the lines to my own house to put on my uniform. A few minutes afterwards I was called to the front, with the buglers, where the colonel was. The reason the men gave for objecting to the cartridges was that they had heard that there was bullocks' fat mixed with them.

*9th Witness*

*Subsook Sing, jemadar, Light Company, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and states—

I was the native officer of the day on the 26th, and about 6-30 P.M. it was reported to me by the orderly-havildars of each company that the sepoys had refused to receive their percussion caps. By order of the sergeant-major I went to report this to the adjutant, but not finding him, I went to the colonel's, who also was out. I then reported it to the officer of the day, Brevet-Captain Newhouse. We proceeded to the colonel's, but heard that he had gone to the lines. I then went to the lines, and hearing they had returned, proceeded again to the adjutant's house. His servants told me he was at mess. I there found him, and made the report. At ten o'clock I went the rounds according to orders; the men at that time were all quiet. I returned to my house; about a quarter to eleven o'clock an alarm of fire was made. A sentry came and told me that the men had rushed towards the kotes. I hastily put on my uniform, and going towards the kotes, found the men had broken the locks and armed themselves. I went immediately and reported this to the colonel and the adjutant.

*Question*—What was the cause of the men breaking open the bells-of-arms?

*Answer*—I do not know.

*Question*—What was the reason of their refusing to take the caps?

*Answer*—I went up with the other native officers to the mess, where I heard the subadar-major say that there was a rumour of bullocks' and pigs' fat being mixed with the cartridges.

153

### *10th Witness*

*Heeraloll, sepoy-musician, Grenadier Company, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and states—

After attending evening roll-call on the 26th, I went to my hut, and was there copying music. I heard a great noise at the tank. The drum-major came to me and said—"There are a number of men in the tank; are they taking any oath?" I replied—"They may be. I know nothing more about it."

### *11th Witness*

*Peter Christian, drummer, No. 2 Company, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and states—

After eight o'clock roll-call I heard a great noise, and on asking the other bandsmen what it was, they said that the sepoys had gone into the tank and had taken an oath, the nature of which I know not.

### *12th Witness*

*Shaik Muden Bux, tindal, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and states—

At 3 P.M., on the 26th February, I received an order to serve out fifteen rounds of blank ammunition per man to the regiment. I distributed them to the lance naicks about half-past four, and then went to my house. About half-past ten o'clock, when asleep, I was awakened by a loud noise, and heard people shouting—"Where is the tindal; bring him here; he has got the keys of the magazine." Upon this I fled out of the lines, taking the keys with me. At daybreak I returned.

*Question*—Previous to the outbreak, did you know anything about it; or had you ever been interrogated about the cartridges by the men?

*Answer*—No, nor was I ever questioned on the matter.

The Court adjourned at 4 P.M.

---

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* W. St. L. Mitchell, *Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major-General* J. B. Hearsey, c.b., *Commanding the Presidency Division,—dated Berhampore, 3rd March 1857.*

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st March 1857 this afternoon.

I will detain the guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, until further orders, and I will have them examined by the Court of Inquiry.

I have just read the Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry up to this date, and one of the witnesses, a subadar of my regiment, said that this uneasy feeling in the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, originated in the information received from the guard who arrived here a short time ago, escorting Government stallions towards Buxar. This feeling was confirmed on the arrival of the guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, with the European convalescents.

I heard that on Thursday, the 26th February, Friday, and Saturday, the men of the regiment fasted, taking only *bhang* and other exciting drugs. On Sunday I had a private interview at my quarters with a Brahmin havildar of the regiment, who asked me if I would forward a petition from the regiment to you. I replied, certainly, if there were no disrespectful terms used, and it contained a fair statement of what had occurred in the regiment and what their wishes were. I trust you have received this petition; all they ask is to be allowed to make their own cartridges and prepare the grease for them. The men are behaving very well since: they take their usual meals and perform their duties cheerfully. As far as any man can judge, the men seem in a state of alarm at what the consequences of their acts may be, but I think nothing will make them alter their opinions about the cartridges and grease. The mischevous reports spread abroad affect Hindus, Mahomedans, and Sikhs equally.

I have parades every morning, and the men are as steady and orderly as any men can be. I will continue this daily, as it brings the officers and men together, and I think will establish confidence. I have given Sergeant-Major Frawley thirty days' leave of absence, so as to keep him out of the way, as there was evidently a bad feeling towards him on the part of the men, and I think it would be as well if he was to be removed to another regiment as sergeant-major. This appearing in G. O.s without any application for an exchange on the part of the sergeant-major, would prevent any feeling of victory on the part of the men. When the Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry reach you, you will see the necessity for the removal of the sergeant-major; there is nothing against him; he is a good drill, and a man of most exemplary character, perfectly steady and trustworthy, but he seems to be just now so unpopular with the men, that I thought it best that he should go away for a time.

155

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* W. St. L. Mitchell, *Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major* A. H. Ross, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—dated Berhampore, 8th March 1857.*

All is quiet here, and the duties carried on cheerfully.

To-morrow the Court of Inquiry will re-assemble at eleven o'clock, and I hope further evidence may be obtained.

There are several inaccuracies in the evidence before the Court of Inquiry which can be explained; but there is a statement in the evidence of the fifth witness, Doolum Sing, naick, pay-havildar, Light Company, which I must contradict at once, as I never said anything of the kind. He says—

"He (meaning me) would have the cartridges distributed by the officers of companies, and the men should be *made to bite them.*"

It is quite contrary to my principle to hurt the religious feelings of any man. I never made use of such a speech.

*P.S.*—Has the petition from the men of the regiment been received? Oblige me with an answer to this question.

---

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* W. St. L. Mitchell, *Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major* A. H. Ross, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—No. 60, dated Berhampore, 11th March 1857.*

I have the honor to enclose, for the information of the Major-General Commanding the Division, the first and second days' Proceedings of the re-assembled Court of Inquiry. A duplicate copy will be sent by to-morrow's post.

---

*PROCEEDINGS in continuation of an European Court of Inquiry re-assembled by order of Lieutenant-Colonel* W. St. L. Mitchell, *Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to investigate such matter as may be laid before it by the Station Staff Officer,—dated Berhampore, 9th March 1857.*

President, Members, and Interpreter all present.

Letter No. 58, from the Station Staff Officer, is read and attached to the Proceedings.

*13th Witness*

*Subadar-Major Shaikh Murad Bux, Light Company, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and states—

On the 26th, at twelve o'clock or thereabouts, I heard from the orderly-havildar of the company that at the morning's parade fifteen rounds of blank cartridge were to be fired per man. About four o'clock the lance-naicks brought the cartridges from the magazine to the kotes.

After sunset roll-call I went towards my house, when the orderly-havildar came up and said to me the men want to make a petition. On enquiring of them, they said—"We are doubtful about these cartridges, and will not take them or fire them." I argued with the men, trying to explain away their doubts, saying "The rumours about the cartridges are merely about those for the new guns, these are old ones." They answered "These are of two kinds, and that one lately came from Calcutta is most likely, as stores have come. Besides, we have always been in the habit of making up our own blank cartridges, and we have made none up here." On this I ordered some cartridges out of the kotes, and taking up a bundle I opened it and said to them there is no cause for doubt here. On this, I ordered the cartridges to be replaced in the kotes, and went and reported this to the sergeant-major. The orderly-havildars of each company were there, and had made the same report respecting each company. The sergeant-major then said these cartridges are what we received from the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, on our arrival here; only powder in barrels arrived from Calcutta. I asked the sergeant-major who should report this to the adjutant, and he said that: "The havildar-major and I will go and report it; you had better go and try and explain it to the sepoys of your companies." I then assembled all the native officers at my quarters, and said to them at eight o' clock roll-call you must explain to your several companies that these cartridges were left behind by the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, and that there can be no doubt about them, and that it behoves them to fire them. At half-past seven, the colonel and adjutant came to the quarter-guard and summoned the native officers there. The colonel asked us what were the doubts about the cartridges. I replied that the sepoys said: "There are two kinds of cartridges, and we have hitherto always made up our own; besides, only a few days ago some stores arrived from Calcutta, and on account of reports going about we have doubts on the subject." Upon this the colonel got very angry, and said "If the sepoys will not take their cartridges, I will take them to Rangoon or China, where they will suffer many privations and all die." He also said at parade in the morning—"I will have the cartridges distributed by the officers commanding each company, and those who refuse to take their cartridges I will severely punish them. These are old cartridges received from the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, and you must all explain this to the men." The colonel then went away, and I told the other native officers—"You have heard the colonel's orders, and

must explain them to the men at eight o'clock." I explained it at eight o'clock roll-call to the men of my company, who heard it in silence and went away. At a quarter to eleven o'clock the orderly-havildar of my company, Alluf Khan, awoke me, and said there is a great noise. I asked him—"What noise?" He said "the men are all running towards the kotes." I then heard the drum sound. I went out towards the kotes, and on arriving there saw some of the men armed, others arming. I asked them what they were doing, but no one gave me a reply. I then went towards the quarter-guard and saw that the other companies had done the same. I met some other native officers at the kotes, *viz.*, Subadar Shaik Kurreem Buksh, Jemadar Shaik Mohamed Ali, and Jemadar Davee Sing, and these went with me to the quarter-guard. Kurreem Buksh asked Jemadar Behari Sing, the native officer on duty at the quarter-guard, why the drum was sounded. He said—"I heard a great uproar, some saying there was a fire, some that there were Europeans coming, some that the artillery was coming, and others that the cavalry were. I then sounded the drum." I told the Jemadar Behari Sing—"I am now going to report this. Should the colonel or adjutant come and ask for me, you will tell them where I have gone to." I then went to make the report along with the havildar, Shaik Bheekah, No. 4 Company, whom I picked up by the way. I could not find the adjutant, who had left his house, so I went to the colonel's. He also was out; so I returned to the lines in company with Alluf Khan, havildar, and Hoolass Misser, havildar, whom I met at Brevet-Captain Newhouse's bungalow. Between twelve and one o'clock I was standing at the end of the lines of No. 3 Company, when I saw lights approaching on the parade. It was very dark at this time. Shortly after this the drum sounded the native officers' call. I went to the front with the others, and met the colonel on the road leading to the parade. The colonel said "What is this business," and kept advancing. We prayed him not to do so, but rather to retire a little; that the men were ignorant and stupid. He was excessively angry, and said "I will blow them away though I die myself." We prayed him to show clemency, and send away the guns and cavalry. On this the colonel went and spoke to the European officers, and sent them away shortly afterwards. The officers then went up to the men and began to speak to them. Shortly afterwards the colonel said to us—"I send away the cavalry and guns now, but to-morrow morning, at sunrise, I will have a general parade." We petitioned him not to do so, as the men would imagine that the guns and cavalry would be used against them

and they might not be obedient. The colonel at first did not consent; but afterwards, when spoken to by the adjutant, he agreed to have the regiment paraded alone, and the orders were so issued. In the morning there was a parade, when the arms were examined as well as the pouches. Some men had not all their cartridges, and others had them broken. I wish to state that I had forgotton to say before that when the colonel declared he would have a general parade in the morning, he at the same time said that the Governor-General's orders should be read out. The parade was quietly dismissed. That same evening, after tattoo roll-call, the men went at first to their lines, but afterwards they brought out their bedding and slept at the kotes. I asked them the reason of their sleeping there, and they said—"We are afraid that the artillery and cavalry may come down on us again." This was immediately reported. Orders came to the lines for a parade in the morning. At this parade the cartridges were brought out, and four old sepoys taken out of each company and called to the front. When the cartridges were brought out from the kotes they were shown to these sepoys, who were asked what their objections were. They said that in each bundle there were two descriptions of cartridge, to one of which they objected, as it was made of darker paper. Both sorts were tried both by fire and water, but a difference was manifest in both tests. The colonel then took specimens of both kinds, and having sealed them up before me sent them off to the General. After this there was an order received for the men to send in a petition to the General. This was drawn up by delegates from the companies, and brought up to the adjutant. On the night of the 1st March some four or five sepoys in each company rushed up to the kotes, and again took out their arms, but replaced them on being ordered by the native officers. Since then all has been quiet.

By the Court

*Question*—What are the rumours alluded to in your evidence concerning the cartridges for the new muskets?

*Answer*—That they were made with the fat of pigs and bullocks.

*Question*—When did you first hear these rumours?

*Answer*—About two months ago.

*Question*—From whom did these rumours come?

*Answer*—I don't know.

*Question*—Since these rumours were first afloat, have you heard of anything having been received in the lines leading to confirm the rumours in the minds of the men?

*Answer*—No; I am not aware of any such thing.

*Question*—Do you think that the sepoys could hold a punchayet in the lines without the knowledge of the native officers ?

*Answer*—No, I do not.

*Question*—Have there been any such meetings in the lines ?

*Answer*—No ; not that I am aware of.

*Question*—Do you know whether the men of your company took any oath on the night of the 26th ?

*Answer*—No ; I can swear I know nothing of it.

*Question*—Is not the standing in water up to the middle when taking an oath a means of making it more solemn and binding among Hindus ?

*Answer*—Yes ; especially if the water is that of the Ganges.

*Question*—Do not the men count the tanks in front of the lines as Ganges water, in consequence of the river water passing through them in the rains ?

*Answer*—I do not know exactly, but some men of my company who had money transactions with a certain bunniah took their oaths to him in the river.

The Court here remarks that the river is a mile from the lines, and the tanks close to.

*Question*—Are you aware whether the guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, who have been lately here, have been saying anything about these rumours you speak of in the lines ?

*Answer*—I do not know of any. On one occasion I asked the havildar of the guard now here if he had ever said anything or knew anything about it. He took his oath that he knew nothing at all about it.

*Question*—Are you aware that immediately previous to this outbreak on the 26th, the recruits had been in the habit of firing these blank cartridges ?

*Answer*—Yes ; the fact is that the rumours and the simultaneous arrival of stores from Calcutta filled the men's heads with these ideas. Had no stores arrived from Calcutta, they would have fired them at once.

*Question*—What, in your opinion, do the men wish with regard to the cartridges, both now and for ever, and both for balled and blank, so that their caste shall be in no danger ?

*Answer*—I think the men will be perfectly satisfied if the cartridges are made up in the regiment, both balled and

*Answer*—(concld.)
blank, and the grease required by the companies for the new rifles be supplied by the kote havildars. I do not think that the men would be satisfied now with any balled cartridge for the new rifle that came from the arsenal or a magazine.

The witness withdraws.

*8th Witness recalled*

*Drum-Major James Renny, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is recalled into Court, and examined as follows:—

BY THE COURT

*Question*—Did you see the men with your own eyes go into the tank to take an oath?

*Answer*—No, I did not.

*Question*—State exactly what you heard about it.

*Answer*—I was told first by Heeraloll and afterwards by Peter Christian that the light company and part of No. 8 Company had gone into the tank and taken an oath. I asked—"What about?" They told me that they did not know.

*Question*—Did they say that they saw the men go into the tank?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Have you observed the men previously to the 26th February congregating or discussing among themselves so as to attract your notice?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Have you heard anything since the 26th with reference to the cartridge question?

*Answer*—I have heard the men constantly saying that they do not want to lose their caste. Nothing else.

*Question*—Do you think that the men at this time have the same opinions about the cartridge that they had at first?

*Answer*—No; I do not think that they have. They seem to me to be conscious of having done wrong, and I think that they do not doubt so much as formerly.

The witness withdraws.

The Court adjourns at 4 P.M.

*5th Witness recalled*

*Doolum Sing, naick, pay-havildar, Light Company, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and examined as follows :—

BY THE COURT

*Question*—Since when have you heard any rumours about the cartridges ?

*Answer*—About two months or two-months-and-a-half.

*Question*—What was the nature of the rumours?

*Answer*—That the cartridges were composed of the fat of bullocks, pigs, and jackasses.

*Question*—From what time did a suspicion of this become fixed in the minds of the sepoys?

*Answer*—From the date of the arrival of the stores from Calcutta.

*Question*—Why did you not report this to the captain of your company ?

*Answer*—I was not aware till the outbreak that the doubt was so fixed in the men's minds, though I have since found out that it was an established fact from the time of the arrival of the stores.

*Question*—Are you aware that the recruits fired the cartridges just before the outbreak ?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Have you heard the sepoys saying anything about that ?

*Answer*—No, I have not.

*Question*—Have you ever heard anything from any of the command parties concerning these reasons, or have you heard that anything has been heard in the lines emanating from them ?

*Answer*—No, I have not.

*Question*—Could the sepoys hold a regimental punchayet without the knowledge of the native officers and non-commissioned officers ?

*Answer*—A few men could do so, but the regiment could not.

*Question*—Do you know of any such punchayet having been held ?

*Answer*—No, I do not.

*Question*—Are you aware whether your company took any oath in the tank on the night of the 26th ?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Have you heard anything about this since ?

*Answer*—About eleven o'clock, on the 27th, some men who had been up to the captain's quarters, on their return, told me that Brevet-Captain Newhouse had asked them about it, as it had been reported by a drummer that they had done so. They denied it altogether.

*Question*—Were you in your house from the time the colonel came on parade in the evening until the outbreak ?

*Answer*—I was there or thereabouts.

*Question*—How far is your hut from the tank on the left ?

*Answer*—Some forty or fifty paces.

*Question*—Could the company have gone into the tank and taken an oath at the time alleged without your knowledge ?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Do you think, if the sepoys had not known of the arrival of these stores from Calcutta, they would have fired the cartridges ?

*Answer*—I cannot say.

*Question*—What, in your opinion, do the sepoys wish, so that they may dismiss all fears on the score of their caste from their minds, and yet use their ammunition ?

*Answer*—I have no doubts myself, and am ready to do as ordered, but I cannot answer for others.

The witness withdraws.

*11th Witness recalled*

*Peter Christian, drummer, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is recalled into Court and examined as follows:—

BY THE COURT

*Question*—Did you see the men of the light company go into the tank and take an oath on the night of the 26th ?

*Answer*—No; I did not see them.

*Question*—Who told you, then ?

*Answer*—I cannot say. I heard some of the band boys saying so, but I do not know who. I heard a noise from the water myself, and asked what it was, and was answered that it was the light company taking an oath. I don't know who told me that.

*Question*—Where were you when these men told you this ?

*Answer*—At Munnyram's door.

*Question*—Does any one live with Munnyram?

*Answer*—Yes, his two sons,—Chooneelall and Kullian,—both band boys.

*Question*—Must a person standing at Munnyram's door have seen the men go into the tank?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Did you see them from there?

*Answer*—No; they had gone out of the tank before I got there.

*Question*—Did you see them at all?

*Answer*—Yes, I saw them immediately afterwards at roll-call.

*Question*—Had any of the men wet clothes on them?

*Answer*—I did not see.

The witness withdraws.

The Court cross-examined this witness in every way it could think of, but found it impossible to elicit an answer.

*14th Witness*

*Lieutenant James Vallings, Interpreter and Quartermaster, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* being in Court, is asked—

By the Court

*Question*—When did the last stores arrive from Calcutta?

*Answer*—On the 11th February, at four in the afternoon, I went down to the magazine, and had the things all opened before me. The sergeant-major was there, as there was a good deal to do in removing the stores from the carts and counting them. I asked several sepoys who were collected about looking on to come and help. They did not do so, but all left immediately. One man only assisted.

*Question*—Did you enquire anything about the reason of their going?

*Answer*—No; at the time it did not strike me as being a matter of any consequence. The sergeant-major said if you had wanted these men you should have obtained a fatigue party.

The witness resumes his seat in Court.

*15th Witness*

*Munnyram, drummer, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and examined as follows:—

BY THE COURT

*Question*—Did you see the men of the light company go into the tank on the left of the lines and take an oath on the night of the 26th February?

*Answer*—No, I did not.

*Question*—How far is your house from the tank on the left?

*Answer*—About forty paces.

*Question*—Where were you just before tattoo?

*Answer*—In my house.

*Question*—At that time, did you hear anything from the direction of the tank?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Did you see Peter Christian on that night?

*Answer*—No, I did not.

The witness withdraws.

The Court has interrogated this man in every possible way, and failed to elicit any answer from him at all bearing on the question of the oath in the tank.

*16th Witness*

*Shaik Madar Buksh, sepoy, No. 4 Company, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court and examined as follows:—

BY THE COURT

*Question*—On the 26th February, when the uproar took place, were you on duty at the sergeant-major's bungalow?

*Answer*—Yes, I was sentry there.

*Question*—Did you see the drum-major on that night?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Did any sepoys approach the bungalow?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—When did you go on sentry duty?

*Answer*—At ten o'clock I was placed on sentry, and at twelve I was relieved.

*Question*—How long before your relief did the uproar break out ?

*Answer*—It commenced about eleven.

The witness withdraws.

The Court remarks that from the manner of this witness he appears to have been intimidated.

The Court adjourns at 4 P.M.

---

*From Lieutenant* I. F. MACANDREW, *Adjutant, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Captain* W. C. ALEXANDER, *Commanding the 11th Regiment, Irregular Cavalry, President, Court of Inquiry,—No. 58, dated Station Staff Office, Berhampore, 9th March 1857.*

I am directed by Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, Commanding the Station, to inform you that the Court of Inquiry, of which you are president, is directed to re-assemble for the purpose of making a more searching enquiry into the circumstances attending the late outbreak in the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, and to endeavour to find out the cause, origin, and progress of the uneasiness and mistrust which the men seem to have against the cartridges. You are directed to enquire into whatever has or may arise in the course of this investigation likely to throw any light upon the business or on the conduct of any one concerned therein.

---

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* W. ST. L. MITCHELL, *Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major* A. H. ROSS, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—dated Berhampore, 11th March 1857.*

There are several mis-statements in the evidence taken before the Court of Inquiry, and I am anxious to point them out to the Major-General, as otherwise he might take my silence as acquiescence in the truth of these imputations.

*First*——The fourth witness, Subadar Shaik Kureem Bux, states that when I went to the quarter-guard, between 7 and 8 P.M., I told the native officers and others assembled there that the cartridges "should be served out by the officers of companies in the morning, and that those who refused to take them would be imprisoned or transported." I deny this altogether, that is, the words "imprisoned and transported."

*Secondly*—From the evidence of the subadar-major and others, the Major-General might be led to suppose that I had ordered up the cavalry (distant fully three miles) and the artillery before the men took possession of their arms and accoutrements by force. Whereas I was in bed at the time, and though our lines are distant from my quarters, I heard the shout of the men—the alarm sounded on the drum. I dressed and went to the adjutant's quarters, from thence I went to Captain Alexander's house and ordered him to bring down the cavalry. I then went to the artillery lines, roused the artillerymen, and took them with me to the magazine to get the guns. I sent two orderlies to bring the bullocks from the commissariat sheds, all which took an hour or an hour-and-a-half to effect. I have already in a former letter denied that I ever said I would make the men "bite their cartridges," as stated on hearsay by Doolum Singh, naick, the fifth witness.

The duplicate of this letter I will send you with the duplicate proceedings by to-morrow's post.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—No. 124, dated Head-Quarters, Presidency Division, Barrackpore, 18th March 1857.*

I have the honor to forward, for submission to Government, the accompanying Proceedings of a Special Court of Inquiry, in continuation, held at Berhampore on the 13th instant.

---

*PROCEEDINGS in continuation of a European Court of Inquiry re-assembled by order of Lieutenant-Colonel* W. ST. L. MITCHELL, *Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to investigate such matter as may be laid before it by the Station Staff Officer,—dated Berhampore, 12th March 1857.*

President, Members, and Interpreter all present.

The Court assembled at the mess-house of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, at eleven o'clock.

Letter No. 58, from the Station Staff Officer, is laid on the table.

*17th Witness*

*Hunoomunt Misser, sepoy, No. 5 Company, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court and examined as follows :—

*Question*—Were you on duty as sentry at the sergeant-major's bungalow on the 26th February?

*Answer*—Yes; I was sentry there from twelve o'clock at night till two in the morning.

*Question*—Did you see the drum-major?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—What passed between the drum-major and yourself?

*Answer*—Nothing at all. About quarter of an hour after I was put on sentry the resalah arrived. I called the sergeant-major and told him. He came out of his house, and the drum-major with him.

*Question*—Did any sepoys approach the bungalow?

*Answer*—Not while I was on sentry.

*Question*—Did you see the sergeant-major's family?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Where were they?

*Answer*—In the bungalow.

The witness withdraws.

*18th Witness*

*Subadar Amarun Sing, No. 8 Company, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court and examined as follows:—

*Question*—When did you first hear of the doubts about the new cartridges about to be issued to the army?

*Answer*—A long time ago, before the colonel first called us together. The colonel asked us if we had heard any such reports, and what they were. The subadar-major answered that we had heard that the fat of bullocks and pigs were in the new cartridges. The colonel said that he would see that when the new muskets were served out, for which certainly some grease or oil was required, that what was necessary should be prepared by the pay-havildars of companies.

*Question*—Can the regiment hold a punchayet, that is, the sepoys, without the knowledge of the native officers and non-commissioned officers?

*Answer*—I do not think they can.

*Question*—Has such a punchayet been held about this business?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Since these doubts first arose, or rather since these rumours were first heard, has anything been heard in the lines tending to confirm them?

*Answer*—Not that I know of.

*Question*—Have you any doubts about the cartridges?

*Answer*—No, I have not.

*Question*—Do you think the sepoys still mistrust the cartridges?

*Answer*—Yes, I do.

*Question*—What, in your opinion, is required so that the sepoys shall not fear on account of their caste, and yet do their duty by firing their muskets?

*Answer*—If the men made their own cartridges, they would be satisfied.

The witness withdraws.

*19th Witness*

*Jemadar Lalla Dokehore, Grenadier Company, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court and examined as follows:—

*Question*—When did you first hear any rumours about the cartridges?

*Answer*—About two months ago.

*Question*—What was the nature of the rumours?

*Answer*—That there was the fat of pigs and bullocks on the paper of which the cartridges were made.

*Question*—Were there any tidings received in the lines leading to confirm these rumours in the minds of the sepoys?

*Answer*—I don't exactly know, but the men were making inquiries about it on all sides after the colonel's speech to the native officers at the mess-house.

*Question*—Do you think the sepoys could hold a punchayet so as to arrange such an outbreak as took place on the 26th February without the knowledge of the native officers?

*Answer*—Yes, I do. Of course if the whole corps turned out it would be known, but it might be arranged in a small punchayet without the knowledge of any one else, and spread through the regiment by agency.

*Question*—Do you know of any such punchayets having been held?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Are you aware whether any sepoys took an oath in a tank on the night of the 26th February?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Have the guards of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, been saying anything about these rumours in the lines of the regiment?

*Answer*—I never heard them myself, but I have heard from the sepoys that these men as they came here were talking about it.

*Question*—Do you know what they said?

*Answer*—They said that there were doubts about the cartridges at Barrackpore.

*Question*—Of what cartridges did these doubts arise?

*Answer*—Of the cartridges of the new rifles. When the stores, however, arrived from Calcutta they doubted them also.

*Question*—When did you first hear that they had doubts about the stores which came from Calcutta?

*Answer*—On the night of the outbreak.

*Question*—Did you hear anything about this when the stores arrived from Calcutta?

*Answer*—I did not.

*Question*—Do you think that the sepoys' doubts are now as strong as formerly?

*Answer*—No, I do not; they repent of what they did.

*Question*—What, in your opinion, would completely remove the doubts of the sepoys with regard to the cartridges?

*Answer*—That they should be allowed to make them themselves.

*Question*—What in your opinion was the cause of the outbreak on the night of the 26th February?

*Answer*—The men feared that they would be attacked by the artillery and cavalry.

*Question*—Before the outbreak, did you hear that the artillery was coming?

*Answer*—No, I did not.

*Question*—Do you know if any person or company in particular took the lead in this business?

*Answer*—No, I do not.

The witness withdraws.

170

*20th Witness*

*Gungabissun Chowbey, subadar, No. 3 Company, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court and examined as follows:—

*Question*—When did you first hear these rumours about the cartridges?

*Answer*—About a month or a month-and-a-half ago.

*Question*—What was the nature of the rumours?

*Answer*—That cartridges were made at Calcutta with the fat of pigs and bullocks.

*Question*—Was there any news received in the lines leading to confirm these rumours in the minds of the sepoys?

*Answer*—No, not that I know of.

*Question*—Do you know if there were doubts on the arrival of the stores from Calcutta?

*Answer*—No one said so at the time, but when the outbreak took place they said that it was from the stores from Calcutta.

*Question*—How was it that the recruits fired those same cartridges?

*Answer*—Up to the time of the stores arriving from Calcutta they had no doubts about the blank cartridges; but on the night of the outbreak the idea got abroad that the blank cartridges had also come from Calcutta, and this suspicion was confirmed in the minds of the men by two kinds of paper being found in the bundles of cartridges.

*Question*—Do you think the sepoys could hold a punchayet, such as to get up an outbreak of this sort, without the knowledge of the native officers and non-commissioned officers?

*Answer*—Yes, I do.

*Question*—Has there been any such punchayet?

*Answer*—Not in my company.

*Question*—Do you think the outbreak took place from causes that occurred that day or night, or that it was a pre-arranged affair?

*Answer*—From causes that occurred that night.

*Question*—What in your opinion would remove all the scruples of the sepoys, and yet cause them cheerfully to do their duty by the Government and fire their muskets?

*Answer*—That they should be allowed to make their cartridges themselves; as for the present blank cartridges, if the ones of which they expressed a doubt on parade were destroyed, they would have no doubts about the others.

*Question*—Are the sepoys' doubts now as strong as formerly ?

*Answer*—No, they are not.

The witness withdraws.

*21st Witness*

*Jemadar Adjoodeah Persaud, No. 1 Company, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court and examined as follows :—

*Question*—When did you first hear these rumours about the cartridges?

*Answer*—About twenty days before the outbreak.

*Question*—What was the nature of the rumours?

*Answer*—That the cartridges had in them the fat of bullocks and of pigs.

*Question*—Are you aware of any news having been afterwards received in the regiment subsequently tending to confirm these reports in the minds of the men?

*Answer*—No, I am not.

*Question*—Do you think that the sepoys of the regiment could assemble a punchayet, so as to get up an outbreak such as that which occurred on the 26th February, without the knowledge of the native officers and non-commissioned officers ?

*Answer*—Yes, I do.

*Question*—Do you know if any such punchayet was assembled ?

*Answer*—No, I do not.

*Question*—Do you know that the recruits fired the cartridges the day before the outbreak ?

*Answer*—Yes, I do.

*Question*—Do you know if the guards of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, who have lately arrived, have been saying anything about this ?

*Answer*—I do not think exactly, but undoubtedly the guards and the artillery, who were lately relieved, have brought the news from Barrackpore.

*Question*—Do you think the sepoys entertain the same doubts now as formerly ?

*Answer*—I really cannot say.

*Question*—In your opinion, what would remove all the doubts of the sepoys and at the same time cause them to do their duty to the State and fire their muskets ?

*Answer*—That the men should make their own cartridges.

*Question*—What was the reason of the outbreak?

*Answer*—The only reason that I can give is that the men got an idea that the artillery and cavalry were to be brought against them.

*Question*—Do you know if the men took any oath on the night of the 26th February?

*Answer*—No, I do not.

The witness withdraws.

The Court adjourns at 4 P.M.

---

The Court re-assembled pursuant to adjournment at 11 A.M. on the 13th instant.

President, Members, and Interpreter all present.

*22nd Witness*

*Shaik Peer Buksh, havildar, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court and examined as follows:—

*Question*—Did you come from Barrackpore with a detachment of European convalescents?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Have you ever spoken to the men of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, about what occurred at Barrackpore, or in any way with reference to this cartridge business?

*Answer*—No, I have not.

*Question*—Had any question been raised at Barrackpore about these cartridges before you left?

*Answer*—I don't know. I only came off garrison duty in Fort William on the 3rd, and was sent on command on the 9th.

*Question*—Where were you pitched on the night of the 26th February?

*Answer*—On the range for target practice of the regiment.

[The Court here remarks that the range was alongside the tank in which the sepoys of the light company are said to have taken an oath.]

*Question*—Did you hear any men take an oath in the tank on the night of the 26th February, or indeed go into it at all?

*Answer*—No, I did not.

*Question*—When the outbreak took place, were your men all present?

*Answer*—Yes, they were asleep. When awakened by the noise they got up and asked what it was. I told them that it was no business of ours.

*Question*—At what time do you change your sentries?

*Answer*—At the even hours.

*Question*—Who was sentry from six to eight o'clock on the night of the 26th.

*Answer*—Sepoy Shaik Rujjub Ali.

The witness withdraws.

The Court successively called in a number of the guard of the 34th Regiment Native Infantry, and asked them if they had ever had any communication with the men of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, regarding the Barrackpore affair, or on the question of the cartridges. They all denied having had any such communication or knowing anything about it at all.

*23rd Witness*

*Bhowany Deen, subadar, 3rd Company, 9th Battalion, Artillery,* is called into Court and examined as follows:—

*Question*—Before you left Dum-Dum, did you hear anything of the discontent at Barrackpore among the sepoys on the subject of the cartridges? Have you ever had any conversation with the men of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, on this subject?

*Answer*—Never.

The witness withdraws.

*24th Witness*

*Sewsahoy, pay-havildar, 3rd Company, 9th Battalion, Artillery,* is called into Court and examined as follows:—

*Question*—Before you left Dum-Dum, did you hear anything of the discontent at Barrackpore among the sepoys on the subject of the cartridges?

*Answer*—I heard some vague reports, but paid no attention to them, and don't know what they were.

*Question*—Have you ever had a conversation with any of the men of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, on this subject?

*Answer*—Never.

The witness withdraws.

*25th Witness*

*Shaik Rujjub Ali, sepoy, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court and examined as follows:—

*Question*—Were you on sentry duty over your guard arms on the night of the 26th February between six and eight o'clock?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—During your tour of sentry duty, did you hear any noise, especially from the direction of the tank?

*Answer*—No noise whatever.

*Question*—Have you ever had any conversation with the men of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, regarding cartridges?

*Answer*—Never.

*Question*—Did you hear anything about cartridges before you left Barrackpore?

*Answer*—No.

The witness withdraws.

The Court having no further evidence before it, adjourned at 2 P.M.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Barrackpore, 18th March 1857.*

Having received the reports from Brigadier Grant and the officers commanding regiments at this station that the native commissioned officers warned for court-martial duty at Calcutta had left this cantonment, I ordered the Brigade to parade in contiguous quarter distance columns for my inspection, and having received their salute, I addressed them and told them to call to mind what I had said to them on a former occasion, *viz.*, that men of bad character had got amongst them and were endeavouring to mislead them; that two such men in the 2nd Grenadiers had been detected at Calcutta, who had tried by lies to induce the subadar of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, and his guard to quit their post, but that officer was not to be deceived, and had seized and confined the two offenders, reporting to superior authority the whole circumstance the next morning, and that these two sepoys were now under trial for mutiny. I again bid them beware of such characters, who endeavour to take the bread

from the mouths of good sepoys by making them the instruments of their bad designs.

I then spoke of the discontent still prevailing in regard to the cartridge paper having grease of any kind in it, and that its glossy appearance had caused this supposition. I explained to them that this shining of the paper was caused by the starch mixed with the pulp of cotton and hemp to make the paper tough and consistent, that it was to be found in all writing and fine paper made by the natives of Hindoostan. I then took a letter I received many years ago from Maharajah Golaub Sing from a gold tissue khareeta, and handed it successively to all the native officers and bid them open it and look at it and tell me if it was not more glossy than the cartridge paper they suspected, and to go into the ranks and show it to their men. Having done this, I asked the native officers and men if it was likely a Dogra Brahmin or Rajpoot, who so strictly protected kine, would himself write on paper that had grease in it of such nature. I then asked them if during their festivals they did not make lanterns of oiled and greased paper, and having so oiled and greased it, whether they could get the grease out of it again; nay, that if even one drop of grease fell on paper it would be spoilt, and any child could detect that part of the paper on which it had fallen. In conclusion, I told them if they did not believe me I would give them leave to visit the paper manufactory at Serampore and watch the process of making it, and they would find that alum and starch of rice or potatoes was used, which gave it the shiny appearance they had so strongly objected to.

I then said this silly view of the manufacture of paper had caused much annoyance to them, and had I not so fully explained to them on a former occasion that grease being mixed with it was a falsehood, they might have been misled by designing men; that such had unfortunately occurred in the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, at Berhampore; that that corps had "mutinied,"—had turned out in a disorderly manner at 11 P.M., had broken open their bells-of-arms and had seized their muskets, belts and pouches, and would not lodge them again though repeatedly ordered to do so by their commanding officer, Colonel Mitchell. That the investigation of this disturbance had been sent to me, and that I had laid it before Government. That Government was exceedingly angry, and would, in my opinion, order me to disband the regiment. That the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, had been ordered to march to this cantonment, and if I received orders to disband it, all the troops of this division within two marches would be

assembled here to witness the disbandment, whether artillery, Europeans or cavalry, and that the ceremony of striking the name and number of the regiment (the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry) from the list of the army would be carried out exactly in the same manner as the old 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, was disbanded at Meerut.

I said I inform you of this beforehand, because your enemies are trying to make you believe that European troops with cavalry and artillery will be sent here suddenly to attack you; these and such lies are fabricated and rumoured amongst you to cause trouble. That no European or other troops would come to Barrackpore until ordered to do so by me and that I would give them timely intelligence of their coming here.

I finished by telling them no fault had been proved against them, then why should they dread being attacked.

But that I expected them to obey orders and keep clear of any act that could be construed into mutiny; that the officers and I myself were open to all representations made in a proper manner; that their caste and religious prejudices were safe under my protection; and that any endeavour to interfere with such would meet with most severe punishment.

I then deployed the columns, opened the ranks to double distance, and rode my horse slowly and quietly up and down them, speaking to the men wearing medals, and asking them in what actions they had earned them. The brigade was then dismissed in the usual manner to its lines.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, Fort William,—No. 126, dated Head-Quarters, Presidency Division, Barrackpore, 20th March 1857.*

I have the honor to forward herewith, for the information of Government, the enclosed letters in original from the Officer Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, dated respectively the 16th and 18th current.

---

*Demi-official from Lieutenant-Colonel* W. ST. L. MITCHELL, *Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major* A. H. ROSS, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—dated Berhampore, 16th March 1857.*

All is quiet here, and everything going on as usual.

I will now leave off writing to you daily, but will re-commence should there be the least signs of uneasiness in the regiment.

*Demi-official from Lieutenant-Colonel* W. St. L. Mitchell, *Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major* A. H. Ross, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—dated Berhampore, 18th March 1857.*

The guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, started this morning in progress to Barrackpore.

I will leave this on Saturday morning, the 21st March, if I can get only the amount of carriage as laid down in the Military Regulations.

The Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry are closed, as the evidence is exhausted. I will now dissolve the Court. I only waited to know what the Major-General's wishes were.

I will report my departure from this station and the probable date of arrival at Barrackpore the day before I commence the march.

I had a parade this morning, and told the regiment that their petition had been laid before Government and no more.

I will return the petition to-morrow with an explanatory letter.

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General* J. B. Hearsey, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, Barrackpore,—No. 409, dated Fort William, 14th March 1857.*

I am directed to return herewith the enclosures * of your letter No. 94, of the 5th instant, and to request that you will transmit them to Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell for explanation of his conduct as affected by the statement in the petition of the men of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry.

* A Persian petition from the 19th Native Infantry, with a translation in English. (*Vide* page 45.)

2. I am also desired to request that you will cause the men of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to be informed that their petition has been laid before Government.

---

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* W. St. L. Mitchell, *Commanding 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major* A. H. Ross, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—No. 17, dated Berhampore, 18th March 1857.*

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a letter, No. 409, to Major-General J. B. Hearsey, Commanding the Presidency Division, from Colonel R. J. H. Birch, Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, dated Council Chamber, Fort William, the 14th March 1857, and in reply I beg leave to state as follows:—

The first statement in the petition in which I am mentioned is regarding the meeting at the mess-house on the 16th February. On that

subject I need say nothing; the Major-General has received my report and approved of my proceedings.

The petition then goes on to state,—after some time fresh stores arrived from Calcutta; this statement is not true: the stores arrived on the 11th February, five days before the meeting at the mess-house, and subsequently none have been received.

The petition then states that I spoke angrily on parade, saying: "If you will not take the cartridges, I will take you to Burma, where, through hardship, you will all die." I certainly did not make use of the expression above quoted. I explained to the regiment that the cartridges were made by the men of the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, and had been in store for a long time, and therefore they should be served out by the officers commanding companies. It is true I cautioned the regiment against the serious consequences which would ensue from their persisting to disobey orders in refusing to take the cartridges.

It is stated in the petition that I said: "This is a very bad business; we don't fear to die, and will die here." I don't remember exactly the words I made use of on the occasion above referred to, but they were to the effect that "We" (the officers) "were prepared to do our duty should the men of the regiment not yield obedience."

It was not until after the men of the regiment had broken into the kotes, had armed themselves, and were in a state of mutiny that I called out the artillery and cavalry.

The adjutant, who went by my orders to the quarter-guard to sound the call for the native officers, came back with a report that the native officer at the quarter-guard had warned him not to go onwards, as the men were loaded and would fire. When I arrived with the guns on parade there was much shouting on the part of the men and the rattling of ramrods in the barrels of the muskets, such a noise as is made in loading.

It is further stated in the petition that I sent away the cavalry and guns, but said that they should come to a general parade in the morning, but that, on the native officers having requested me to dispense with the presence of the artillery and cavalry, and on the representation of the adjutant, I did so. I at first thought it advisable to parade all the troops together in the morning, thinking that the presence of the cavalry and artillery would hold the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, in check in case of any further outbreak, but subsequently on its being reported to me that three or four companies had given up their arms, and that the rest were doing so, and as I saw a disposition on the part of the men

to return to obedience, and in order to restore confidence, I took away the guns and ordered off the cavalry, and all was quiet in the lines.

At first I objected to parade the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, alone for the reasons above assigned, but on hearing from the adjutant that the native officers had told him that the men could not be divested of the idea that the other troops were to be called out to act against them, I relinquished my intention of parading all the troops in the morning, and directed that the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, should be paraded alone, which was done, and the regiment behaved quietly, respectfully, and obediently.

I feel certain that the mutinous proceedings of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, on the night of the 26th February, did not arise from anything that took place on parade that evening, but that the men were ripe for an outbreak, owing to communications which they had been receiving for days and weeks previously from some of their comrades in the regiments at Barrackpore.

I am sure it will be readily admitted by the Major-General that my position was a very trying and a very difficult one, and I cannot help thinking that if I had adopted measures less prompt and vigorous, lamentable results might have ensued.

---

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* W. St. L. Mitchell, *Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major* A. H. Ross, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—No. 22, dated Berhampore, 20th March 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Major-General Commanding the Presidency Division, that the 19th Regiment Native Infantry, under my command, will commence its march to-morrow morning towards Barrackpore, agreeably to instructions received from the Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Army.

Herewith I have the honor to forward a present state.

---

Forwarded for the information of Colonel R. J. H. Birch, Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department.

Barrackpore,
*The 24th March 1857.*

(Sd.) J. B. HEARSEY, *Maj.-Genl., Comdg. the Presy. Divn.*

---

*From Major-General* J. B. Hearsey, c.b., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, Fort William,—No. 141, dated Barrackpore, 27th March 1857.*

In forwarding, for your information, the enclosed progress report from the Officer Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry,

dated the 25th instant, I have the honor to request that you will favor me as early as possible with the orders of Government regarding this regiment, as it may be expected to reach Barrackpore on the morning of the 31st current.

---

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* W. St. L. Mitchell, *Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major* A. H. Ross, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—dated Camp Kishnagurh, 25th March 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Major-General Commanding the Presidency Division, that the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, under my command, has made the following movements since my last report dated Berhampore, 20th March 1857:—

| *Dates.* | *Stages.* | *M.* | *F.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 21st March 1857 | ... Burruah ... ... | 11 | 0 |
| 22nd March 1857 | ... Plassey ... ... | 11 | 0 |
| 23rd March 1857 | ... Bickrampore ... ... | 13 | 2 |
| 24th March 1857 | ... Bulleea ... ... | 11 | 6 |
| 25th March 1857 | ... Kishnagurh ... ... | 7 | 4 |

And that I purpose resuming my march to-morrow morning towards Barrackpore.

Herewith I have the honor to forward a present state.

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—No. 884, dated Council Chamber, Fort William, 27th March 1857.*

I am directed to advise you that it is the intention of Government to disband the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, on its arrival at Barrackpore, where the corps may be expected on or about the 31st instant.

It is very advisable that this should not be prematurely published; but the information is afforded, in order that such instructions may be issued to the several civil authorities to put the police on their guard, as may be considered necessary to obviate the possible evil effect of so many discharged men being for a time at large in the neighbourhood of the presidency.

---

*Minute on the Mutiny at Berhampore of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

The time has arrived at which it is necessary to place upon record connectedly the principal facts in the recent conduct of the 19th

Regiment, Native Infantry, at Berhampore, and the measures adopted, or about to be adopted, by the Governor-General of India in Council in consequence thereof.

On the 22nd of January last, Captain Wright, one of the officers attached to the School of Musketry at Dum-Dum, reported that a feeling of uneasiness had manifested itself amongst the sepoys regarding the ingredients used in the arsenal for greasing the cartridges of the new Enfield rifle.

Enquiry was immediately made as to the composition of the grease. The tallow used had been supplied by a contractor, and it was ascertained that no sufficient precautions had been taken in the arsenal to insure the absence from it of all matter which might be objectionable to the sepoys. Hereupon the Government, on the 27th of January, authorised the officer commanding the depot to obtain from the bazar the proper ingredients, and directed that the men themselves should apply the grease to the cartridges. The cartridges to which the grease had been applied were withdrawn, and ungreased cartridges were supplied.

Nothing at this time had been said about the paper of which the new cartridges were made.

This paper is received from England. It is finer than the paper heretofore used for cartridges, is of a lighter colour, and has a glossy surface.

On the 28th of January, Major-General J. B. Hearsey, Commanding the Presidency Division, reported that an ill-feeling existed amongst the troops at Barrackpore, and that the sepoys believed that the new paper was greased with the fat of cows and pigs.

Some men of the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, having raised objections to the paper, a Court of Inquiry was assembled. The men examined stated that their doubts regarding the paper were caused by its being different in appearance from that which had formerly been used; that when burnt it gave out a noise and smell as if there were grease in it; and that they objected to use it, because it was the general opinion that it was made up with grease.

The paper was sent to the Chemical Examiner for analysis. After a careful examination Dr. Macnamara reported—"The paper has not been greased or treated with any greasy or oily matters during or since its manufacture."

Major-General J. B. Hearsey explained to the troops at Barrackpore assembled on parade the cause of the glossy appearance of the paper,

and that there was no grease in it; and he assured them, apparently with good effect, that there was no intention to lead them to use anything to which they could object.

It having, however, been represented that a messenger had been despatched from certain men at Barrackpore to the regiments at Dinapore and Berhampore, giving intelligence of what was doing at the first-named station, a communication was made to the officers commanding at Dinapore and Berhampore.

Lieutenant-Colonel W. St. L. Mitchell, Commanding the 19th Regiment Native Infantry, at Berhampore, replied in a letter, dated the 17th of February, that the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, the only infantry regiment at that station, had shown no feeling of uneasiness, and that he had explained to the native officers that he would apply to the General Officer Commanding the Division to allow the pay-havildars to prepare the grease required for the new rifles.

It appears by a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell to Major Ross that a fortnight before the above date a Brahmin pay-havildar had brought to his notice the report in circulation that the Government intended to make the native army use cows' and pigs' fat with the ammunition of the new rifles.

On the 26th February, Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell ordered the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to parade the following morning for exercise with fifteen rounds of blank ammunition per man.

It has been the custom in the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to serve out the percussion caps over night, and to give the ammunition to the men in the morning. When the percussion caps were about to be issued, the men refused to receive them saying that there was some doubt as to how the cartridges were made. This was reported between 7 and 8 P.M. to Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, who immediately went to the lines, sent for the native officers, and explained that the cartridges about to be served out had been made up by the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, about a year before. He then desired the native officers to tell their men that those who refused to obey their officers were liable to severe punishment.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell says that he ordered a general parade in the morning of all the troops at the station. It appears from the evidence of the adjutant that, on returning from speaking to the native officers, Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell directed him to order Captain Alexander, Commanding the 11th Regiment of Irregular Cavalry, to have his regiment on the parade of the 19th Regiment, Native

Infantry, at six o'clock the following morning, and that the post guns should also be present at the same time.

Between ten and eleven o'clock the men of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, broke open the bells-of-arms, took possession of their muskets and ammunition, and carried them to their lines.

On hearing that the men had taken their arms, Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell called out the cavalry and the guns at once. When the cavalry arrived on the parade, between twelve and one o'clock at night, the men of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, rushed out of their lines shouting, and assembled near their bells-of-arms.

As soon as the guns were ready, Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell proceeded with the officers of the regiment to the parade ground, where he found the men in undress but armed, formed in line, and shouting. Some voice from among the men called out—"Do not come on, the men will fire."*

The guns having been loaded, the native officers were called to the front. They made excuses for the men. After addressing the men, Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell told the officers that they must call upon the men to lay down their arms immediately. The native officers said that the men would not do so in the presence of the artillery and cavalry, but that if these were withdrawn, they would go quietly to their lines. The guns and cavalry were accordingly ordered away, and the men dispersed to their lines. This took place about 3 A.M. At six o'clock the same morning there was a parade, when the regiment turned out as usual. The men were quiet and orderly. The arms and ammunition were examined. It was found that some of the men had in their pouches only nine rounds of ammunition, the proper complement being ten rounds; whilst with others, who had their ten rounds complete, one of the rounds bore the mark of the worm in the bullet, as if it had been drawn from the musket.

On the night of the 27th the men, instead of sleeping in their lines, assembled round the bells-of-arms. They were quiet and orderly, but seemed afraid to leave the neighbourhood of their arms.

The regiment was paraded on the morning of the 28th, and the men were asked what objections they had to the cartridges. They said they were doubtful whether the cartridges were not greased. Several cartridges were produced and opened before the men, the paper of

* This is Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's account in his letter of the 27th February, but it appears from the evidence before the Court of Inquiry that the men had assembled without any regular order; that after Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's arrival the officers were ordered to separate their companies and to call the roll, and that they tried but were unsuccessful.

some being burnt. Among the blank cartridges which had been left at Berhampore by the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, some were made of a paper differing somewhat in colour and appearance from that of the rest; with one kind, of a brownish tint, the men were satisfied, but the other they mistrusted.

The paper used for the last eight years has been made at Serampore. The cartridges left by the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, were all made of this paper.

The reason assigned by the men for arming themselves is that they were afraid that the cavalry and the guns and European troops were coming, and they said they were prepared to die rather than lose caste.

On the 5th of March a petition addressed by the men of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major-General J. B. Hearsey was received by that officer. In this they solicited permission for the men to make up their ammunition as formerly. This petition was submitted to Government, but was returned to the Major-General, in order that Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell might be called upon for any observations he might have to offer on the statements made by the men. Some of the statements bore upon Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's conduct towards them.

Upon the whole the petition contains a fair account of what took place on the occasion of the outbreak, the main points being borne out by the evidence at the Court of Inquiry.

It appears that on the 25th of February, the day before the outbreak, a party of European convalescents arrived at Berhampore accompanied by a havildar's guard from the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, at Barrackpore. This guard was relieved by a detachment from the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry. Some time previously another party from the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, had reached the station in charge of Government stallions. It was about the time of the arrival of the first guard that the subject of cartridges was first talked about. Subadar Kurreem Bux states that the doubt which the men felt about the cartridges was confirmed on the arrival of the second guard with the convalescents.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell denies that he made use of the expression attributed to him by the petitioners, *viz.*, "If you will not take the cartridges, I will take you to Burma, where through hardship you will all die." He says that he cautioned the men against the serious consequences of refusing to obey orders. The adjutant in his evidence before the Court says that Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell told the native

officers that he would parade the regiment in the morning; that the officers of companies should serve out the cartridges to the men according as their names stood on the rolls; and that the first man who refused to take the cartridges should be tried by a court-martial.

Subadar Kurreem Bux says that Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell told them that the men must take the cartridges, "otherwise they would be sent to China and Burma, where they would all die"; and he testifies to what was reported by the adjutant as having been said of the cartridges being distributed by the officers on parade.

Subadar-Major Shaikh Murad Bux says the men were threatened with Rangoon and China; and gives the same evidence as the other respecting the distribution of the cartridges by the officers.

Two other witnesses, Doolum Sing, pay-havildar, and Bijoo Sing, havildar-major, repeat what has been said about the cartridges being distributed by the officers, but say nothing about China and Rangoon. With reference to the expression attributed to Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell—"this is a very bad business; we don't fear to die, and will die here," that officer observes that he does not remember exactly the words which he used, but that they were to the effect that "we, the officers of the regiment, were prepared to do our duty should the men of the regiment not yield obedience."

Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell says that it was not until after the regiment had broken into the kotes and armed themselves and were in a state of mutiny that he called out the artillery and cavalry.

The artillery and cavalry were ordered to parade at six o'clock the following morning on Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's return from the lines between 7 and 8 P.M. The cavalry lines are distant about three miles from the lines of the infantry.

Between 10 and 11 P.M., when it must have been known that the cavalry and artillery were to be present in the morning, the men broke open the bells-of-arms and took their arms and ammunition with them to their huts. On hearing this, Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell ordered out the artillery and cavalry at once; and it was on the cavalry reaching the parade that the men ran out of their lines to the parade armed.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell says that it was only when those four companies had given up their arms and the rest were doing so that he ordered away the artillery and cavalry.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell feels certain that the mutinous proceedings did not arise from anything that took place on parade; but that the men were ripe for an outbreak owing to the communications

which they had received for some time from their comrades in regiments at Barrackpore.

These are the principal features of this unfortunate event.

With respect to the share borne in it by Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, I think it essential to a right judgment of that officer's conduct that further investigation should be ordered, and I propose that directions be given to Major-General J. B. Hearsey to this effect, with the view to the institution of a Court of Inquiry of field officers so soon as Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell shall reach the presidency. The demeanour of Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell to his men, and the circumstances under which the artillery and cavalry were withdrawn, have not been satisfactorily established.

But as to the conduct of the regiment the case is simple.

From the moment when the main facts of the outbreak were established, it was clear that no penalty short of disbandment would meet the case. Additional guilt might possibly by closer enquiry be fixed upon individuals as instigators or ringleaders, and to these additional punishment might be found to be due; but the open refusal of the whole regiment to obey orders, the seizure of arms with violence, and a tumultuous but combined resistance of the authority of its officers with arms loaded is an offence for which any punishment less than dismissal from the service of the State would be inadequate. Mutiny so open and defiant cannot be excused by any sensitiveness of religion or caste, by fear of coercion, or by the seductions and deceptions of others.

It must be met promptly and unhesitatingly, and without the delay of a day more than may be necessary.

Accordingly, it has been resolved by the Governor-General of India in Council that the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, shall be disbanded immediately; and regard being had to the situation of Berhampore relatively to other military stations, and to the actual distribution of regiments, especially European regiments, it is determined that the disbandment shall take place at the head-quarters of the Presidency Division.

The 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, has therefore received orders to come to Barrackpore, and is on its march. Its arrival may be expected on the 31st instant, and I propose that instructions should now be sent to Major-General Hearsey to disband it as soon as it shall reach the parade ground of the station.

I propose that this shall be done in the presence of all the troops of all arms which are within two days' march of the station.

There are many indications that the seeds of insubordination which have grown to a head in the open mutiny of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, were first sown in some of the regiments now quartered at Barrackpore. Unfortunately the acts of incendiarism and the tendency to insubordination which during the last two months have prevailed at Barrackpore have not been traced to the individual agents, but whoever these may be, I believe that no more effective warning can be given to them of the danger to which their present courses expose themselves and their comrades than that of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, in the guilt of which there is reason to believe they have a large share, should receive its sentence and its punishment before their eyes.

I anticipate no show of resistance or disaffection from selecting Barrackpore as the scene of the measure.

The presence of a considerable force of artillery now at Dum-Dum, of the Body-Guard, and of the main portion of two European regiments, one of which, the 84th, has been brought from Rangoon for the purpose, will be sufficient to repress any tendency of the kind,—even if the bad feeling to which I have referred were much more widely spread than I believe it to be. I propose that the accompanying General Order be read to the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, and to the troops assembled at Barrackpore, upon the occasion of the disbandment of that regiment, by the Major-General Commanding the Presidency Division.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *The 27th March 1857.* | (Sd.) | CANNING. |
| *The 28th March 1857.* | " | J. DORIN. |
| *The 28th March 1857.* | " | J. P. GRANT. |
| *The 28th March 1857.* | " | B. PEACOCK. |

*GENERAL ORDER by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Fort William, 27th March 1857.*

No. 470 of 1857.—The 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, has been brought to the head-quarters of the Presidency Division, to receive, in the presence of the troops there assembled, the decision of the Governor-General in Council upon the offence of which it has been guilty.

On the 26th of February, the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, was ordered to parade on the following morning for exercise, with fifteen rounds of blank ammunition for each man.

The only blank ammunition in store was some which had been made up by the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, the regiment preceding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, at Berhampore, and which had been left at that station on the departure of the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry. This ammunition had been used by the recruits of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, up to the date above mentioned.

When the quantity of ammunition required for the following morning was taken to the lines, it appears that the men objected to the paper of which the cartridges were made, as being of two colors; and when the pay-havildars assembled the men to issue the percussion caps, they refused to receive them, saying that they had doubts about the cartridges.

The men have since stated, in a petition addressed to the Major-General Commanding the Presidency Division, that for more than two months they had heard rumours of new cartridges having been made at Calcutta, on the paper of which the fat of bullocks and pigs had been spread, and of its being the intention of the Government to coerce the men to bite these cartridges; and that therefore they were afraid for their religion. They admit that the assurance given to them by the colonel of their regiment satisfied them that this would not be the case; adding, nevertheless, that when, on the 26th of February, they perceived the cartridges to be of two kinds, they were convinced that one kind was greased, and therefore refused them.

The commanding officer on hearing of the refusal went to the lines, assembled the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and explained that the cartridges were unobjectionable, and had been left at Berhampore by the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry. He instructed them to inform their men that the cartridges would be served out in the morning by the officers commanding companies, and that any man who refused to take them would be tried by a court-martial and punished.

This occurred at eight o'clock in the evening.

Between ten and eleven o'clock a rush was made by the sepoys to the bells-of-arms; the doors were forced open; the men took possession of their arms and accoutrements, and carried them to their lines.

On learning what had occurred, Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell ordered out the 11th Regiment of Irregular Cavalry and the post guns.

When the cavalry reached the parade, the men of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, rushed out of their lines with their arms, shouting, and assembled near the bells-of-arms, where many loaded their muskets.

Upon Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell and the European officers approaching the men, they were warned not to go on, or the men would fire.

The native officers were assembled, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, after addressing the men, directed the officers to separate the companies, and to require them to give up their arms. The men hesitated at first, but eventually gave up their arms and retired to their lines.

These are the principal features of the outbreak at Berhampore on the 26th of February.

The men of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, have refused obedience to their European officers. They have seized arms with violence. They have assembled in a body to resist the authority of their commander.

The regiment has been guilty of open and defiant mutiny.

It is no excuse for this offence to say, as has been said in the before-mentioned petition of the native officers and men of the regiment, that they were afraid for their religion, and that they apprehended violence to themselves.

It is no atonement of it to declare, as they have therein declared, that they are ready to fight for their Government in the field, when they have disobeyed and insulted that Government in the persons of its officers, and have expressed no contrition for their heavy offences.

Neither the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, nor any regiment in the service of the Government of India, nor any sepoy, Hindu or Mussulman, has reason to pretend that the Government has shown, directly or indirectly, a desire to interfere with the religion of its troops. It has been the unvarying rule of the Government of India to treat the religious feelings of all its servants, of every creed, with careful respect; and to representations or complaints put forward in a dutiful and becoming spirit, whether upon this or upon any other subject, it has never turned a deaf ear.

But the Government of India expects to receive, in return for this treatment, the confidence of those who serve it.

From its soldiers, of every rank and race, it will, at all times, and in all circumstances, enforce unhesitating obedience. They have sworn to give it, and the Governor-General of India in Council never ceases to exact it. To no men who prefer complaints with arms in their hands will he ever listen.

Had the sepoys of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, confided in their Government, and believed their commanding officer, instead of crediting the idle stories with which false and evil-minded men have

deceived them, their religious scruples would still have remained inviolate, and themselves would still be, as they have hitherto been, faithful soldiers, trusted by the State, and laying up for future years all the rewards of a long and honorable service.

But the Governor-General of India in Council can no longer have any confidence in this regiment, which has disgraced its name, and has lost all claim to consideration and indulgence.

It is therefore the order of the Governor-General of India in Council that the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, be now disbanded; that the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and privates be discharged from the Army of Bengal; that this be done at the head-quarters of the Presidency Division, in the presence of every available corps within two days' march of the station; that the regiment be paraded for the purpose; and that each man, after being deprived of his arms, shall receive his arrears of pay and be required to withdraw from the cantonments.

The European officers of the regiment will remain at Barrackpore until orders for their disposal shall be received from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

This order is to be read at the head of every regiment, troop and company in the service.

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division,—No 925, dated Fort William, 28th March 1857.*

With reference to recent correspondence regarding the conduct of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, on the 26th and 27th of February last, I am directed to acquaint you that the Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry which was assembled at Berhampore to investigate the circumstances connected with the outbreak in that regiment, the petition to your address from the men of that corps, and the correspondence upon the subject having been fully considered by the Government of India, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council is of opinion that no penalty, short of disbandment, can meet the case, and he has accordingly resolved that the regiment shall be disbanded.

2. I am instructed to request that you will carry into effect the resolution of the Government of India in the following manner:—

You will ascertain from Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell the exact day and hour on which the regiment will reach Barrackpore.

The Governor-General of India in Council desires that all available troops of all arms within two days' march of Barrackpore shall be present at that station by the time that the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, arrives there. This enables you to have present, in addition to the Barrackpore Brigade, two field batteries with their European reserve companies, a portion of the 9th Battalion of Artillery, a wing of Her Majesty's 53rd Foot, and the depot of musketry from Dum-Dum, the Governor-General's Body-Guard from Ballygunge, and Her Majesty's 84th Foot from Chinsurah. The Native Infantry guards on duty in Calcutta cannot be withdrawn, and the wing of Her Majesty's 53rd Foot in Fort William must therefore stand fast.

3. The whole of the troops above detailed are to be paraded on the arrival at Barrackpore of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, which is to be disbanded immediately after it reaches the parade.

4. The process of disbandment is to be the same as was observed on the occasion of the dismissal of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, at Meerut, with the exception that the men are not to be turned out of cantonments with ignominy, and that the number of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, will not be erased from the Army List.

G. O. C. C., 20th March 1844.

5. The Governor-General of India in Council leaves it to you to make such disposition of the troops as may enable you to carry out the resolution of Government in the manner you consider best; and in the improbable event of any opposition, you are directed to make such use of the troops as may be necessary. Any show of resistance to your authority must be put down at once, and the measure must be carried out at any cost.

6. Arrangements will be made in the Military Department for sending up, with the Body-Guard, sufficient money to pay up the men immediately after they have delivered up their arms and the uniform, the property of the State, and you are requested to take proper steps to cause every man connected with the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to quit the cantonments immediately after the regiment is paid up, and to prevent the return of any of them within the limits of cantonments.

7. A copy of a G. O. issued this day is enclosed, and you are requested to cause it to be read to the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, as well as to the other corps on parade.

8. When you may consider it right to dispense with the troops brought to Barrackpore, you are requested to direct their return to

their proper stations, bearing in mind that the season is far advanced to detain Europeans in tents for longer than necessary.

9. The Inspector-General of Ordnance and Magazines will be instructed to cause the tents required for the European troops to be sent to Barrackpore on such date as you may name, and you are requested to communicate with Colonel A. Abbott accordingly.

---

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* W. St. L. Mitchell, *Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major* A. H. Ross, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—dated Baraset, 30th March 1857.*

I think it best to march the regiment into Barrackpore to-morrow morning. It is evident that the men know their fate, and I think it best to tell them the plain truth that the regiment is to be disbanded, as they have strange thoughts on the subject.

I have just received your letter of the 29th, 5 P.M., enclosing notes from the Major-General and Colonel Birch. I have anticipated these orders.

I have just had a meeting of the native officers in my tent. I told them (what they knew before) that the regiment was to be disbanded. They said that two batteries of guns and Europeans were to be brought out against them. I replied if they behaved properly and everything took place as on an usual parade, nothing would happen to the regiment beyond paying them up and dismissing them; that I had issued my orders for the day, and they must be obeyed; that I had nothing to do but to carry out strictly the orders of the Major-General; that their business was to explain to the men to remain obedient. They told me that it was hard upon them, after so many years' service, to lose their bread, and hoped that I would represent their case to the General. I told them that any petition they wished to forward I would present it to the Major-General on parade in their presence.

---

*Telegram from Major-General* J. B. Hearsey, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, Calcutta,—dated Barrackpore, 31st March 1857.*

All has gone off well and quietly. The 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, has been paid up and marched to Fultah Ghat under escort of a wing, 84th, and the Body-Guard. The whole will cross to the right bank during the day, and thence to Chinsurah.

*From Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division,—No. 976, dated Fort William, 31st March 1857.*

I am directed to request that you will without delay convene a Special Court of Inquiry composed of four European officers (field officers) to investigate in the fullest manner possible into the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel W. St. L. Mitchell, Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, at Berhampore, in connection with the occurrences at that station on the 26th ultimo and subsequently, which have led to the disbandment of the regiment.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Barrackpore, 31st March 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council, that agreeably to the instructions received from you under date, I this morning paraded all the troops now at this station at gun-fire, or at quarter after 5 A.M., and then, accompanied by Major A. H. Ross and my Aide-de-Camp, Captain J. Hearsey, proceeded about one mile on the road towards Baraset to meet the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel W. St. L. Mitchell as it marched into this cantonment, and placing myself between the advanced guard and head of the column, I directed Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell to proceed towards the parade ground, and on reaching the open space to the right of the Body-Guard, the regiment from sections was formed into open column of companies which were closed to quarter distance, and in that formation were brought in front of two field batteries of artillery, and then wheeled to the left, so as to face them at about 80 yards distance.

I then made a short address to the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, in Hindustani, informing the men and native officers of the reason of their being ordered to this the head-quarters of the Presidency Division of the Army, and directed Lieutenant F. E. A. Chamier, Interpreter and Quartermaster, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, to read out in a loud voice the translation he had prepared of the orders of Government for the disbandment of the corps.

This being done, Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell solicited me to permit the native officers to address a petition to Government. I replied I could receive no petition until the regiment had laid down its arms and obeyed such orders as I gave it.

194

The ranks were then opened, and the order distinctly given by Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell to pile arms. This being done, the next order to take off their belts and hang them on their bayonets was given, and immediately complied with. The colors were then brought to the front of the columns (encased), a pile of three muskets put in front, and the colors placed resting on them. The order was then given—Left face (to the open ranks), file to your left, march,—and instantly complied with. The men having gone about one hundred and fifty paces from their arms, the column was halted and fronted, ranks closed, and the tumbril with pay was brought to its front, and orders given to Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell for the native officers and men to be paid up to this date.

I then made known to the native officers of the regiment any petition they chose to send to me would be forwarded by me to Government, but I could give them no hope. I told the men that Government, though it had punished them by summary dismissal from the service, did not wish to disgrace them by stripping them of their uniform, but all clothing belonging to the State, agreeably to the Clothing Regulations, must be given up. This evidently affected them. I continued: Since you have behaved so well and so penitently during your march from Berhampore and since the occurrence for which you have now been punished, I have further to inform you the Government, though forced to correct, was merciful and just, and that the hackery hire and hire of cattle for their journey, and also the hire of the boats that had brought down their families and heavy baggage from Berhampore, would be defrayed by Government. This gracious act was keenly felt, and they loudly bewailed their fate, many men saying the regiment had been misled (and as I understood) by the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, on which corps they vowed vengeance.

Whilst their accounts were being settled and the men receiving their pay I narrowly inspected the troops that had marched in yesterday.

The Government orders disbanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, were read by the interpreters to the 2nd (Grenadier), the 34th, the 43rd, and 70th Regiments, Native Infantry in their formation of contiguous close columns at quarter distance. I then addressed this brigade, pointing out the mercy and justice of the Government, and pressing on their attention that no attempt had been made from any quarter *to injure their caste or interfere in their religious prejudices in any way.* That the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, in which there were 409 Brahmins and 150 Rajputs, were now sent to their homes, paid up to the uttermost farthing of their claims, and were at liberty to visit any shrine

they chose, or to go and worship at the temples of the villages where they were born, and where their fathers had worshipped before them, without hindrance or molestation, making a strong proof that the reports so industriously circulated of the intention of Government to interfere with their religion was a base falsehood, intended by their enemies to ruin their prospects in life and to take the bread from the mouths of their parents, the widows of their lost companions, and from their own wives and children. I again pointed out to them that our Government and their officers were Christians of "*The Book*", and that no adult person could be baptized to our system of religious faith out of his own full consent, and then only after being strictly examined in the tenets written in "*The Book*" we put our faith and trust on.

I was listened to most attentively.

This discourse I repeated a second time to the Barrackpore Brigade before it was dismissed.

The 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, was paid up by 8-40 A.M.

The morning was cool with a fresh breeze. I had, during the night, made every arrangement for five companies of Her Majesty's 84th Foot to encamp on the other side of the Ganges at Ghyretty, there being no encamping ground at Fultah on this side.

A gharry was sent on with tents, &c., and provisions had been also despatched; a fatigue party of 50 men and a large body of *khalasis* had proceeded to have their camp ready.

Captain J. Hearsey showed these men the road, and had returned from Fultah just as the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, and their escort left the parade here, so I hope there has been no unnecessary exposure to the sun. The Europeans were directed to take off their stocks, and were in a light white linen marching dress. The men of the disbanded regiment, the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, cheered me and wished me long life as they marched off, and I returned the compliment, making them promise me they would behave properly on their way to their homes, and I forbidding them under severe punishment going to Calcutta or returning to this cantonment.

The Body-Guard will wait at Fultah Ghat until the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, cross the river. The officers of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, have been sent with them to see them safe across, and I have directed all their baggage to be sent on to Chinsurah, from whence they will be permitted to disperse to their homes and proceed to the different shrines of Hindu worship the large number of Brahmins are desirous of visiting. All has ended to my complete satisfaction,

and either to-morrow or on Thursday, the force sent here will return to Chinsurah, Dum-Dum, and Calcutta as soon as arrangements can be made for it to do so.

In making this report, I hope all I have done will meet with the approbation of Government.

*TRANSLATION of the first petition of the faithful officers and sepoys of the discharged 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, dated Fultah Ghat, the 31st March 1857.*

That your humble petitioners' regiment has been raised nearly a hundred years, since which time no disturbance has occurred: they have always done their duty faithfully, and have marched on service wherever they have been ordered, but unfortunately through the advice of some wicked men, on the 26th February, the regiment committed a very great crime, for which the Government issued the following order: "That they were to march immediately from Berhampore to Barrackpore." Accordingly, we marched and arrived at Barrackpore on the 31st March 1857, where we were punished by receiving our discharge before the whole force, after which we confessed our fault to the Major-General, and also before our arrival at Barrackpore we agreed in case we were pardoned to become a general service regiment and go wherever we were ordered.

Should our fault be pardoned through your kindness, we hope to be re-embodied and accounted as faithful servants, because this is our first fault, and the Government may be kind enough to pardon it.

We shall ever pray for your welfare.

*TRANSLATION of Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY'S *answer to the above.*

I have received the petition of the officers and sepoys of the late 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, and understand all that you have written, but until you can give me full information of the rank and names of those people who have misled you, either through bribes or any other way, and can prove and confirm it by good testimony, I cannot intercede for you. If you do as I say, I will intercede with the Government as much as lies in my power.

But Government will do as it thinks fit. And in my judgment, without doubt, some one has misled you; you ought not to hide the name and rank, or be on friendly terms with those who have ruined your

livelihood, because they have brought you and your families to the dust. I give you this advice, as I feel for you; you can do what you like. I can neither do or say anything more.

*TRANSLATION of the second petition from the officers and men of the late 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, dated Ghyretty, the 2nd April 1857.*

We received your honor's answer to our petition, dated 31st March, yesterday evening, regarding our giving up the names and rank of those wicked men who have misled and ruined us, and thoroughly understand the good advice you have written in our behalf. Alas, if we had known the names and rank of those who have misled us, we should have handed them up immediately before this misfortune overwhelmed us.

*Firstly*—The men who are acquainted with the names and ranks of those instigators are at enmity with us and friendly with them, because, being young, they are independent of the Hon'ble Company's service, and they began with this mutiny with a view to our ruin only, and this is the reason they do not tell us.

*Secondly*—On the night that this conspiracy took place, we left them and went to our colonel. By so doing we placed ourselves in opposition to them, neither did they consult us nor tell us their plot; even now they do not trust us. When this is the case, they will never assist us in our miserable state by giving up the names of the instigators. For these reasons we are unable to give up their names and rank. In our opinion the guard of the 34th was the cause of this mutiny. But we cannot recognise any of the guards who kindled it, that we may prove it against them. We have given you a true statement. You can use it as you like, with a view to our long service and old age, to keep us from starving.

Hoping for a speedy answer. We shall ever pray.

*TRANSLATION of Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY'S *answer to the above.*

*To the disbanded officers and sepoys who were in the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

I have received your petition, dated 2nd April, and thoroughly understand it. I write now as I wrote before, that without giving up the

names and rank of the wicked instigators, I am unable to help you, for most likely the Government will not listen to it. For the Government has granted you commissions and rank to keep the privates in subjection, and not allow them to mutiny, and it is known to all that a sepoy cannot even cough without the knowledge of his native officers. When this is the case, how will they believe that such a mutiny could take place without their knowledge. In short, nothing can be done without giving up the names and rank of the wicked instigators, either by me or Government. In the event of your being unable to inform and prove what you say, it is no use troubling me with petitions. Do as you think best.

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Colonel* C. CHESTER, *Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 158, dated Fort William, 4th April 1857.*

The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council having received a report, a copy of which is enclosed, by Major-General J. B. Hearsey, Commanding the Presidency Division, of the proceedings which took place at Barrackpore on the 31st ultimo, on the occasion of the disbandment of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that His Lordship in Council considers that Major-General J. B. Hearsey has discharged the difficult task assigned to him in a manner which well deserves the thanks of the Government of India.

2. With the firmness of a soldier executing imperative instructions, he has shown towards the men who received their sentence from him a kindliness of feeling and a consideration, the effect of which upon them was, the Governor-General of India in Council is assured, very apparent. This combined with good judgment, a thorough knowledge of the character and feelings of those with whom he had to deal, and unusual familiarity with their language, has enabled the Major-General to carry out with perfect success one of the most trying duties which can be imposed upon a commandant.

3. The Governor-General of India in Council requests that His Excellency will be so good as to convey to Major-General Hearsey, the entire approbation and cordial thanks of the Government of India.

4. The Governor-General of India in Council has received with pleasure Major-General J. B. Hearsey's testimony * to the great value of the services rendered to him by Major A. H. Ross, Assistant Adjutant-General of the Presidency Division, during the late proceedings at Barrackpore, and His Lordship in Council desires to convey, through His Excellency, to Major Ross, the approval and thanks of the Government of India for

* Letter dated 1st April,—a copy enclosed.

the manner in which he discharged his duties, and for the assistance which he gave to Major-General J. B. Hearsey on the occasion.

No. 159.

Copy of the above forwarded to Major-General J. B. Hearsey, for information, with reference to his letters of the 31st ultimo and 1st instant.

By order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council.

MILITARY DEPARTMENT,
FORT WILLIAM;
*The 4th April 1857.*

(Sd.) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.*,
*Secy. to the Govt. of India.*

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—No. 151, dated Barrackpore, 6th April 1857.*

In forwarding for the approval and confirmation of Government the accompanying copy of my Division Order, dated 5th instant, No. 1, I beg that you will do me the honor to submit my earnest recommendation that the energetic and gallant conduct of Lieutenant and Adjutant B. H. Baugh and of Sergeant-Major J. T. Hewson, on the occasion in question, may be favorably noticed in G. O.s; and further, that the promotion to a supernumerary havildar of Shaik Pultoo, sepoy, may be confirmed, and the Order of Merit bestowed on him by Government as a reward for his fidelity and bravery in defending the life of his European officer under most trying circumstances, in which act he was severely wounded.

*PRESIDENCY DIVISION ORDERS by Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, dated Head-Quarters, Barrackpore, 5th April 1857.*

No. 1 of 1857.—The Major-General cordially congratulates Lieutenant and Adjutant B. H. Baugh and Sergeant-Major J. T. Hewson, both of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, for the personal gallantry displayed by them in the conflict with the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, of No. 5 Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, who, in a state of religious frenzy, endeavoured to raise a mutiny in that regiment on Sunday afternoon, the 29th ultimo.

The Major-General will have much pleasure in bringing their praiseworthy conduct on this occasion to the notice of Government and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

Shaik Pultoo, sepoy, Grenadier Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry (the orderly who accompanied Lieutenant Baugh), is promoted

200

to havildar from the 29th March ultimo, and is to be borne on the rolls of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, as supernumerary from that date, for the loyal and gallant conduct shown by him on that occasion, and application will be made by the Major-General to Government and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that he, Shaik Pultoo, Grenadier sepoy, may be further rewarded with the Order of Merit for being instrumental in saving the life of his officer.

This order is to be translated and read to all the native corps assembled on their regimental parades for that purpose, and afterwards to be read at the head of each company.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Barrackpore, 8th April 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Governor-General, that Mungul Pandy, sepoy, 5th Company, 34th Regiment Native Infantry, who was found guilty by a native General Court-martial of mutiny and murderous assault on Lieutenant and Adjutant B. H. Baugh and Sergeant-Major J. T. Hewson of that regiment, on Sunday, the 29th of March (ultimo), and sentenced to be hung by the neck till dead, was executed this morning in presence of the native brigade stationed here and all the other troops, European and Native, within two marches of Barrackpore, drawn up on parade.

The columns of native infantry were then advanced close to the gallows, and I addressed the men, telling them they had now witnessed the punishment for mutiny, and I bid them to take warning by it.

All was conducted with strict order and agreeable to military law, and everything went off quietly.

The 84th Queen's arrived at Barrackpore from Chinsurah at 6 P.M. yesterday evening, during a most violent storm. I kept them on board the steamers and flat that the men might not be exposed to the severity of the weather, and when the storm had passed over, or about midnight, the corps was moved up to camp, where they found dry ground to sleep upon till morning. I shall order the corps back to Chinsurah, after the men have had their breakfast, by the steamers and flat.

---

*From Captain* G. C. HATCH, *Deputy Judge Advocate-General, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—No. 131, dated Calcutta, 9th April 1857.*

Under instructions from Major-General J. B. Hearsey, Commanding the Presidency Division, I have the honor to forward, for the

information of Government, a copy of the Proceedings of a native General Court-martial, held at Barrackpore on the 6th instant, upon the trial of Sepoy Mungul Pandy, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, on charges for mutiny and violence to the adjutant and sergeant-major of his regiment, and upon whom sentence of death has been carried out.

---

Agreeably to instructions received from the Brigade-Major, the Field Officer and Interpreter of the week having proceeded to the quarter-guard of Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment, put the following questions to, and received the following answers from, the prisoner of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry :—

*Question*—Have you anything to disclose, or do you wish to say anything?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Did you act on Sunday last by your own free will, or were you instructed by others?

*Answer*—Of my own will. I expected to die.

*Question*—Did you load your own musket to save your life?

*Answer*—No, I intended to take it.

*Question*—Did you intend to take the adjutant's life, or would you have shot any one else?

*Answer*—I should have shot any one who came.

*Question*—Were you under the influence of any drugs?

*Answer*—Yes, I have been taking *bhang* and opium of late, but formerly never touched any drugs. I was not aware at the time of what I was doing.

The prisoner was asked frequently if he would give up the names of any connected with the occurrence, and was given to understand that he had nothing to fear from his own regiment by disclosing anything, but he refused to state more than the above.

The sepoy attending him was removed from the tent during the investigation.

(Sd.) W. A. COOKE, *Major*,
*Field Officer of the week.*

" F. E. CHAMIER, *Ensign*,
*Interpreter and Qr.-Mr. of the week.*

BARRACKPORE, *The 4th April 1857.*

" C. GRANT, *Brigr.*,
*Comdg. at Barrackpore.*

202

*From Captain* G. C. Hatch, *Deputy Judge Advocate-General, to Major-General* J. B. Hearsey, c.b., *Commanding the Presidency Division,—dated Barrackpore, 6th April 1857.*

I have the honor to make the following reports to you in regard to the state of the votes of the officers forming the general court-martial on the trial of Sepoy Mungul Pandy, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry :—

*1st*—That the verdict was carried by the votes of fourteen officers on the first charge; and by the votes of fourteen officers on the second charge.

*2nd*—That eleven officers voted for the sentence of death.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. Hearsey, c.b., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Barrackpore, 9th April 1857.*

I have the honor to report that I have directed Captain G. C. Hatch, Deputy Judge Advocate-General, Presidency Division, to wait on you at your office this day, and to lay before you, for the information of Government, the Proceedings of the Court convened by my order to investigate into the circumstances attending the mutinous conduct of Mungul Pandy, late sepoy, *No. 5 Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* on the afternoon of the *29th March 1857;* also the Proceedings of a native General Court-martial assembled by my orders at Barrackpore for the trial of the sepoy.

These documents will fully elucidate the whole of the occurrence as regards Lieutenant and Adjutant B. H. Baugh and Sergeant-Major J. T. Hewson, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, but I deem it my duty to lay before Government officially a narrative of the circumstances that came to my knowledge on that afternoon, and also my own conduct on that occasion.

At 5-10 p.m., of the 29th of March (ultimo), one of the orderlies on duty at my quarters, a sepoy of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, ran to the portico of my house to inform me that all the sepoys of the brigade were turning out on their parades, and men were running in that direction from all quarters of the cantonment. I immediately ordered my horse to be saddled, and put on my uniform, directing my son to load my revolvers and place them in the holsters of my saddle. Whilst this was being done, I went to my desk and wrote two short notes, one addressed to Colonel Reed, Commanding Her Majesty's 84th Foot, at Chinsurah, the other to Colonel Amsinck, Commanding at

Dum-Dum, to the purport that on receipt of those notes, they were instantly to move with the troops at their posts to Barrackpore, for it was my intention had the brigade all turned out in a mutinous manner, to have taken post in the Governor-General's house with the 50 Europeans who were at the Flag-staff Ghat, and with the officers of the force and any men who might prove true to Government and join us to have defended that position until relieved or supported. I had just sealed these notes and put them into my pocket to despatch by mounted officers if I should find matters serious on my arrival at the parade ground, when Lieutenant and Adjutant Powell, of the 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry, arrived at my quarters on horseback, with his hands and his clothes partly covered with blood, and he informed me that Lieutenant and Adjutant Baugh, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, had been fired upon on the parade of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, and his horse had been shot, and that the Adjutant, Lieutenant Baugh, had been cut down, as well as the Sergeant-Major J. T. Hewson of that corps, by a sepoy.

Major H. W. Mathews, 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry, the field officer of the week, then came and reported that all the men of the brigade had assembled in front of their bells-of-arms. I asked him—"Has no attempt been made to seize or shoot down the mutineers?" Major Mathews replied—"Lieutenant-Colonel Wheler and Lieutenant and Adjutant Drury,* of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, were on parade, and had gone to the quarter-guard of that regiment to move with it and seize the mad man." I told him to ride off instantly, and direct Lieutenant-Colonel Wheler he had my orders to shoot the mutinous sepoy if he made any resistance to his seizure. (I have since been told Lieutenant-Colonel Wheler could not get the jemadar, Issuree Pandy, or the men of the guard, to obey him).

I then mounted my horse and accompanied by my two sons, Captain John Hearsey, 38th Regiment, Native Infantry, and Lieutenant Andrew Wm. Hearsey, 57th Regiment, Native Infantry (who is residing with me, being on leave from his regiment under medical certificate), as fast as our horses could carry us to the parade of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry. The Assistant Adjutant-General, Major A. H. Ross, had just arrived there before me. I saw the whole front of the bells-of-arms crowded with sepoys in their undress and unarmed, the native offi-

* "Lieutenant and Adjutant Drury"—*Sic* in original. But General Hearsey evidently committed an error for Lieutenant Baugh was the Adjutant, and the officer mentioned was Captain C. C. Drury.—*See Quarterly Bengal Army List, January 1857.*

204

cers of the 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry, with them, and endeavouring to keep them in order. The men of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, had also turned out unarmed to the right and rear of their quarter-guard.

I asked Major Ross what was the matter, and was answered by many officers who were standing there,—*viz.*, Brigadier C. Grant, Major H. W. Mathews, and others, some were mounted, many on foot,—that a sepoy of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, had cut down Lieutenant Baugh and the sergeant-major of that regiment, and that he (the sepoy) was pacing up and down about eighty or ninety paces in front of the quarter-guard of that regiment, calling out to the men of the brigade to join him to defend and die for their religion and their caste. "For the Europeans had arrived" (he alluded to a small party of fifty men of Her Majesty's 53rd Foot, then at the Flag-staff Ghat, that had been sent by Major A. Sanders, Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Army, and who were landing from the steamer that had arrived there from Calcutta). He called aloud to them—"You have incited me to do this, and now you *bhainchutes* (an abusive term), you will not join me."

On seeing this man I immediately rode to the quarter-guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, and saw the jemadar, Issuree Pandy, and about ten or twelve men had turned out, and were standing before the quarter-guard house.

My two sons and Major Ross accompanied me. I heard an officer shout out to me—"His" (the mutineer's) "musket is loaded." I replied —"Damn his musket."

I ordered the jemadar and his guard to follow me. The jemadar said, as I then understood, "The men are loaded," but I have since been told his answer was—"*He* is loaded (meaning the mutineer had his musket loaded), "and he will shoot us." I again (shaking my revolver and pointing it partly towards him) sharply repeated the order. The jemadar looked askance at me and replied "The men of the guard are putting caps on the nipples." I said in a commanding and peremptory voice—"Be quick and follow me," and rode out in front towards the mutineer. The guard followed, my aide-de-camp on horseback close to the jemadar armed with his revolvers, my other son also close to the native officer similarly armed, Major Ross in rear of myself. As we approached the mutineer we quickened our pace. My son, Captain J. Hearsey, called to me—"Father, he is taking aim at you, look out sharp" (meaning the mutineer). I replied—"If I fall, John, rush upon him, and put him to death." Immediately after the mutineer, Mungul Pandy, fired his musket, the whistle of the bullet was heard by the guard, for all but three men of it bent down

apparently to avoid being struck by it. It appeared the mutineer had suddenly altered his mind, I suppose, seeing there was no chance of escape (for a body of officers had either joined, or were coming up, armed, and close to the left rear of the guard). He turned his musket muzzle towards his own breast hurriedly, touching the trigger with his toe. The muzzle must have swerved, for the bullet made a deep graze, ripping up the muscles of the chest, shoulder and neck, and he fell prostrate; we were on him at once. The guard calling out—"He has shot himself," a Sikh sepoy of the guard took his bloody *tulwar* (native sword) from under him, for in falling he partly covered his sword with his body. His regimental jacket and clothes were on fire and smoking. I bid the jemadar and the sepoy to put the fire out, which they did. I then (thinking the mutineer was dying, for he was shivering and convulsed) directed Brigadier Grant (who had come up on foot) to form a court of inquest from the officers assembled there. Dr. Hutchinson being present, it was soon ascertained that the wound, though severe, was superficial, and the man was conveyed to the hospital of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, for medical treatment. He was handcuffed, and a guard placed over him. Before I quitted to go to my quarters, I rode amongst the sepoys of the 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry, and re-assured them that no person should be permitted to interfere with their religion and caste prejudices whilst I commanded them. I then went accompanied by Major Ross and my two sons amongst the crowd of sepoys of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry (the regiment of the mutineer, Mungul Pandy), and also re-assured them telling them they had not done their duty in allowing their fellow-soldier, Mungul Pandy, to behave in the murderous manner he had done. They answered in one voice—"He is mad, he has taken *bhang* (intoxicating drug) to excess." I replied—"Could you not have seized him, and if he resisted have shot him or maimed him. Would you not have done so to a mad elephant or to a mad dog, and what difference was there in the dangerous madness of a man and the same in an elephant or a dog." They said—"He had loaded his musket." "What," I replied, "are you afraid of a loaded musket." They were silent. I bid them go quietly to their lines, and they did so, immediately obeying my orders.

*P.S.*—As I was not present when Lieutenant and Adjutant B. H. Baugh and Sergeant-Major J. T. Hewson were wounded by Mungul Pandy, sepoy, the Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry and Court-martial will make fully known all the circumstances regarding the murderous assault of Mungul Pandy, sepoy, on those officers.

206

Sepoy Mungul Pandy has not improved in health since he came under my charge; he has been gradually becoming weaker, and is now much debilitated. The wound also presents an unhealthy appearance. I still, however, consider him in a fit state to be removed to the mess-house of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.

CAMP BARRACKPORE, The 6th April 1857. (Sd.) T. B. REID, *Asst. Surgeon, 53rd Regt.*

---

I, James Allen, F.R.C.S., Assistant Surgeon, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, do hereby certify that Mungul Pandy, sepoy, No. 1446, 5th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, is in a fit state to undergo his trial this day.

---

*PROCEEDINGS in continuation of a native General Court-martial assembled at Fort William, by order of Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, for the trial of sepoys* BOODHELALL TEWARY *and* BAHADOOR SING, *2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, and all such prisoners as may be duly brought before it, and re-assembled at Barrackpore on Monday, the 6th April 1857, by order of the Major-General, for the trial of Sepoy* MUNGUL PANDY, *34th Regiment, Native Infantry, and all prisoners who may be brought before it.*

PRESIDENT:

*Subadar-Major* JOWAHIR LALL TEWARY, *43rd Regiment, Native Infantry.*

MEMBERS:

*Subadar* BHOLA OPUDEAH, *17th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* HURRUCK SING, *40th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* RAM SING, *9th Battalion, Artillery.*
*Subadar* AMANUT KHAN, *37th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* SEWUMBUR PANDY, *34th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* DIRGA RAM, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* KHOODA BUKSH, *2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry.*
*Subadar* MEERWAN SING, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* SOOKHLAL MISR, *43rd Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* AJOODHIA TEWARY, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* JALIM SING, *43rd Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Jemadar* DEWAN ALLIE, *9th Battalion, Artillery.*
*Jemadar* MOHUN SING, *65th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Jemadar* LALLA RAM BUKSH, *8th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

JUDGE ADVOCATE:

*Captain* G. C. HATCH, *Deputy Judge Advocate-General, Presidency Division.*

INTERPRETER:

*Lieutenant* JAMES VALLINGS, *19th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

The Court re-assembled at the Mess House of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, at Barrackpore, at 11 A.M., the President, Members, Judge Advocate, Interpreter all being present.

Lieutenant and Brevet-Colonel S. G. Wheler Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, being appointed Prosecutor, takes his place in Court.

*Mungul Pandy, sepoy, No. 1446, 5th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is brought a prisoner into Court.

The Division Orders directing the re-assembly of the Court-martial at Barrackpore, and the Station Order directing the hour and place of the Court's assembly, are produced and read.

The names of the President and Members of the Court are read over to the prisoner.

BY THE JUDGE ADVOCATE

*Question*—Sepoy Mungul Pandy,—Do you object to being tried by the President or by any of the Members of this Court-martial?

*Answer*——No, I do not object.

The Interpreter, President, Members, and Judge Advocate make the prescribed solemn affirmation.

The following charge is read:—

Mungul Pandy, sepoy, No. 1446, 5th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, confined by order of Major-General J. B. Hearsey, Commanding the Presidency Division, on the following charges:—

*1st*——For mutiny, in having at Barrackpore, on the 29th March 1857, gone on to the parade ground in front of the quarter-guard of his regiment armed with a sword and musket, and then and there used words tending to incite the men of his regiment to turn out and join him in resistance to lawful authority.

*2nd*—For having, on the occasion set forth in the first charge, used violence against his superior officers Sergeant-Major James Thornton Hewson and Lieutenant and Adjutant Bempde Henry Baugh, of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, by discharging at them, severally, his loaded musket, and then and there striking and wounding with his sword the said Lieutenant B. H. Baugh and Sergeant-Major J. T. Hewson.

By order of the Major-General Commanding Presidency Division,

ASST. ADJT.-GENL.'S OFFICE,<br>BARRACKPORE;<br>*The 5th April 1857.*

(Sd.) A. H. ROSS, *Major,*<br>*Asst. Adjt.-Genl., Presy. Divn.*

208

BY THE JUDGE ADVOCATE

*Question*—Sepoy Mungul Pandy, No. 1446, 5th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,—How say you, are you guilty, or not guilty, of these charges?

*Answer*——Not guilty.

The handcuffs are removed from the prisoner.

## *PROSECUTION*

*1st Witness*

*Lieutenant and Brevet-Colonel S. G. Wheler, Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry*, the Prosecutor, is sworn.

BY THE JUDGE ADVOCATE

*Question*—You commanded the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry?

*Answer*——Yes.

*Question*—On the 29th March last, did you go down to the quarter-guard of your regiment?

*Answer*——Yes.

*Question*—Why did you go?

*Answer*——Captain Drury drove up to my house in the afternoon of that day, informing me that a man, a sepoy, had gone out in front, inciting the men to mutiny. I proceeded with him to the parade—the lines I mean.

*Question*—What did you observe there?

*Answer*——I observed the sepoy in front, the prisoner, walking parallel with the lines in front of the quarter-guard armed with a musket and sword. I proceeded in rear of the bells-of-arms to the quarter-guard. I did so, as several men about told me if I went in front of the bells-of-arms I should be shot. On arriving at the quarter-guard, it having been reported to me that the prisoner had wounded Lieutenant Baugh and the sergeant-major, I directed three or four men of the quarter-guard to load. They did load. I then directed the whole of the guard to load, and ordered the native officer in command of the guard to seize the prisoner. He hesitated, and said that the men would not touch the prisoner. I repeated the order two or three times, when he gave the order to advance. The guard did so a few paces, and then halted, and he, the native officer, returned and said the men would not

209

*Answer*—(concld.)
advance. As the Brigadier was on the parade, I went and reported the matter to him. To the best of my recollection, the General came up to the flank of the 34th Regiment, and after a few words with the Brigadier, he rode to the quarter-guard accompanied by several officers who were present at the time. The General directed the native officer to bring his guard in front. They advanced a few paces, when the prisoner shot himself.

*Question*—Where was the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, during these occurrences, and what was he doing?

*Answer*—He was walking up and down the parade parallel with the lines, about a hundred yards from the quarter-guard.

*Question*—Did you hear him say anything?

*Answer*—He spoke some thing; but I could not distinguish what he said.

*Question*—Did you observe the sergeant-major of the regiment and the adjutant?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Has there been of late anything unusual in the state of some of the sepoys of this station?

*Answer*—Towards the latter end of January there was much talking amongst the sepoys, I understood, generally, of the new cartridges being made up, and in consequence they had an idea that we were going to make them Christians by force.

*Question*—Were any and what measures adopted by the Major-General Commanding the Division, within your knowledge, to allay this feeling?

*Answer*—There was a general parade ordered on the 9th of February of the whole of the troops off duty at the station, when the General addressed them about the new cartridge paper.

*Question*—On the 29th March had any European troops arrived at this station?

*Answer*—A few were reported to be at the ghat, the Flag-staff Ghat, at this station.

*Question*—Were not the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, expected to arrive about that time in this station?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Was it made known to the native troops at this station for what purpose that regiment was to be marched in ?

*Answer*—At the general parade, on the 18th March, the General informed the troops that the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, would be disbanded on account of what took place at Berhampore.

The prisoner declined to cross-examine.

The Court now rose and proceeded to the bungalow of the sergeant-major, 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry, in order to take the evidence of Sergeant-Major J. T. Hewson, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, reported not to be in a fit state to attend at the Court, the prisoner and all parties being present.

### *2nd Witness*

*Sergeant-Major J. T Hewson, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry*, is duly sworn.

### By the Prosecutor

*Question*—What are your Christian names.

*Answer*—James Thornton.

*Question*—*Will you state the occurrences of the 29th of March last ?*

*Answer*—Between the hours of four and six on the 29th of March, the naick of the quarter-guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, Emam Khan, No. 5 Company, came to my bungalow and reported that Sepoy Mungul Pandy of No. 5 Company had armed himself with his musket loaded, and was walking about in front of the quarter-guard. He said that Mungul Pandy had taken a quantity of *bhang*, an intoxicating drug. I ordered the naick to report the circumstance to the adjutant of the regiment. I then went on the parade dressed in uniform, and with my sword. On arriving in front of the light company's bells-of-arms, a sepoy, regimentally dressed but with his *dhotee* on, no pantaloons, with coat and belt, took deliberate aim and fired at me. The shot did not take effect. I then went in rear of the bells-of-arms towards the quarter-guard, and on my way there called out to the guard to fall in. On arriving at the quarter-guard, I found some of the men dressing and some dressed. I spoke to the native officer, Jemadar Issuree Pandy, in

*Answer*—(contd.)

command of the quarter-guard; I asked him why he did not arrest the sepoy. He said—"What can I do; my naick is gone to the adjutant; the havildar is gone to the field officer; am I to take him myself?" I ordered him to fall in his guard, and load. Some of the men grumbled; and he never insisted on the men loading or falling in. I then placed a sentry on the right and the left of the quarter-guard to watch Mungul Pandy. I saw Jemadar Gunness Lalla, No. 5 Company, and also Mookta Persad Pandy, color-havildar, of No. 5 Company. Jemadar Gunness Lalla spoke to Mungul Pandy, the prisoner now before me. I could not understand all he said, nor repeat it in Hindustani. What I heard Gunness Lalla, the jemadar, say was to give up his arms. A little after I heard the sound of horses' hoofs, and Lieutenant Baugh, the Adjutant, came riding up. The adjutant called out—"Where is he? Where is he?" I called out to him to look to his left, and then I said—"Sir, ride to the right for your life, the sepoy will fire at you." I then saw Mungul Pandy, the prisoner, present his piece and fire. The adjutant's horse dropped. I saw him take aim. Lieutenant Baugh then dismounted and drew a pistol from his holster and fired at Mungul Pandy, the prisoner. The shot did not take effect from what I could see. The adjutant then drew his sword and rushed towards Mungul Pandy, the prisoner. When I saw him do so, I drew my sword and followed him, at the same time calling out to the guard to load and come on. I believe we both came up at the same time in front of the prisoner. Mungul Pandy made a cut with a *tulwar* (native sword,) at me, but did not strike me. He struck the adjutant. The next cut I received myself from Mungul Pandy with his sword. At the same time I was knocked down from behind by one or two blows from a sepoy's musket. I could not recognize the features of the man who struck me; he was regimentally dressed. On rising up I advanced again towards the prisoner, and caught him by the collar of the coat with the left hand. I struck him several times with my

2-12

*Answer*—(concld.)

sword, and received another cut from his *tulwar.* I was again knocked down from behind, and I remember being struck on the back and on the head when on the ground. The second time I was knocked down I was stupefied. On getting on my legs again, I saw a number of sepoys in front of the quarter-guard dressed. I also saw Lieutenant Baugh walking slowly towards the 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry, lines. His jacket had much blood on it. I followed him. On coming near my own bungalow, I heard footsteps behind me, and on turning round I saw Jemadar Issuree Pandy of the quarter-guard. I told him he had acted in a shameful manner, and that I would put him under arrest. I tried to grasp his sword, but he stepped back. His sword was in the scabbard. I then met my wife and step-daughter, who brought me to the bunglaow of the sergeant-major of the 43rd. I there saw Lieutenant Baugh, and then saw his hand much cut.

*Question*—Did you hear Sepoy Mungul Pandy, the prisoner, say anything when he was in front of the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—Yes. "*Nikul ao, pultun; nikul ao hamara sath*"—"Come out, men; come out and join me—You sent me out here, why don't you follow me."

*Question*—When the sepoy fired at you, did you hear the sound of a bullet passing or striking anything?

*Answer*—I heard the sound of a bullet close.

*Question*—Was any effort whatever made by the jemadar in command of, or men of, the quarter-guard to come to your aid?

*Answer*—I had no assistance; the men who came struck me and Lieutenant Baugh once. I saw Lieutenant Baugh struck with a musket from behind.

*Question*—Did you hear any shot fired after you had gone out to the front with Lieutenant Baugh?

*Answer*—Yes, from the direction of the lines behind me, quite close. I think the shot passed between me and Lieutenant Baugh.

*Question*—At what distance did this affair occur from the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—About thirty or forty yards.

213

*Question*—How many men came up to where you and Lieutenant Baugh were?

*Answer*—When I left the place where I was struck down, there were seven or eight men. They were regimentally dressed, and I believe they belonged to the quarter-guard.

*Question*—Why do you believe they belonged to the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—When I left the quarter-guard to assist Lieutenant Baugh, the quarter-guard was dressed, and the time was too short for other men to dress themselves and come out; and the men going on picket wear blue pantaloons; these men had white pantaloons on. There was one man I recognized,—but I could not swear to him—Heeralall Tewary of that company, who struck me. He was on the quarter-guard.

*Question*—Did you see any men of the regiment assembled and looking on?

*Answer*—Yes, there was a great number looking on from between the bells-of-arms, chiefly on the left, because three of the right wing companies have gone to Chittagong.

*Question*—Did any of these men come out to assist?

*Answer*—I did not see one. All the time I was out I kept my eye on the prisoner.

*Question*—Did you hear the jemadar of the quarter-guard or the men say anything when you were near them?

*Answer*—No, they were talking between themselves.

*Question*—How many sword cuts did you receive?

*Answer*—Two on the head.

*Question*—Are you now suffering from these wounds?

*Answer*—Yes.

(The witness is very much exhausted, and is lying on the *charpoy*.) The prisoner declines to cross-examine.

The Court now, at 3 P.M., rose and proceeded to the quarters of Lieutenant B. H. Baugh, Adjutant, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, reported unable to leave his quarters; the prisoner and all parties being present.

*3rd Witness*

*Lieutenant B. H. Baugh, Adjutant, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is duly sworn.

BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—You are Lieutenant Bempde Henry Baugh, and Adjutant, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Will you be so good as to state the occurrences of the 29th March last?

*Answer*——On Sunday week last, at about five o'clock in the afternoon, the havildar-major of the regiment came to my quarters and reported that a sepoy of the name of Mungul Pandy, No. 5 Company, had turned out in front of the quarter-guard of the regiment and fired at the sergeant-major. I told the man to go and report the circumstance to Colonel Wheler, ordered my charger, put on my uniform, and after having put a brace of pistols in the holsters, I galloped down as hard as I could to the regimental quarter-guard. I had scarcely pulled up at the quarter-guard when a shot was fired, and my horse fell under me. As soon as I could disentangle myself, I drew a pistol from the left holster, and on seeing the prisoner in the act of re-loading I fired. He stopped loading. I immediately drew my sword, and rushed in to secure him. I had proceeded about half way when the prisoner drew a *tulwar*. I looked back to see where my horse was, intending to get my other pistol, but saw that he was gone; so continued my advance and engaged the prisoner. After a conflict of about, perhaps, five or eight minutes (during which time I received a sword cut which entirely disabled my left hand, from the prisoner, also a very deep wound in my neck, and another on my head; the last, however, I am not certain whether it was a sword cut or proceeded from the butt end of a musket) a shot was fired close by: it came from the direction of the quarter-guard. On finding myself gradually getting hemmed in, I commenced retreating. During this time, with the exception of Shaik Pultoo, sepoy, Grenadier Company, not a man either from the regimental quarter-guard or from the lines advanced to my assistance. Shaik Pultoo held the prisoner, and enabled me to make my retreat good. I reached the sergeant-major's bungalow of the 43rd Regiment, Native (Light) Infantry, and from there was conveyed by Captain Wiggins to Dr. Allen's, to have my wounds dressed.

*Question*—How far from the quarter-guard of the regiment did this take place?

*Answer*—My horse was shot at about, I should say, eight or nine paces from the quarter-guard of the regiment; and the conflict took place, I should say, about forty or fifty paces.

*Question*—Did you receive the wound in your neck also from the prisoner?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—When you rode up, were many men standing in front and about the lines?

*Answer*—A great number.

*Question*—Did you observe whether any of the men who came up to you during the conflict were regimentally dressed?

*Answer*—I could not observe; I was so busily engaged in warding off the prisoner's blows.

*Question*—Did the prisoner say anything when you were fighting with him?

*Answer*—Not that I recollect.

*Question*—Was your horse wounded with a bullet?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—When your attention was first directed to the prisoner, where did you see him?

*Answer*—He was to my left, about fifty yards from me, in front of the quarter-guard.

The prisoner declines to cross-examine.

The Court returns to their first place of assembly, the 34th Regiment Mess House, the Court, prisoner, and Prosecutor all being present.

*4th Witness.*

*Drummer John Lewis, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court and duly affirmed.

BY THE PROSECUTOR.

*Question*—Were you on duty as bugler at the quarter-guard of your regiment at Barrackpore on Sunday, the 29th March last?

*Answer*—I was drummer of the guard.

*Question*—State what you saw in the afternoon.

*Answer*—After four o'clock in the afternoon, the prisoner came towards the quarter-guard, crying out where is the bugler. Upon seeing me, he told me to sound the assembly. I did

*Answer*—(concld.)

not obey through fear. He then pointed his musket at me. I did not then obey him; on seeing a sepoy near, he said to him, lowering his musket towards him, "Why are you not getting ready? It is for our religion." He remained there for sometime repeating the words "sound the assembly." When the sergeant-major arrived after some time, I saw from my place where I had sheltered myself that he fired his musket at the sergeant-major, who was advancing from the left wing. I don't know where the ball struck. I heard the sound of the ball. About a quarter of an hour afterwards the adjutant also arrived from the direction of the left wing. I saw the prisoner fire his musket at the adjutant, and hit the horse. The horse dropped, and the adjutant, disengaging himself, went towards the prisoner on foot, with a pistol in his hand. The sergeant-major went also with him. The prisoner again fired his musket. I saw the prisoner also strike the sergeant-major and the adjutant with a sword.

*Question*—*What did the jemadar of the guard do all this time?*

*Answer*—The jemadar went towards the rear-guard.

*Question*—When the conflict was going on between the adjutant and sepoy, where was the jemadar of the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—He was present in the guard.

The witness appearing to be alarmed, is told not to be frightened.

*Question*—What did the jemadar of the guard do while the fight was going on?

*Answer*—He was standing amongst his guard. He did nothing.

*Question*—Did you go up with the guard to the place where the fight was going on?

*Answer*—I did not go.

*Question*—Did any of the guard go?

*Answer*—I did not see any one go.

*Question*—Did sepoy Heeralall Tewary go or not?

*Answer*—I don't know him.

*Question*—Did the jemadar and men of the guard go to where the fight was going on?

*Answer*—No. He did not go with the guard.

The prisoner declines to cross-examine.

217

BY THE COURT

*Question*—When Mungul Pandy, sepoy, came first to the guard, how near did he come up?

*Answer*—About some thirteen paces.

*Question*—Where was the jemadar then?

*Answer*—I was sewing, and did not see him.

*Question*—Do you know where he was?

*Answer*—He was inside the quarter-guard.

*Question*—Did any one of the quarter-guard attempt to secure the prisoner?

*Answer*—No one attempted.

*Question*—Did the jemadar give any orders to secure the prisoner?

*Answer*—No, not any.

The witness withdraws.

*5th Witness.*

*Havildar Shaik Pultoo, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into court and duly affirmed.

BY THE PROSECUTOR.

*Question*—On the 29th of March you were a sepoy in the Grenadier Company, were you not, and are now promoted to havildar?

*Answer*—Yes; I am now havildar.

*Question*—Relate what you saw on the parade on the afternoon of the 29th March last.

*Answer*—About half-past three I had gone out to ease myself; and on returning to the lines, I observed Mungul Pandy in his coat and hat, and accoutrements and musket in his hand. He was shouting out—"Come out, you *bhainchuts*, the Europeans are here. From biting these cartridges we shall become infidels. Get ready, turn out all of you." He came out of his hut,—I saw him,—and ordered the bugler to sound the assembly. The two drummers hid themselves. The sergeant-major came up, and the sepoy then fired at him. The sergeant-major said to the jemadar of the quarter-guard—"See you have done nothing, and he has shot at me." Mungul Pandy was walking up and down in front of the quarter-guard, about thirty paces off.

*Question*—Did you see the adjutant come up?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—What happened then?

*Answer*—The adjutant came up and looked round him, and then the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, shot the horse in the left thigh.

*Question*—Did he take aim?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—What happened then?

*Answer*—The horse fell. The adjutant then took a pistol out of one holster and said to me—"Shaik Pultoo, no one is assisting me, you come with me." We then advanced, and the sergeant-major also. On reaching the sepoy, he struck the adjutant with his sword and wounded him in the hand, and afterwards the sergeant-major also on the head. The sepoy struck them again. I then came up and caught him by the waist. He wounded me in the hand. The adjutant and the sergeant-major withdrew. The sepoys in uniform struck the adjutant and sergeant-major also, who fell down, with the butts of their muskets.

*Question*—What sepoys were there?

*Answer*—Sepoys of the quarter-guard; they were in uniform.

*Question*—Do you know them?

*Answer*—No, I was twenty paces off. The adjutant was retreating when they struck him.

*Question*—How many sepoys were there in uniform?

*Answer*—I saw four.

*Question*—Did you hear any shot fired while the adjutant and sepoy were fighting?

*Answer*—Yes; from the direction of the guard. The ball passed the sergeant-major and adjutant.

*Question*—Did you see where it was fired from?

*Answer*—It came from behind me, and from the direction of the quarter-guard.

*Question*—Was Sepoy Mungul Pandy in an excited state?

*Answer*—He eats *bhang*; I don't know if he had eaten any then.

*Question*—When the adjutant and sergeant-major retreated, what became of the sepoy, Mungul Pandy?

*Answer*—I had hold of him. I held him until the adjutant had gone off the ground. I called out to the jemadar of the guard, who was about thirty paces off, to send four sepoys to take charge of him.

*Question*—Did the jemadar send the sepoys to take charge of him?

*Answer*—No, not one.

*Question*—Did the jemadar give you any answer?

*Answer*—No; he was inside the quarter-guard.

*Question*—When did you release the sepoy?

*Answer*—When I could hold no longer. I was wounded.

*Question*—Did any sepoys interfere to make you let the man go?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Who were they?

*Answer*—Some of the quarter-guard.

*Question*—Name them?

*Answer*—I don't know them. There was a crowd; they called out to me from inside the guard to let him go.

The witness withdraws.

The prosecution is closed.

The prisoner being called on for his defence says—"I did not know who I wounded and who I did not; what more shall I say? I have nothing more to say."

The prisoner being asked, says—"I have no evidence."

The defence is closed.

The Court is closed.

## *FINDING*

The Court find the prisoner Mungul Pandy, sepoy, No. 1446, 5th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, guilty of both charges preferred against him.

The Court is re-opened, and the prisoner brought before it.

*Captain C. C. Drury, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called and sworn.

### By the Judge Advocate

*Question*—Has the prisoner been warned that his former convictions and general character will be brought in evidence against him?

*Answer*—There are no previous convictions; he has been warned as to his general character.

*Question*—What is the prisoner's general character?

*Answer*—Good.

*Question*—What is his age and length of service?

*Answer*—His age is twenty-six years two months and nine days. His service is seven years two months and nine days.

The prisoner declines to cross-examine.

The Court is closed.

*SENTENCE*

The Court sentence the prisoner, Mungul Pandy, sepoy, No. 1446, 5th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, to suffer death by being hanged by the neck until he be dead.

Approved and confirmed.

BARRACKPORE, *The 7th April 1857.* (Sd.) J. B. HEARSEY, *Maj.-Genl.,* *Comdg. the Presy. Divn.*

---

The execution of Mungul Pandy, Sepoy, No. 1446, 5th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, will take place on the brigade parade to-morrow morning, the 8th instant, at half-past five o'clock in presence of all the troops off duty at the station.

---

The Court adjourned at 6-30 P.M.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—No. 156, dated Barrackpore, 9th April 1857.*

In compliance with your instructions, I have now the honor to forward the proceedings of a Special Board of Officers which was assembled for the purpose of enquiring into the particulars of the claim of Shaik Pultoo, a supernumerary havildar of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, to the Order of Merit; and concurring in the opinion recorded by the Court that this soldier has behaved in a most gallant and exemplary manner on the occasion in question, I would respectfully beg to recommend, to the favorable consideration of the Government of India, that the third class of this honorable order may be bestowed upon him.

221

*PROCEEDINGS of a Special Board assembled at Barrackpore, by order of Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, on the 9th day of April 1857, for the purpose of enquiring into and recording evidence on oath or attestation as to the act of personal gallantry displayed by* SHAIK PULTOO, *sepoy, Grenadier Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, in defending the life of Lieutenant and Adjutant* B. H. BAUGH, *34th Regiment, Native Infantry, on the afternoon of the 29th March 1857.*

PRESIDENT:

*Lieutenant-Colonel* W. ST. L. MITCHELL, *19th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

MEMBERS:

*Captain* R. A. SMITH, *19th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

*Captain* N. C. BOSWELL, *2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry.*

*Subadar-Major* DURRIOW SINGH, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

*Subadar-Major* SHAIK GOLAM MAHOMED, *2nd Regt., N. I. (Grenadiers).*

INTERPRETER:

*Lieutenant* GRIERSON *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

The President, Members, and Interpreter all present.

The Court proceeds to the quarters of Lieutenant and Adjutant B. H. Baugh, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, at 6 A.M., as he is, from his wounds, unable to attend at the Mess, 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry.

### *1st Witness*

*Lieutenant and Adjutant B. H. Baugh, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called upon by the Court to state what he knows regarding the conduct of Shaik Pultoo, sepoy, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, on the afternoon of the 29th March 1857, who is present in Court.

Lieutenant-Adjutant B. H. Baugh, having been sworn, states as follows:—"During my conflict with the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, I was severely wounded; one of these wounds totally disabled me of the use of my left hand. Finding that other sepoys were also assisting the mutineer, I commenced retreating, and was allowed to make that retreat good solely through the means of Shaik Pultoo, who caught hold of the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, round the waist and securely held him. By this act of his I consider my life was saved."

BY THE COURT

*Question*—Was Shaik Pultoo armed or unarmed when he rushed to your rescue?

*Answer*—He was unarmed.

The Court proceeds to the quarters of Sergeant-Major J. T. Hewson, of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, as he is, from his wounds, unable to attend at the Mess of the 2nd Regiment Native (Grenadier) Infantry.

*2nd Witness*

*Sergeant-Major J. T. Hewson, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is sworn, and in the presence of Shaik Pultoo, late sepoy, now havildar, of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, states as follows:—"On the 29th March 1857, between the hours of 4 and 6 P.M., when I went out in front of the quarter-guard to try to save the life of Lieutenant and Adjutant Baugh, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, on whom an attack was made by Mungul Pandy, sepoy, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, I did not recognize the features of Sepoy Shaik Pultoo, I having been knocked down and severely maltreated by several sepoys of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, my own regiment, in uniform; and I was in that state that I could not recognize the men who attacked me. I know Shaik Pultoo very well for about the last five years; he has been a drill lance-naick, he is a man of the most excellent character."

*3rd Witness*

*Mrs. Hewson, wife of Sergeant-Major Hewson, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and duly sworn, states as follows:—"I saw Lieutenant and Adjutant Baugh struggling with Mungul Pandy, sepoy, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, when my husband went up to assist the adjutant. I was then standing in my verandah about sixty yards off. I was so frightened I could not distinguish any one amongst the crowd of natives. I saw a man behind Mungul Pandy holding him; he was in undress, but I could not tell who he was. All this occurred about 5 or 6 P.M., on the afternoon of the 29th March 1857."

The witness withdraws.

*4th Witness*

*Shaik Pultoo, havildar* (late sepoy), *34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* being in Court and having made the prescribed solemn affirmation, states as follows:—

The sepoy, Mungul Pandy, about 4 P.M., was strutting backwards and forwards in front of the quarter-guard, armed with a musket and sword; he had on his red jacket and regimental cap, endeavouring to incite the men of the regiment to mutiny, saying that the guns and

Europeans had arrived for the purpose of slaughtering them. Some one told the sergeant-major of this, and he came towards the quarter-guard, asking the jemadar of that guard where Mungul Pandy was and why he did not confine him. Mungul Pandy then fired at the sergeant-major, but missed him; he reloaded; the sergeant-major being alarmed ran into the quarter-guard and asked the jemadar why he did not arrest Mungul Pandy, who had re-loaded his musket, and told him to send and let the adjutant know what had occurred on the parade ground. Shortly after this the adjutant on horseback arrived at the quarter-guard, and asked the jemadar where the sepoy with the loaded musket was, and why he had not secured him. The jemadar did not tell him where the man was, but I pointed him out. Mungul Pandy was then standing a little way in front of the quarter-guard. Just as I spoke Mungul Pandy fired at the adjutant and wounded his horse, so that he fell. I assisted the adjutant to get clear of his horse. The adjutant then pulled out a pistol from his holster, and said—"That man will kill me, he is loading again." I said—"You will not be allowed to be killed, for I am with you." The adjutant then with the pistol in his hand rushed towards Mungul Pandy, who, on seeing this, did not finish loading his musket and commenced retreating. The sergeant-major and I followed the adjutant as quickly as we could. The adjutant when within twenty paces fired at Mungul Pandy, but missed him. When the adjutant reached him Mungul Pandy drew his sword and wounded him severely. By this time the sergeant-major came up, and he also was wounded severely. I then came up and stretched out my hand to stop Mungul Pandy, who was following the adjutant, and said to him "Take care, do not strike the adjutant." He aimed a blow at the adjutant's neck, which I received on my right hand. I then seized him round the waist with my left arm; the adjutant and sergeant-major then got away. I then called out to the quarter-guard to come and make Mungul Pandy a prisoner, and told the jemadar, Issuree Pandy, of No. 1 Company, who commanded the guard, to send four men and take him. Then I got hold of him and would not allow him to hurt any one. They did not come, but abused me, as also did the jemadar, and said that if I did not let Mungul Pandy go they would shoot me. Being wounded, I was obliged to let him go. While I was holding Mungul Pandy several men of the quarter-guard followed the adjutant and sergeant-major, beating them with the butt end of their muskets. At this time a shot was fired from the direction of the quarter-guard, but I cannot say by whom.

The witness withdraws.

There being no further evidence procurable, the Court is closed to record their opinion.

From the evidence before the Court they are of opinion that Havildar (late a sepoy) Shaik Pultoo, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, displayed most conspicuous gallantry, by which act the lives of the adjutant and sergeant-major of his regiment were saved. The Court do therefore consider him fully worthy of having conferred upon him the third class Order of Merit for his exemplary conduct on the afternoon of the 29th March 1857 on the parade ground of his regiment at Barrackpore.

The Court adjourned at 10 30 A.M.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Barrackpore, 12th April 1857.*

I have the honor to forward the Proceedings of an European Special Court of Inquiry, to investigate into the conduct of the native officers and men of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, on duty at the quarter-guard of that corps, on the 29th of March ultimo; also the evidence taken (voluntarily given) from four men who were on duty with that guard, when they were ordered to be put into fetters.

These documents I wish to be laid before Government.

*From Captain* RICHARDS, *Officiating Major of Brigade, to Major* H. W. MATTHEWS, *43rd Regiment, Native Infantry,—dated Barrackpore, 30th March 1857.*

With reference to station morning orders of this date, I have the honor, by desire of the Brigadier Commanding at Barrackpore, to inform you that the Special Court of Inquiry, of which you are President, is convened with the view of eliciting the circumstances attendant on the adjutant, the sergeant-major, and a sepoy of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, having been wounded in the lines of that regiment, on the evening of Sunday, the 29th March 1857.

---

*From* JAMES ALLEN, Esq., F.R.C.S., *Assistant Surgeon, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Colonel* S. G. WHELER, *Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,—dated Barrackpore, 30th March 1857.*

In reply to your demi-official letter of this date, I have the honor to inform you that I consider it would be hazardous at present to the health of either Lieutenant B. H. Baugh, or Sergeant-Major J. T. Hewson, for the Court of Inquiry to assemble at their quarters now for further investigation.

225

In the event of no unfavourable symptoms showing themselves during the next twelve or sixteen hours, the further investigation required by the Court of Inquiry may perhaps be proceeded with, and due notice of which shall be given to the officiating adjutant of the regiment for your information.

---

*PROCEEDINGS of a Special Court of Inquiry directed in station morning orders of to-day, to assemble at the Mess-House of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, at 11 A.M., to investigate circumstances which occurred yesterday evening in the lines of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry—dated Barrackpore, 30th March 1857.*

PRESIDENT:

*Major* H. W. MATTHEWS, *43rd Regiment, Native (Light) Infantry.*

MEMBERS:

*Major* COOKE, *2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry.*

*Captain* GREENE, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

INTERPRETER:

*Lieutenant* CORBETT, *43rd Regiment, Light Infantry.*

Colonel S. G. Wheler, Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, will produce evidence.

The President, Members, and Interpreter all present.

Letter dated Barrackpore, 30th March 1857, from the Officiating Major of Brigade to Major H. W. Matthews, President of the Special Court of Inquiry, is read and appended.

Colonel S. G. Wheler proceeds to call the following evidence:—

*1st Witness*

*Shaik Pultoo, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, acting Lance Naick at the drill,* is called into Court, and duly cautioned.

*Question*—State what occurred yesterday evening at the lines of your regiment?

*Answer*—At about half-past three o'clock a sepoy of the 5th Company of my regiment, of the name of Mungul Pandy, came out of the lines on to the parade-ground with a musket and *tulwar;* he had his regimental coat on, and haversack, he had also his military cap on. A report of the

226

*Answer*—(Concld.)

above was made to the sergeant-major, who came out near to the quarter-guard in his uniform. The sepoy fired at him, and missed. The sergeant-major then went into the quarter-guard and told Issuree Pandy, the jemadar of the guard, to make arrangements about seizing the sepoy. The jemadar did not obey the order he had received; he did nothing. The sergeant-major sent some one to call the adjutant of the regiment, who came riding up, after about a quarter-of-an-hour, in uniform; he came close to the quarter-guard, no one telling him that there was a sepoy on parade with his musket loaded. While I was telling the adjutant of the sepoy being there, the sepoy fired a shot, wounding the adjutant's horse. The horse fell, the adjutant falling with it. The adjutant had a loaded pistol in his hand. The sepoy was about thirty yards off when he fired. The adjutant told the sepoys who were about him to seize the sepoy, but no one obeyed his orders; the adjutant went towards Mungul Pandy, and also the sergeant-major. The adjutant fired his pistol at the sepoy and missed him; the sepoy then came at them with his sword, and wounded the adjutant on the face and on his left hand. The sergeant-major drew his sword. Some sepoys from behind knocked down the sergeant-major and the adjutant with the butts of their muskets: they got up and ran away.

This evidence corrects the above statement, and now says: that after Mungul Pandy had cut down the adjutant and the sergeant-major, some sepoys knocked them down with the butts of their muskets. I don't know who they were, but they had their regimentals on. I got wounded myself in the hand, trying to protect the adjutant when Mungul Pandy was cutting at him. I had got Mungul Pandy down; a great number of sepoys, in undress, were assembled round us, they abused me, saying "why don't you let him go," and struck me on the back and on the head with stones and shoes. I then let him go: the adjutant had got out of the way in the meantime.

The witness having had the above read to him now states:—"I let Mungul Pandy go when the sergeant-major, as well as the adjutant, had got clear away."

227

By the Court

*Question*—Where and how far from Mungul Pandy were you when you saw him go out on the parade?

*Answer*—I was near the kote of the Grenadier Company of the regiment. Mungul Pandy came out from the centre of the lines; he was about a hundred yards from me.

*Question*—What did you hear him calling out?

*Answer*—He called out to the whole regiment to turn out; the Europeans had arrived.

*Question*—Were there many men present, and within hearing, on the occasion; and how did they act?

*Answer*—All that were in the lines were present looking on, but were quiet. Mungul Pandy called out, "The magazine has come with the Europeans, and the Europeans are here to make us bite the new cartridges, and destroy our religion."

*Question*—Was there any sympathy or exhibition of feeling shown by the men who were looking on when Mungul Pandy called out to them to turn out?

*Answer*—No, not any whatever, except that Jemadar Gunness Lalla, of the 5th Company, remonstrated with him, and said, 'Haven't you heard that you are not to bite the cartridges? Don't make a disturbance."

*Question*—Were all those men still spectators when the adjutant and sergeant-major were fired at by Mungul Pandy and assaulted?

*Answer*—Yes, they were all looking on.

*Question*—Did any one of them step forward to assist you in defending the adjutant and sergeant-major?

*Answer*—Not one of them.

*Question*—How many men in uniform assaulted the adjutant and sergeant-major with the butts of their muskets?

*Answer*—Three or four men, but I don't know whether they belonged to the quarter guard or the pickets.

*Question*—How do you account for not recognizing them?

*Answer*—I was wounded and confused.

*Question*—Were there any commissioned or non-commissioned officers amongst those men you saw in uniform?

*Answer*—I did not see any.

228

*Question*—How were the men of the regiment engaged at the time of the occurrence, and were the bells-of-arms open?

*Answer*—Some were open and some shut, and some of the men were engaged in cleaning their accoutrements.

*Question*—Prior to yesterday's occurrence had any similar manifestation displayed itself amongst the men of the regiment?

*Answer*—No, not that I know of.

The witness withdraws.

*2nd Witness*

*Gunness Lalla, Jemadar, No. 5 Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and duly cautioned.

BY THE COURT

*Question*—State to the Court what occurred yesterday in your regiment?

*Answer*—I was sitting yesterday in my house when Goorbucus Sing, pay-havildar of the company, came and told me: "I don't know what has come over Mungul Pandy, sepoy; he is walking about on the parade with a musket and *tulwar*." I went to the front of the lines near the kote of my own company, and saw him on the parade walking about. I sent Gobin Sing, havildar, to report to the sergeant-major, the adjutant, and the commanding officer. I also sent Goorbucus Sing, orderly-havildar of the company, to report to Captain Allen in charge of the company. I heard Mungul Pandy got the musket from the kote to clean.

*Question*—Did you see Mungul Pandy yourself, and what was he doing?

*Answer*—He was walking about in front of the quarter-guard, distant about a hundred and twenty-five paces.

*Question*—Did he say anything at all?

*Answer*—He called out for a bugler to blow the assembly, and said, all who are men turn out at three o'clock.

*Question*—What did he do after this?

*Answer*—I saw him discharge his musket in the direction of No. 6 or No. 7 Company. I do not know whom he fired at. He immediately reloaded, and walked backwards and forwards in front of the lines.

229

*Question*—What occurred after this?

*Answer*—The sergeant-major came up in rear of the quarter-guard, and told the jemadar of the guard, Issuree Pandy, to make his men fall in; they did so. Afterwards I saw the adjutant coming up on horseback towards the quarter-guard. He was pretty close to it when Mungul Pandy fired at him, wounded his horse, which fell down; the men of the guard rushed up to pick up the adjutant. Mungul Pandy was about eighty or a hundred yards off when he fired at the adjutant. The adjutant got up instantly, and went towards Mungul Pandy with a pistol in his hand, and accompanied by the sergeant-major and Shaik Pultoo, who came from the direction of the Grenadier Company; the adjutant discharged his pistol at him, and missed; he then threw the pistol at him. The adjutant drew his sword, as also the sergeant-major; the sepoy then drew his *tulwar*, and they fought together. I spoke to some sepoys of the quarter-guard to go and assist the adjutant; when they got a short distance Mungul Pandy threw down his *tulwar*, and seized his musket by the barrel, and was striking with the butt-end of it, but I could not see whom he struck. I saw Shaik Pultoo seize him by the waist. I afterwards saw Mungul Pandy loose again, but I don't know how it happened.

*Question*—Did you see any sepoys, either in dress or undress, strike the adjutant or sergeant-major?

*Answer*—No, I did not.

*Question*—Did any of the sepoys assist the adjutant or the sergeant-major?

*Answer*—Only one man, Heeralall Ditchit, or Tewary (I don't know which), got up to them; all the rest returned, when the adjutant made a sign to them to do so.

*Question*—Is it likely the adjutant, when his life was in danger, would make a sign to those who were coming to assist him to go away?

*Answer*—I cannot say, but I saw him make a sign.

The witness withdraws.

The Court adjourns till to-morrow at 11 A. M. it being 4 P.M.

230

*Barrackpore, 1st April 1857.*

The Court re-assembled this day, pursuant to adjournment. President, Members, and Interpreter all present.

Letter dated Barrackpore, 30th March 1857, from Assistant-Surgeon J. Allen, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Colonel S. G. Wheler, Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, is appended; a record to this effect having been inadvertently omitted in the former day's proceedings.

In consequence of the above letter, and the Brigadier having informed the President of the Court that it was advisable not to hurry the inquiry, there has been a delay of one day. Colonel S. G. Wheler proceeds to call in evidence.

*3rd Witness*

*Mookta Persaud Pandy, havildar, 5th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry* is called into Court, and has had explained to him para. 11, section 22, Military Regulations.

*Question*—State what occurred on the parade of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, on the 29th of last month.

*Answer*—Between four and five o'clock on the afternoon of the 29th of last month, a sepoy, Mungul Pandy, 5th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, standing near the quarter-guard of the corps, called out to the bugler of the guard to blow the "assembly." I was in my house close by and heard him. I came out and saw him standing near the quarter-guard, with his musket and a tulwar; he was abusing the bugler, and saying—"Why don't you sound the bugle? I will shoot you if you do not." I said to Issuree Pandy, jemadar, on duty at the quarter-guard, "Confine the man; I think his musket is loaded." The jemadar said "I cannot do so." I then said "If you don't confine him, I will report the circumstance to the captain" (meaning the captain of the jemadar's company). At the time we were in front of the quarter-guard: we went to the rear of it, and I told him, "You have neither confined him nor reported the circumstance, which you ought to have done." I then ran to Captain Drury, and told him what had happened; he said he would come immediately, and told me to go that instant to the jemadar of the quarter-guard, and tell him to confine the sepoy on his

*Answer*—(contd.)

(Captain Drury's) authority. On this I ran to the jemadar, and found him, the sergeant-major, and some sepoys, standing in rear of the quarter-guard. I gave Captain Drury's order to the jemadar. The jemadar said, "How can I confine him? his musket is loaded." I said, "It is the captain's order, he is to be confined somehow or other; you have a guard with you." He repeated what he had before said. I then ran and reported the occurrence to Captain Allen of my company; I found he had gone to parade. I then returned, and when I had arrived opposite the lines of the Grenadier Company, I saw the adjutant on horseback; he rode up to the quarter-guard, and stopped his horse; the sepoys called out to him to come in rear of the guard. He was looking round when Mungul Pandy, sepoy, fired; the adjutant's horse fell, and the adjutant fell backward; he got up and seized a pistol, and rushed towards the sepoy; the sergeant-major and Shaik Pultoo, sepoy, followed him from the right of the quarter-guard, at about eight or ten paces' interval. The adjutant, when some ten or twelve paces from Mungul Pandy, fired his pistol at him; he missed, and threw the pistol at Mungul Pandy. By this time the sergeant-major and Shaik Pultoo had got to within two or three paces of the adjutant. The adjutant and sergeant-major drew their swords, the latter made a cut at the sepoy: he lifted up his musket to guard the cut, and the sergeant's sword broke off at the hilt. The sepoy then took the musket in his left hand, and drew his *tulwar*, with which he made a cut at the adjutant: at this time a sepoy of the quarter-guard, Heeralall Tewary, of the Light Company, rushed forward, Shaik Pultoo having seized Mungul Pandy round the waist from the rear: he was, however, still fighting with the adjutant, who received a cut on the left hand, which fell down by his side. Mungul Pandy then broke away from Shaik Pultoo, and wounded him with a sword-cut. It was at this time Heeralall Tewary, who had rushed from the quarter-guard, struck the sergeant major over the head with his musket; the adjutant and Shaik

*Answer*—(concld.)

Pultoo had withdrawn. Heeralall Tewary again lifted up his musket, and struck the sergeant-major, who fell, and Heeralall Tewary went back to his guard. Shortly after, the sergeant-major got up, and made towards his house; the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, made two or three cuts at him. Mungul Pandy then went out to the parade in front of the quarter-guard, and loaded his musket; having done so, he walked backwards and forwards at about a hundred and fifty paces in front of the guard, calling out something which I did not make out, excepting once, when I heard him say, "If any one comes near me I will shoot him." The colonel and Captain Drury then came to the quarter-guard; the colonel gave the order for two sepoys to load, afterwards for four, and then for the whole guard. The colonel told the jemadar to take his guard and seize Mungul Pandy; the jemadar took his guard about eight or ten paces to the front, halted them, and came back himself to the colonel and Captain Drury, reporting, the man's musket is loaded, and he says he will shoot anybody who goes near him. The colonel and Captain Drury said to the jemadar, "What! are you afraid then, that you have returned?" He replied, "The sepoys say they will not advance without a European officer." The colonel said, "This is shameful; if you don't want to go, bring your guard back." The jemadar then ordered them to the right-about, and brought them back, then ordered arms. The General afterwards came to the quarter-guard with a number of gentlemen; he asked the jemadar if his men were loaded; he said they were. He then ordered the advance, and all proceeded towards Mungul Pandy; when they had got ten or fifteen paces, he sat down and shot himself.

*Question*—Did you hear a musket fired by any one besides Mungul Pandy?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—How many musket shots did you hear fired?

*Answer*—I heard one when I was reporting to Captain Drury, and a second when I saw Lieutenant and Adjutant Baugh's horse shot under him.

233

*Question*—Did you hear a third musket-shot when the struggle w
going on between the adjutant, the sergeant-major, a
Mungul Pandy?

*Answer*—I did not.

*Question*—What reason did Mungul Pandy assign to the bugl
when he ordered him to sound the assembly?

*Answer*—I didn't hear him assign any reason.

*Question*—Had you a distinct view of the scuffle while
lasted?

*Answer*—Yes, I had; they were about a hundred or a hundre
and twenty-five paces off; I was standing near a *peepu*
tree, eight or ten yards to the left of the quart
guard.

*Question*—What other men of the quarter-guard, besides Heeralal
Tewary, did you see go forward?

*Answer*—No others went forward.

*Question*—Did you see any men of your regiment, of any other
guard, in uniform, with muskets in their hands?

*Answer*—No, only those of the quarter-guard.

*Question*—Were many men of your regiment witnesses of the whole
occurrence, and what did they do?

*Answer*—Yes; I should say from a hundred to a hundred and
twenty-five men were looking on.

*Question*—What was the jemadar commanding the quarter-guard
doing all this time?

*Answer*—He did nothing.

*Question*—How did Mungul Pandy get possession of his musket and
cartridges at the same time?

*Answer*—The bells-of-arms are open at two o'clock, and sepoys can
take out their arms and accoutrements to clean.

### By Colonel Wheler

*Question*—During the time that I was standing near the quarter-
guard, did you hear any one remark to me that the ma
in front (meaning Mungul Pandy) is a Brahmin, and no
one will fire at him?

*Answer*—I did not.

The witness withdraws.

*4th Witness*

*Bugler John Lewis, No. 8 Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court and duly cautioned.

BY THE COURT

*Question*—Were you at duty at the quarter-guard on the 29th of last month?

*Answer*—I was.

*Question*—Did any one call out to you from the front to blow the assembly?

*Answer*—Yes, the sepoy who lies wounded in the hospital (his name I don't know) ordered me to sound the assembly, and threatened to shoot me if I did not; I said I could not without proper authority.

*Question*—Did the sepoy assign any reason for making such an unusual request?

*Answer*—No, he did not to me, but I heard him say to a sepoy, by name Meher Lall, "I am doing this for my religion."

The witness withdraws.

The Court proceeds to the quarters of Lieutenant and Adjutant B. H. Baugh to take his evidence.

*5th Witness*

*Lieutenant Bempde Henry Baugh, Adjutant, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

BY THE COURT

*Question*—State to the Court what occurred on parade on the 29th of last month.

*Answer*—On the afternoon of the 29th, at about half-past four or five o'clock, the havildar-major, Madhoo Tewary, came and reported to me that there was a sepoy of No. 5 Company out in front of the regimental quarter-guard, who had fired a shot at the sergeant-major. I told him to report the circumstance to Colonel Wheler; ordered my horse, put a brace of pistols in my holsters, and proceeded at full gallop to the spot. On pulling up at the quarter-guard a shot was fired by a sepoy of the name of Mungul Pandy, and my horse fell; not a sign was given me by any of the guard as to the proximity of my danger, and though I once called out to the jemadar, Issuree

*Answer*—(contd.)

Pandy, in command of the quarter-guard, saying why was not some arrangement made to secure this vagabond, he stood perfectly quiet and indifferent. On seeing Mungul Pandy, sepoy, about to reload his musket, as soon as I could disentangle myself from my horse, I took a pistol from one of my holsters, and presented at the sepoy, who was about fifty paces from me; he stopped loading and began retreating, but he again stopped, and I fired, and immediately rushed on sword in hand to secure him; I had not reached him half-way when the sepoy drew a tulwar, which I was not aware he had about him. I stopped and turned round to see where my horse was, intending to get my second pistol, and seeing him gone I concluded the pistol in the holster had gone with him, so continued my advance and engaged the sepoy. I must now call the Court's attention to a remarkable fact: my syce states that on coming up to where my horse had fallen he saw Mookta Persaud Pandy, the late havildar-major, standing close by with my remaining loaded pistol in his hand; the syce asked him—"Where did you get that pistol?" He said—"I just now picked it up." So that Mookta Persaud was positively standing by with my sole means of defence in his hand, both keeping it from me and not using it in my defence, though only a short distance from me. During my conflict with Mungul Pandy both I and the sergeant-major were jostled a good deal by men who were about us: a shot was fired by some man so close to us that I saw the sergeant-major put up his hands to his head as though he had been hit; I received a severe cut on my left hand, and two other wounds, one on my head and one on my neck; the one on my head I believe was from the butt of a musket. The sergeant-major complained to me when returning, that as we were retreating he was knocked down by some of the sepoys of the quarter-guard; I, myself, saw him in the act of falling and it seemed as if he had been struck by some one behind him; he, however, got up and joined me, and we both went to the bungalow of the sergeant-major of

*Answer*—(concld.)

the 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry. A sepoy of the name of Shaik Pultoo, Grenadier Company of my regiment, assisted me to the best of his endeavours during the whole of the fight, and received a severe sword wound in his hand. To the best of my belief my getting out of the business in the way I did was principally owing to this sepoy, as he drew off the attention of the men from us on himself, and allowed us time to retreat.

*Question*—At what distance from the quarter-guard did the conflict take place?

*Answer*—I should say at about fifty or sixty yards.

*Question*—Was there time for the men of the quarter-guard to have come to your assistance when your horse fell to the time of the conflict?

*Answer*—There was plenty of time, but none came to my assistance; my horse fell only eight or ten paces from the quarter-guard.

*Question*—Did you see any sepoy regimentally dressed with a musket in his hand near you during the scuffle?

*Answer*—Most of the men that were near me were behind me; the only men that I could see were the sergeant-major, Shaik Pultoo, and Mungul Pandy. I was so much excited that I could not take upon myself to say more than the above; my whole attention was taken up with the conflict.

*Question*—From what direction was the last musket shot fired, and could it by any possibility have been fired by Mungul Pandy?

*Answer*—I believe it to have come from the direction of the quarter-guard, and not from Mungul Pandy, certainly, as he was in front of me.

*Question*—Did you make a sign to any men not to come to your assistance?

*Answer*—Most certainly not.

The Court now proceeds to the quarters of the sergeant-major 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry, where Sergeant-Major J. T. Hewson, of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, lies wounded: he is duly cautioned.

*6th Witness*

*Sergeant-Major James Thornton Hewson, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

By the Court

*Question*—State to the Court what occurred on the parade of your regiment on the 29th of last month.

*Answer*—Between the hours of 4 and 6 P.M., the naick of the 2nd guard came to my bungalow, and reported that a sepoy of No. 5 Company had dressed himself and loaded his musket, and was standing in front of the quarter-guard. I immediately ordered the naick to acquaint the adjutant of the regiment. I then dressed myself, and went out on the parade. On reaching the left first kote, that of the Light Company, a sepoy, regimentally dressed but without his pantaloons, took deliberate aim at me with his firelock; the shot did not take effect. I then went round in rear of the kotes towards the quarter-guard. During the time it took me in doing so, the man loaded his piece and then returned in front of the quarter-guard. I found some of the men on duty at the quarter-guard dressed. I ordered the native officer to make them fall in. He told them to do so: they grumbled, but did not obey his order, nor did the native officer, Jemadar Issuree Pandy, No. 1 Company, draw his sword. I then spoke again to the native officer, and told him that it was his business to do his duty, and arrest the sepoy Mungul Pandy. He answered me—"What can I do? The havildar is gone to report the circumstance to the officer of the day, and the naick to the adjutant." I then ordered two men to be stationed, one on the right hand and the other on the left of the quarter-guard, and to keep an eye on Mungul Pandy. Several times I went beyond the quarter-guard, and each time the sepoy presented his piece at me, at the same time saying—"Get out of the way or I will shoot you." Several of the sepoys that were standing round about in undress, called to me to get out of the way; also the native officer of the quarter-guard. I recognized the native officer of

238

*Answer*—(concld.)

No. 5 Company, Gunness Lalla, jemadar, and the color-havildar, Mookta Persaud Pandy. Gunness Lalla advanced between the quarter-guard and No. 5 kote, and spoke to Mungul Pandy, calling on him to throw down his arms, and he refused. A little after this time I heard the sound of horse's hoofs, and the adjutant of the regiment came riding up. He called out: "Where is the man?" and I immediately answered him—"Look to your left, and ride to the right for your life, for he will fire at you." The words were hardly out of my mouth, when the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, fired. The horse fell; the adjutant then drew a pistol, having first dismounted, fired at Mungul Pandy and missed him. The adjutant then rushed up with his sword drawn to the sepoy. I also followed him, drew my sword, at the same time calling out to the guard to come on and take the sepoy. The sepoy loaded, but had not time to put on the cap. Before the adjutant reached him he drew a *tulwar*. He made a feint at me and cut the adjutant. I struck at the sepoy several times, but was knocked down from behind. On rising up I found that the men who struck me were all dressed in regimentals and had their firelocks, but no bayonets fixed. I rushed again at the man; and caught him by the collar. I received some cuts and was again knocked down by blows from muskets; and when down the second time I received a blow from a musket on my head. On rising up, I saw the adjutant walking away, covered with blood. I followed him. On arriving near my own bungalow, opposite the Light Company kote, I heard footsteps, and on turning round I saw the jemadar of the quarter-guard following me. I told him "You have acted shamefully, and I will place you under arrest." I tried to grasp his sword, but he stepped back, and prevented my taking it. I then saw my wife a few yards off and she brought me to the sergeant-major's bungalow, of the 43rd Regiment, Native (Light) Infantry. Outside it I again saw Lieutenant Baugh. I saw then his hand was cut very badly.

*Question*—Did the naick of the quarter-guard, when he reported to you, mention the reason of Mungul Pandy's arming himself?

*Answer*—He said he had drunk *bhang* and intoxicated himself, and I myself heard Mungul Pandy, when I was near the quarter-guard, calling out to the regiment to turn out.

*Question*—At what distance from the quarter-guard did the adjutant's horse fall?

*Answer*—About five or six yards to the left, and ten yards to the front.

*Question*—Did any of the guard advance to pick him up?

*Answer*—Nobody came to his assistance.

*Question*—Were there many men assembled near their bells-of-arms and looking on; and if so, did any of those come to his assistance?

*Answer*—There were a great number in undress, and none of them came to the adjutant's assistance.

*Question*—Did you see any one strike Lieutenant Baugh with a musket?

*Answer*—Yes, I saw a sepoy dressed in regimentals strike him, but I could not recognise his features.

*Question*—Did you hear a shot fired while you and the adjutant were engaged with Mungul Pandy?

*Answer*—Yes, I did from behind, close by in the direction of the lines.

*Question*—Are you personally acquainted with Heeralall Tewary, sepoy of your regiment, and did you see him during the scuffle referred to?

*Answer*—I know him; he was there, along with seven or eight other men in uniform, with muskets; but though I have a strong suspicion, I am not quite certain that he struck me.

*Question*—Did you receive assistance from Shaik Pultoo, sepoy?

*Answer*—I cannot say; I did not observe him.

There being no further evidence to produce, the Court adjourned at 6 P.M., *sine die*.

---

*Barrackpore, 6th April 1857.*

The Court re-assembled this day at 6 A.M. at the Mess-House the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, agreeably to station orders

yesterday, for the purpose of taking further evidence, particularly as to the conduct of the native officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, on duty at the regimental quarter-guard on the 29th March 1857.

The President and Members all present.

Ensign Chamier, Interpreter, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, is appointed Interpreter to the Court, in the place of Lieutenant Corbett, 43rd Light Infantry, on other duty.

*7th Witness*

*Lieutenant-Colonel S. G. Wheler, Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court.

BY THE COURT

*Question*—State to the Court what happened on the evening of the 29th of last month at the quarter-guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.

*Answer*—Captain Drury called at my house, and informed me that there was a man parading in front of the lines, exciting the men to mutiny. I immediately proceeded with him to the lines, calling upon the Brigadier, whose house was on my way, and reporting the circumstance to him. On arriving at the lines, I found all the men gathered in rear of their kotes. I at once went to the quarter-guard, and on my way there I saw the man walking up and down in front. It was reported to me and Captain Drury that Lieutenant Baugh, the adjutant, and the sergeant-major had both been wounded by the sepoy in endeavouring to secure him. On arriving at the quarter-guard I directed two or three men to load. Captain Drury suggested it would be better to order the whole guard to load, which I did. I then directed the native officer to take his guard and secure the sepoy. He murmured, and said, "The men won't go." I repeated two or three times to the native officer, it is ("*hookúm hue*") ordered. He at last ordered the guard to advance. They did so six or eight paces, and halted. The native officer returned to me, stating that none of the men would go on. I felt it was useless going on any further in the matter. Some one, a native in undress, mentioned to me that the sepoy

241

*Answer*—(concld.)

in front is a Brahmin, and that no one would hurt him. I considered it quite useless, and a useless sacrifice of life to order an European officer, with the guard, to seize him, as he would no doubt have picked off the European officers, without receiving any assistance from the guard itself. I then left the guard, and reported the matter to the Brigadier, who was standing in the street dividing the 34th and 43rd Regiments, Native Infantry. On this Major-General J. B. Hearsey came up, and proceeded towards the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry quarter-guard, and a number of officers were with him. He rode up to the quarter-guard, and directed them to advance. They did so for a few paces, when the sepoy in front shot himself.

*Question*—After you ordered the guard to advance, and they halted, did the native officer order them to halt, or did they halt of their own accord?

*Answer*—I cannot say, as I did not hear the order given.

*Question*—Did you give the order to load through the jemadar commanding the guard, or did you give it direct from yourself to the men?

*Answer*—I am not quite certain, but I think it was through the jemadar.

*Question*—Was that order readily obeyed?

*Answer*—Yes, I believe it was.

*Question*—What are the Court to understand by your last answer, inasmuch as you were a witness as to the manner of carrying out of the order?

*Answer*—On re-considering, the order was sluggishly obeyed.

*Question*—What was the conduct of the jemadar throughout; did he exert himself as he ought to have done?

*Answer*—Certainly not.

*Question*—Did the refusal of the guard to advance extend to the whole of the guard, or was there any exception?

*Answer*—I did not notice any exception.

*Question*—Had the jemadar set a proper and determined example, do you think the men would have advanced on his order?

*Answer*—I do not think they would, that is, to seize the prisoner, or to touch him.

242

*Question*—When Major-General J. B. Hearsey placed himself at the head of the guard, and ordered them to advance, did they obey his order at once, and did they show any hesitation during that advance?

*Answer*—They appeared to obey the order in starting off at once. After advancing a few paces, I noticed the rear rank began to step short, and did not lock up till directed to do so by an officer who was mounted in the rear.

*Question*—Were there any young sepoys in the guard who were on guard duty for the first time on that day?

*Answer*—I cannot say.

*Question*—Was there any other European officer present of your own regiment except Captain Drury, when the guard refused to advance on your order?

*Answer*—I did not see any.

Witness withdraws.

*8th Witness*

*Captain Drury, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry*, is called into Court.

BY THE COURT

*Question*—State what happened on the evening of the 29th of last month at the quarter-guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry?

*Answer*—I accompanied Colonel Wheler down to the lines, on reaching which we saw Mungul Pandy parading up and down, at about a hundred or a hundred and twenty yards in front of the quarter-guard with a musket in one hand and a tulwar in the other. He kept calling out something; I couldn't understand what he said; he spoke in a defiant manner. Colonel Wheler first of all ordered part of the guard to load; I suggested that they should all load, that no invidious distinction should be made under existing circumstances. The colonel gave the order and the men loaded, after which the jemadar of the guard took me aside and said he wished to say something. He said, "It's no use, the men won't go; even if you go they won't follow you; they would take the man's part." I pretended to pooh-pooh it, saying—"That was

*Answer*—(concld.)

all nonsense; whatever orders the guard received they must obey." Colonel Wheler then ordered the guard to advance under the jemadar; he murmured, but led the guard on some ten paces to the front in an unwilling manner, when the guard halted, but whether by any word or sign from him, I can't say, as he being on the right of the guard, I couldn't see if he moved his hand or made any sign. Matters seemed to be getting so serious that I suggested to Colonel Wheler that I should go and try and get a rifle somewhere and shoot the man, when I went up towards the lines of the 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry, to try and get one. At this moment Major-General J. B. Hearsey rode down, accompanied by some officers on horseback, and was joined by several others. On his arrival on parade, he rode up to the guard, who advanced with him some paces, when the man knelt down and shot himself.

*Question*—Had the jemadar set a proper and determined example, do you think the men would have advanced on his order?

*Answer*—It is a difficult question to answer; but I think the men would have advanced, though I much doubt whether they would have fired at, or injured him in any way.

*Question*—Did the non-commissioned officers of the guard show the same reluctance as the other to advance when ordered?

*Answer*—I didn't notice any one man in particular, except the jemadar, he being the responsible person in command in the guard, but all showed equal wavering and reluctance.

*Question*—What reason have you for thinking that, although the guard might have advanced if properly led, they would have refused to shoot Mungul Pandy?

*Answer*—I judged partly from what the jemadar told me, still more so from their sulky and reluctant manner, also from their natural disinclination to kill a man of his caste, and also from the fear of the opinion of their comrades in the lines, as it is impossible to say, there being a very large proportion of Brahmins in the regiment, who were approving or otherwise of what the man was doing.

*Question*—Were there many men of your regiment present on the occasion?

*Answer*—Almost all; they were clustering about in rear of the bells-of-arms.

*Question*—Were any of them invited to do the duty which the quarter-guard refused to do?

*Answer*—No; certainly not in my hearing.

*Question*—From what you saw of their manner and bearing on the occasion, do you think they would have obeyed an order to shoot Mungul Pandy?

*Answer*—I doubt it, though individually I am certain there are numbers who were well affected; still I think the fear of consequences from their comrades would have deterred any one man from being the first to come forward on the occasion. I think that the men distrust one another, and neither dare do or say anything tending to criminate a comrade.

*Question*—How many Sikhs are there in your regiment?

*Answer*—Seventy-three by the last monthly return.

*Question*—Had Colonel Wheler called them out, would they have shot Mungul Pandy?

*Answer*—I really cannot say. I have the highest opinion of the Sikhs in every way. I don't think they are mixed up in these disturbances, but for the reasons I stated above, and their being in such a minority, I think they would have feared to come forward; I think had volunteers been called for, there would have been quite a slinking back of the men into their huts.

*Question*—Were there any young sepoys on duty at the quarter-guard on that day, who were on duty for the first time?

*Answer*—There were one or two who joined from the last squad of recruits somewhere in the middle of last month. I can't say whether they had been on duty before, but I think they must have been once or twice.

*Question*—Did you expostulate directly with any of the men of the guard at the time referred to?

*Answer*—No; I was on parade in a subordinate position, my commanding officer being there, and I had nothing to say to the guard.

Witness withdraws.

245

There being no more evidence to call the Court closes its proceedings.

The Court adjourns at 9 A.M.

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* S. G. WHELER, *Commanding 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Captain* S. RICHARDS, *Officiating Major of Brigade,—dated Barrackpore, 7th April 1857.*

I have the honor to forward the accompanying letter of this date to my address, for the information of the Brigadier commanding the station, reporting what took place at the quarter-guard of the 70th Regiment, Native Infantry, when in conversation with some of the prisoners on Sunday last.

*From Ensign* F. E. A. CHAMIER, *Quartermaster, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Captain* C. C. DRURY, *Acting Adjutant, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,—dated Barrackpore, 7th April 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of Colonel S. G. Wheler, Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, the following circumstance:—

On Sunday evening last, I accompanied Captain Drury to the quarter-guard of the 70th Regiment, Native Infantry, who was directed to make arrangements for fastening the hands of the Sikh sepoy for whom handcuffs could not be procured large enough.

In the course of putting a few questions to the prisoners, I was informed by three sepoys there confined that the jemadar commanding the guard had prevented them seizing Mungul Pandy, saying, "Do not go near the madman." These sepoys refused to state whether they were prohibited rescuing the adjutant, but two Sikhs distinctly stated that the jemadar ordered them not to go to the rescue of the adjutant. They then said that they would repeat this before a court; and added, to prove this, if the jemadar had not the courage to use his own sword why did he not give it to the sergeant-major, whose sword was broken?

Ensign Bushby, 70th Regiment, Native Infantry, was visiting the guard at the time, and, I have no doubt, will corroborate the greater portion of the above statement.

*Sobha Sing, Sepoy, 6th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* a prisoner in the quarter-guard, 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry, voluntarily states as follows:—

"I was on duty on Sunday, the 29th March 1857. In the afternoon, I saw the prisoner, Mungul Pandy, walking about the parade with a

musket. I, and one or two others, asked the jemadar if we should load. He said—"You take your orders from me."

"The sergeant-major came up and asked for the jemadar's sword, as his own was broken. The jemadar refused to give it. The jemadar distinctly refused to let any one go to the rescue of the adjutant, and said, "If you go at all, you must go by my orders." Before this, the jemadar had prohibited our seizing the sepoy, who was walking up and down the parade. One of the sepoys of the guard and of the light company, I think (I should know him if I were to see him), ran forward, and, with the butt-end of the musket, struck the sergeant. The jemadar did not order the sepoy to attack the sergeant, but did not stop him. The sepoy and Shaik Pultoo both arrived about the same time. At one time, some sepoy of another regiment was passing the prisoner, who called out—'If you do not give me some water from your lotah, I will fire at you.' Havildar Mookta Persaud Pandy was standing by the bells-of-arms, but offered no assistance."

---

*Atma Sing, sepoy, 6th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* voluntarily states as follows:—

"I was on duty at the quarter-guard on the 29th March, when Sepoy Mungul Pandy came forward on the parade. The jemadar shut the front door of the quarter-guard, and assembled the guard in the rear. I, Sobha Sing, and two others, not Sikhs, offered to seize the prisoner, but the jemadar would not allow it. After the sergeant had broken his sword, he asked the jemadar for his, which the jemadar refused. We offered to go to the rescue of the adjutant, but the jemadar said, 'When you get the orders from me, then you will go.'"

---

Taken by me, in the presence of Major H. W. Matthews, Commanding the 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry.

BARRACKPORE, *The 7th April 1857.* (Sd.) F. E. A CHAMIER, *Ensign, Qr. Mr., 34th Regt., Nat. Infy.*

---

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* S. G. WHELER, *Commanding 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Captain* S. RICHARDS, *Officiating Major of Brigade,—dated Barrackpore, 10th April 1857.*

I have the honor to forward the statement of Sewbucus Tewary of the 8th Company, and Mehee Lall, of the 1st Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, who were on the quarter-guard on the 29th March 1857, taken in the presence of myself, Lieutenant Bunbury, subaltern officer of the day, and Lieutenant Grierson, quartermaster of the week.

The two statements differ with regard to what is said about receiving the word, "halt," after advancing by my orders. The latter one, by Mehee Lall, I beg to state, is the more correct one of the two.

---

Sepoys Atma Sing and Sobha Sing, having been taken to the quarter-guard of the 70th Regiment, Native Infantry, recognise the prisoners Sewbucus Tewary of the 8th Company, and Mehee Lall, sepoy, 1st Company, both of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.

*Sewbucus Tewary, sepoy, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* on being called on, states as follows:—

"On the day when Mungul Pandy fired at the adjutant and sergeant-major, I was on duty at the quarter-guard of my regiment; and had obtained permission to go to the rear, when I heard a disturbance, and immediately ran and fell in with the guard.

"Mungul Pandy came in front of the guard with a loaded musket and sword, and when the sergeant-major came out to the guard, he (Mungul Pandy) fired at him. I at once called out, 'Come, let us seize him'; but the jemadar called out that no man was to move without orders; that a report had been sent to the European officers, and, until orders were received from them, no man was to move.

"We were all behind the quarter-guard-house at this time with the sergeant-major, who had run there after being fired at.

"I did not see any man of the guard fire a shot during the conflict between the adjutant and Mungul Pandy which ensued, but I saw Sepoy Heeralall Tewary returning towards the quarter-guard with the cap of the sergeant-major, a sword-hilt, and a pistol. He was the only man who went to the front.

"The whole guard wished to advance to the rescue of the adjutant, but the jemadar would not allow us.

"Afterwards, when he had loaded and advanced a short distance by orders of the lieutenant-colonel, the jemadar went up to the colonel of the regiment, and said something to him (I don't know what), and then ordered us to halt, and right-about face."

*Mehee Lall, Sepoy, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* states as follows:—

"On the day in question, I was on duty at the quarter-guard of my regiment, and had obtained leave to go to the rear; and on my return, seeing a disturbance was going on, I ran and joined the guard. Both when the sergeant-major and the adjutant were fired at, I, and all the guard, wished to seize the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, but the jemadar in command ordered us not to advance until we got orders.

"I saw Heeralall Tewary returning with a pistol, a cap, and a sword-hilt in his hand from the direction in which the affray had taken place.

"His clothes were bloody, and I heard the jemadar tell him to go and change them.

"When the jemadar refused to let us advance to the rescue, I saw Sepoy Sobha Sing strike his head with the palm of his hand in grief.

"Afterwards, when we had advanced some twenty-five paces, by order of the colonel (after loading), the jemadar halted us, on Mungul Pandy aiming at us, and then went and said something to the colonel, after which he ordered us to the right-about, to take off the caps, and to pile arms."

(Sd.) W. M. GRIERSON, *Lieut.*,
*70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—dated Barrackpore, 17th April 1857.*

I forward the Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry conducted by Captain G. C. Hatch, Deputy Judge Advocate-General, assembled by my order, to take the evidence of Durriow Sing, jemadar, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, and also Ramsahai Lalla, sepoy in that corps. In this enquiry we have a connected statement, but no evidence to prove such statement can be found.

From circumstances that have since occurred, I have but little doubt that these statements are founded in truth.

*P. S.*—I return the documents received from you this morning.

---

*PROCEEDINGS of a Court of Inquiry assembled at Barrackpore on Friday, the 17th April 1857, by order of Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, for the investigation of such matter as shall be laid before the Court by Captain* G. C. HATCH, *Deputy Judge Advocate-General of the Division.*

PRESIDENT:

*Brevet-Colonel* J. D. KENNEDY, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

MEMBERS:

*Captain* R. A. SMITH, *19th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

*Captain* BOSWELL, *2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry.*

JUDGE-ADVOCATE.

*Captain* G. C. HATCH, *Depy Judge Advocate-Genl., Presidency Divn.*

INTERPRETER:

*Lieutenant* W. M. GRIERSON, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

The Court assembled this day at the quarters of the President of the Court at ten o'clock in the forenoon, according to orders. The President, Members, Judge-Advocate, and Interpreter all present.

249

The Court met with closed doors.

The Deputy Judge Advocate-General lays before the Court the following documents:—

A statement of Lieutenant and Brevet Captain A. S. Allen, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, dated 8th February, with descriptive roll of Sepoy Ramsahai Lalla, No. 8 Company of the regiment; the examination of Sepoy Ramsahai Lalla, dated 11th February, with transmitting letter; a deposition of Durriow Sing, Jemadar, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, dated 10th February, and

A statement of this jemadar taken by Lieutenant-Colonel A. Abbott at Ishapore.

BY THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE

The Major-General desires that a searching enquiry shall be made into the circumstances stated in the above documents.

*Durriow Sing, Jemadar, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called in and states:—

On the 26th of January there was a halt of the three companies which went to Chittagong, at Calcutta, near the fort.

Subadar-Major Ram Lall of my regiment was on guard at the Lieutenant-Governor's at Alipore. On that day the guard was relieved and returned to Barrackpore. The Subadar-Major, Ram Lall, and Subadar Muddeh Khan, and Subadar Lalla Gopal, and Jemadar Lalla Gunness, sent for the munshi of the regiment, and had a letter written and sent off to Rajah Maun Sing. Ram Lall, Subadar-Major, came to my guard, which was at the treasury on the day that the guards were relieved. He arrived about ten o'clock, and remained till twelve, talking in a treasonable manner, loud enough for all the men to hear; telling them what they were to do, and that he was going off to Barrackpore and could not remain there to conduct matters. On my guard there was a havildar, Peer Ally, who used to go to Subadar Muddeh Khan, who commanded the Mint guard, to eat with him. Peer Ally came to me, and awoke me on the night of the 26th of January, and told me an order had come that I was to get ready my guard, and to send off two men to give information to the Mint guard. I sent two men, Sepoys Gopal Ram, Light Company, and Chunder Sookul or Tewary, Grenadier Company, round to tell all the guards to be on the alert. Muddeh Khan sent word to me to say that if there was any noise in the fort, to let him know. From that day, Subadar Muddeh Khan is in the habit of abusing me. After we arrived here, about the 10th or 11th of February,

250

I went up to see Captain Drury, Commanding the 8th Company, and on my return saw Muddeh Khan, Subadar, in the lines, crying. On the 14th February, Muddeh Khan sent Havildar Peer Ally to me, to ask if I had told anything when at the sahib's bungalow. I found great difficulty in making my communication; Captain Drury would not listen to me; and when I went to the Colonel's, Colonel Wheler's, he would not listen to me, because I did not come from Captain Drury. Then I went on duty to Ishapore, and told the sahib there; since that I fell ill. The Subadar-Major, Mookta Persaud, havildar, formerly drill havildar, are trying to destroy me. I am afraid to leave my hut.

*Question*—How do you know that these persons sent for the munshi and wrote a letter to Rajah Maun Sing?

*Answer*—Peer Ally, havildar, was my informant.

*Question*—Do you know if a regular communication was carried on then with Rajah Maun Sing?

*Answer*—I only know it from hearing it from Peer Ally.

*Question*—What part was your guard to take in the arrangements on the 26th January?

*Answer*—We were to remain on the alert.

*Question*—What treasonable things did Subadar-Major Ram Lall say?

*Answer*—He talked about the cartridges, and said he would not serve any longer, and some sepoys said the same.

*Question*—What arrangements did the subadar say were going on?

*Answer*—He did not say what arrangements were made, but that he would not bite the cartridges; and the sepoy said the same, and that arrangements would be made. I understood that he was going up to Barrackpore, and would then make arrangements, and a plan was fixed upon afterwards.

*Question*—Were the sepoys aware that unusual precautions were taken in the fort?

*Answer*—Yes; a sepoy came out and told us that precautions were made, and that Europeans were posted at the gates.

*Question*—Have you heard what would have been attempted if these precautions had not been taken?

*Answer*—Subadar-Major Ram Lall would have taken the fort. I heard afterwards on the 14th February that it was the intention on the 26th of January, if the Subadar-Major had not been relieved from the Lieutenant-Governor's guard, with the aid of the three companies that were on the

*Answer*—(concld.)

way to Chittagong, and with assistance that was to have been received from the King of Oudh, to have taken the fort. Muddeh Khan, commanding the Mint guard, and the Subadar-Major, were the ringleaders of this conspiracy. I heard afterwards that all the guards were to join.

*Question*—How did you hear this?

*Answer*—Peer Ally told me that he had overheard the Subadar-Major and Muddeh Khan, Gunness Tewarry, and Mookta Persaud talking about it.

*Question*—How were the King of Oudh's people to assist?

*Answer*—By all his men joining. All the four regiments here were to join, and also the Calcutta Native Militia.

*Question*—Did you hear how the troops were to be rewarded?

*Answer*—Their pay was to be increased to Rs. 10 a month. It was the common talk in the lines. I heard it mentioned too on the 6th February, and on the 5th at the meeting on the parade.

*Question*—Have you heard what caused the abandonment of the design of the 26th January?

*Answer*—I afterwards heard that a rumour had been sent up to Barrackpore to tell them that the authorities were on the alert in the fort, and that Muddeh Khan had said I had spoilt the plan by sending my two men to warn the guards in town to be on the alert. The sepoy came from the fort, and I believe from the authorities. I don't know the name of the sepoy. The design would have been attempted if the Subadar-Major had not been relieved from the Deputy-Governor's guard.

*Question*—Do you know what is the cause of the recent bad feeling amongst the native troops?

*Answer*—It originated in the dread of the sepoys losing their caste through the cartridges. Both Mussulmans and Hindus were equally concerned.

*Question*—In what way did Sepoy Kassee Persaud Doobie, No. 8 Company, and Mohun Sookul, No. 7 Company, induce you to go with them to the meeting on the parade ground on the 5th February?

*Answer*—I had been on fort duty in December and January, and returned to Barrackpore on the 3rd February. The 4th

252

*Answer*—(concld.)

February passed tranquilly, except that I heard a good deal of talk about the cartridges. On the evening of the 5th February these two sepoys came and said, "Mookta Persaud Pandy calls you." I said, "Where is Mookta Persaud Pandy?" They beckoned me on and told me to come along, saying—"He is here." I went out on to the parade with them.

*Question*—Where is Mookta Persaud's hut?

*Answer*—Immediately behind the quarter-guard in the 5th Company lines. I went out by Mookta Persaud's hut on to the parade; he was not in his hut.

*Question*—What did you see on the parade; did you see Mookta Persaud there?

*Answer*—I consider that I recognised him partly from his figure, which is short and slight, and from his voice, which I have been accustomed to hear.

*Question*—What induced you to go out to this meeting?

*Answer*—I thought Mookta Persaud Pandy was in his hut. I went because he is a very high Brahmin; all the native officers are in the habit of going to his house and staying hours there.

*Question*—Do the men still talk about the cartridges?

*Answer*—No; I disabused their minds to the utmost of my power. [The witness adds] I am afraid of my life; I am accused of spoiling their plans and joining the Europeans.

*Question*—Did you recognise no one at that meeting?

*Answer*—I did not recognise any one.

The witness withdraws.

*Ramsahai Lalla, Sepoy, No. 8 Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and, after being duly cautioned, states:—

*Question*—Did you recognise any one at the meeting?

*Answer*—I did not go to it.

*Question*—From whom did you hear of the meeting on the 5th February?

*Answer*—It was the talk in the lines.

*Question*—Can you name any one from whom you heard what was to take place?

*Answer*—It was dark; every one was talking about it, and I cannot particularise any one.

*Question*—What is the name of the regimental munshi?

*Answer*—I don't know, he is called munshi; he was entertained at Lucknow.

*Question*—Can you state what the feeling now is in the regiment about the cartridge question?

*Answer*—The men are prepared to use them, but they still entertain suspicion about the paper being free from grease.

A variety of questions on different points have been put to this witness, but as the answers to all appeared to be quite useless, they have not been recorded.

The witness appears to have no further knowledge of the meeting at Barrackpore than that contained in his statement.

The Court closed proceedings at 3 P.M.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—dated Barrackpore, 18th April 1857.*

In forwarding to you, for submission to Government, the proceedings of a Special Court of Enquiry assembled at this station, by my orders to take the evidence of the European officers of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, with respect to the present state of feeling of the native portion of that corps, I beg to report that I quite agree with the opinion expressed by the Court, namely, that the Hindus generally are not at present trustworthy servants of the State, though to myself individually they now are, and have invariably been, most respectful and obedient.

---

*From Major* A. H. ROSS, *Assistant Adjutant-General, to Brigadier* C. GRANT, C.B., *Commanding at Barrackpore,—dated Barrackpore, 14th April 1857.*

I have been instructed by Major-General J. B. Hearsey, Commanding the Division, to acquaint you that the Special Court of Inquiry, of which you are President, has been directed in this day's Division Orders to re-assemble to-morrow, for the purpose of receiving and recording evidence, for the information of Government, as to the present state of feeling and temper in the native portion of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, for which purpose the Major-General considers that it will be probably sufficient merely to examine Brevet-Colonel S. G. Wheler, and the officers commanding or in charge of the seven companies of that corps now at Barrackpore.

The Court will record their opinion as to the trustworthiness or otherwise of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, as soldiers of the State.

*PROCEEDINGS of a Special Court of Inquiry re-assembled at Barrackpore on the 15th day of April 1857, by order of Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, for the purpose of investigating and reporting on a matter which will be communicated to the Members by the President of the Court.*

PRESIDENT:

*Brigadier* C. GRANT, C.B., *Commanding at Barrackpore.*

MEMBERS:

*Brevet-Colonel* E. AMSINCK, *3rd Battalion, Madras Artillery.*
*Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel* C. S. REID, *9th Battalion, Bengal Artillery.*
*Major* H. W. MATTHEWS, *43rd Regiment, Native (Light) Infantry.*
*Major* W. A. COOKE, *2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry.*

CONDUCTING THE PROCEEDINGS:

*Captain* G. N. GREENE, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

The Court re-assembled this day, at 10 A.M., at the Mess-House of the 70th Regiment, Native Infantry.

The President, Members, and Officiating Judge-Advocate all present.

Read Presidency Division Orders of yesterday's date, directing the re-assembly of the Court, and nominating Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel C. S. Reid, 9th Battalion of Artillery, a member of the Court, in room of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel A. Huyshe, 5th Battalion of Artillery, relieved from that duty.

Read Barrackpore Station Orders of the same date fixing the hour and place of re-assembly.

Read (marked Appendix A), and appended to the proceedings, Letter of Instructions No. 163, dated the 14th April 1857, from the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Presidency Division, to the address of the President of the Court.

The Court proceed to call evidence.

*1st Witness*

*Brevet-Colonel S. G. Wheler, Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry*, is called into Court, and examined by the Officiating Judge-Advocate.

*Question*—What is your opinion as to the present state of feeling and temper in the native officers and men of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry?

*Answer*—Of the temper and feeling of the three companies detached at Chittagong, I am unable to speak. Regarding

*Answer*—(contd.)

the seven companies at regimental head-quarters, I am of opinion that, since the latter end of January last, the men have been more or less in an excited state on account of the new rifle cartridges, and they have shown this feeling both secretly and openly on some occasions. The first symptom of this excitement manifested itself in the latter end of January, when it was reported to me that there was a great deal of talking going on in the lines about the Government forcing the men to become Christians. I then ordered a quiet undress parade, in the hope of allaying the excited feelings of the sepoys. I explained to them that it was quite impossible for our Government to make them Christians by force; that such a thing had never been heard of since we came into this country; that faith in our religion must come spontaneously from the heart, and not from force; and that it was, therefore, very wrong of them to give way to such foolish reports. This apparently satisfied them, and they were afterwards quiet for a time. In the early part of February last, Lieutenant Allen reported that a sepoy of the 5th Company (by name Ram Sahai Lalla) had given information that a meeting of sepoys was to take place at a temple on the Fultah Ghat Road. The circumstance was reported the same night to the Brigadier and the General by Lieutenant Allen and myself. The General suggested that an immediate roll-call should take place in the lines, which was done between 9 and 10 P.M. The sepoys with one or two exceptions were all present. Lieutenant Allen himself rode down to the temple where the meeting was expected to be held, but did not discover any trace of it. A day or two afterwards a jemadar, by name Durriow, reported to Captain Drury that on the night previous to the one just referred to, a meeting of the men had taken place on the parade ground; that he was present at it, and that it was held for the purpose of arranging for a meeting on the following night, and that he was invited to combine with them on the latter occasion; that he refused to do so; that the

256

*Answer*—(concld.)

object of the meeting was to plunder the station, and to destroy all the Europeans. In my opinion that meeting would have been held had it not been for the roll-call ordered by the General.

In the latter end of January, several bungalows were burnt down, amongst others the Electric Telegraph bungalow. A general parade took place on the 9th February, when the subject of the cartridge paper was explained to the men by the General. That explanation seemed to quiet the men a good deal for the time.

On the 18th March, the General again addressed the men on a public parade about the cartridge paper and the disbandment of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry; and at a regimental parade, on the following day, it was explained to the men that they were to break, and not to bite, the cartridges.

I would remark that there must have been a smothered feeling in the regiment unknown to myself and the European officers, which, however, did not break out until the 29th March, when Sepoy Mungul Pandy went out on the parade and tried to excite the regiment into a serious mutiny. When there, he called out to the men, "It is you who have sent me here; why don't you come out and join me?" This shows that many of the men must have been implicated with him, and such an inference is strongly supported by the fact of none of the men having gone forward to assist their officer when attacked by a mutineer, although at the time there must have been about 400 men in the lines looking on.

From all that has occurred, I am of opinion that it was the intention of the regiment to coerce and resist the Government, and that the feeling in the regiment was decidedly bad; but that now the men appear to be very much frightened.

*Question*—Do you consider that there now exists in the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, a healthy feeling of loyalty towards the State?

*Answer*—I am of opinion that a healthy tone exists amongst the Mussulmans and Sikhs, but not so amongst the Hindus.

257

*Question*—Have the men of your regiment, of any class, in any way manifested such contrition for past misconduct as to lead you to believe that they are now trustworthy?

*Answer*—No; there has been no such manifestation, but it has been reported to me that the Mussulmans are very angry at what the Hindus have done.

*Question*—Did you at the time of any of the late occurrences in your regiment hear that the Mussulmans had stood aloof from the Hindus?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Suppose your regiment were now ordered on field service, would you place yourself at their head in full reliance upon their loyalty and good-conduct?

*Answer*—No, I would not; because I could rely only upon the Sikhs and Mussulmans.

*Question*—What grounds have you for placing special reliance on the Sikhs and Mussulmans?

*Answer*—I judge from common report, and from two recent occurrences, *viz.*, the good conduct of the Mussulman subadar who was in command of the Mint guard in Calcutta, and the gallant behaviour of Shaik Pultoo, sepoy, on the occasion of the attack upon Lieutenant Baugh and the sergeant-major. Regarding the Sikhs common report is also in their favour, and I believe they would have acted like the Mussulmans referred to, had similar opportunities been offered them.

*Question*—In speaking of that portion of your regiment which you would distrust if employed on field service, did you intend to include the native officers of that class?

*Answer*—Certainly; because they have not done their duty of late. Had it been otherwise, recent events could not have occurred.

The witness withdraws.

*2nd Witness*

*Captain W. W. Aubert, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and examined by the Officiating Judge-Advocate.

*Question*—What is your opinion of the present state of feeling and temper in the native officers and men of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry?

*Answer*—For the last six weeks I have not been in the performance of regimental duty, and therefore cannot speak as to the

*Answer*—(concld.)

present state of feeling and temper; but between May last year (when I returned from furlough), and the date of my entering upon my appointment at this station, I had observed a great want of respect on the part of the men towards their European officers. For instance, I frequently noticed, when I went to the lines on duty and in uniform, that the men did not stand up and salute me: a mark of disrespect for which I punished the men of my own company and reported those of other companies. Again when the regiment was coming down by water, in October and November last year, we encountered a severe gale in which three boats were wrecked, but not a single sepoy came forward voluntarily to assist the European officers in getting their boats out of danger. And, likewise, when the men's boats came into collision with those of the officers, the sepoys who were seated above and looking on, never lent a hand to save their officers' boats from being damaged. In short, from all I have observed, I do not consider that the feeling and temper of the native officers and men are what they ought to be, and I am confirmed in this opinion by what I witnessed upon the evening of the 29th March, after Lieutenant Baugh was cut down. On that occasion I saw numbers of the men of all companies collected and passively looking on, and when I taxed them with cowardice in having allowed an officer of their own regiment to be cut down in broad daylight, within fifty yards of where they were standing, not one of them attempted any explanation, but they all seemed to regard the charge as a frivolous one and some of them even laughed at it.

*Question*—Suppose you were now ordered to accompany your regiment on field service, would you do so in full reliance on their loyalty and good conduct?

*Answer*—I would not.

*Question*—Does that feeling of distrust embrace men of all castes?

*Answer*—No; it extends to the Brahmins only. I think the men of other castes are inclined to be good and true, but nearly all the native influence in the regiment is in the hands of the Brahmins, who have also a numerical superiority.

*Question*—Would you, in time of need, place any special reliance on the loyalty of the Mussulmans or Sikhs?

*Answer*—I would, on both.

The witness withdraws.

*3rd Witness*

*Ensign F. E. A. Chamier, Interpreter and Quartermaster, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry*, is called into Court, and examined by the Officiating Judge-Advocate.

*Question*—What is your opinion of the present state of feeling and temper amongst the native officers and men of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry?

*Answer*—It is bad. I have observed that the native officers and men are generally disrespectful towards their European officers. An instance of the sort happened to myself only a fortnight ago. The subadar-major attended at my quarters for the purpose of being examined as to his knowledge of reading and writing, preparatory to being sent in command of the Government House Guard, Calcutta. I gave him a chair and treated him with all courtesy. As he sat down, he removed his turban from his head; when I desired him to replace his puggree, and pointed out to him the impropriety of his conduct, he neither attempted to excuse himself nor to apologise. This circumstance occurred on the day on which Lieutenant Baugh was wounded. Again on the same day, when passing the quarter-guard, the jemadar commanding it saluted me, but neglected to put on his cap (he being in uniform); and shortly afterwards when I repassed the guard, he repeated the salute in the same manner, although on both occasions he was standing close by his cot upon which his cap was lying.

*Question*—Do you consider that the bad feeling and disrespectful bearing of which you have spoken pervade men of all classes in the regiment?

*Answer*—No; I think that the Mussulmans and Sikhs are exceptions.

*Question*—Would you now accompany your regiment on field service in full reliance on the loyalty and good conduct of the men generally?

*Answer*—I would not do so in full reliance on the Hindus, but would decidedly trust the Sikhs and Mussulmans.

The witness withdraws.

260

*4th Witness*

*Captain C. C. Drury, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and examined by the Officiating Judge-Advocate.

*Question*—What is your opinion as to the present state of feeling and temper amongst the native officers and men of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry?

*Answer*—I believe that with the exception of a few men (whom I can't name), the general feeling of the regiment is very good indeed.

*Question*—How do you account for the apathy exhibited by a large body of those men in sight of where their adjutant and sergeant-major were cut down by a mutineer, aided by sepoys from the quarter-guard, with the butts of their muskets?

*Answer*—I account for it because I think that there might have been some men who were perfectly willing to aid Lieutenant Baugh, but who did not do so from fear of after consequences. I don't think that there are a dozen men in the lines who, under the present state of things, know who are their friends and who are not. I also believe that the conduct of the jemadar commanding the quarter-guard on the 29th ultimo had a great deal to do with preventing the men from acting as they ought to have done. I know both from the regimental records and from experience (he having been for some time a native officer of my own company), that he is a most litigious, untrustworthy man.

*Question*—Would you now accompany your regiment on field service, in full reliance upon the loyalty and good conduct of the native officers and men of all classes and castes?

*Answer*—Yes.

BY THE COURT

*Question*—Has the behaviour of the native officers and men been of late respectful towards the European officers?

*Answer*—Personally I have always found it to be so; but during the last ten months I have heard officers complain of a falling off from what it used to be, and I believe it to be true.

*Question*—Did you on a late occasion express it as your opinion that the men were in a bad state, and that an officer's life was not safe in going to the lines?

*Answer*—Certainly not.

261

*Question*—How do you account for the falling off in respect towards the European officers of the regiment?

*Answer*—I account for it by the lax state of discipline which has been allowed, by men being permitted to commit faults, and receiving little or no punishment for the same. Also by the difficulty which officers of companies have experienced in getting adequate punishment for their men in cases when the offences were of so serious a nature as to require reference to a higher authority. In fact, to use the words of old officers of the regiment, the corps was commanded by the late havildar-major, Mookta Persaud Pandy. I wish it to be understood that the foregoing reply has no reference to the period during which Colonel Wheler has been in command of the regiment.

The witness withdraws.

*5th Witness*

*Lieutenant A. C. Bunbury, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry*, is called into Court, and examined by the Officiating Judge-Advocate.

*Question*—What is your opinion of the present state of feeling and temper of the native officers and men of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry?

*Answer*—Good.

*Question*—How do you account for the indifference shown, on the 29th ultimo, by the bulk of the men of the regiment in remaining passive spectators of a murderous attack on the adjutant and sergeant-major by a mutineer supported by men on duty from the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—I cannot account for it.

*Question*—Have you noticed any change in the bearing and behaviour of the men towards yourself or towards any of the European officers?

*Answer*—None towards myself; but I have heard other officers speak of such a change.

*Question*—When did you first hear of that change?

*Answer*—I was absent from the station on fort duty last month, and whilst there I heard of it.

*Question*—Would you now accompany your regiment on field service in full reliance on the loyalty and good conduct of the native officers and men of all castes?

*Answer*—Certainly, I would.

The witness withdraws.

There being no more officers in attendance except Ensign G. R. Hennessy, who informs the Court that he returned to the station only during the current month, having been for the three preceding months on fort duty, and consequently unable to speak to recent occurrences, or even present feeling; and also that he received charge of a company only yesterday for the first time; the Court do not think that there would be any use in examining this young officer.

*OPINION*

The Court, from the evidence before them, are of opinion that the Sikhs and Mussulmans of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, are trustworthy soldiers of the State, but that the Hindus generally of that corps are not trustworthy.

The Court adjourned at 3 P.M. *sine die.*

Under instructions from the Major-General Commanding the Division, conveyed through the President, the Court is re-assembled for the purpose of taking the evidence of Lieutenant and Adjutant B. H. Baugh, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry (on the sick list), as also that of Lieutenant and Brevet-Captain A. S. Allen, and Lieutenant J. T. Liscombe, of the same regiment (on duty in Fort William), whose attendance at Barrackpore has been directed.

At 6-15 A.M., the Court proceeded to the quarters of Lieutenant and Adjutant B. H. Baugh.

The President, Members, and Officiating Judge-Advocate all present.

*6th Witness*

*Lieutenant and Adjutant B. H. Baugh, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* being present in Court, is examined by the Officiating Judge-Advocate.

*Question*—What is your opinion of the present state of feeling and temper of the native officers and men of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry?

*Answer*—I do not exactly know what their present feeling may be, but their conduct hitherto has given me the greatest distrust in them. About two months ago, on the evening that the order came from Brigadier Grant for the men to be paraded in their Hindustani clothes, in order that the new cartridges might be shown to them, their conduct

*Answer*—(concld.)

at that parade was most unruly and insubordinate, so much so that I took up two or three men (whom I had marked for having made use of very insubordinate expressions) to Colonel Wheler, who was on the parade ground. The colonel, however, advised that no further notice should be taken of them, saying that if the conduct of those men were to be noticed, he would for the same reason have to put half the regiment in confinement. Again about a month ago, the subadar-major was so extremely insolent to me on the parade ground, that I was compelled to take him to the quarters of Colonel Wheler, by whom he was then and there severely reprimanded. Again on the evening of the 29th ultimo, after my conflict with Mungul Pandy, when I was retreating severely wounded towards the bungalow of the sergeant-major of the 43rd Regiment, Light Infantry, I looked towards the lines of my own corps, and seeing all the men collected outside, I said to those of the light company, as I passed them—"You cowardly set of rascals, you see an officer cut down before your eyes, and not a man of you advances to assist him." They made no reply, but all turned their backs on me and moved away in a slow and most sullen manner. Indeed, the conduct of the men generally was at the time such that I do not hesitate to say that it is my firm conviction that all of them were cognisant of what was going to take place, fully prepared for what did take place, and all more or less implicated. On questioning some of the men a day or two afterwards as to where they were on the occasion referred to, I received the most futile and confused answers.

*Question*—Prior to the occurrence of the 29th ultimo, had you observed any change in the bearing and behaviour of the men towards their European officers?

*Answer*—I had observed that they were greatly wanting in *respect* towards the officers, and they performed their *duty* in such a sullen and sluggish manner that the sergeant-major one day remarked to me that he did not know what had come over the regiment.

264

*Question*—Would you now accompany your regiment on field service in full reliance upon the loyalty and good conduct of native officers and men of all castes?

*Answer*—Most certainly not.

*Question*—Would you do so as regards those of any class?

*Answer*—Yes; I would rely upon the Mussulmans and Sikhs, because I think that those two classes are overawed by the preponderating influence of the Brahmins.

BY THE COURT

*Question*—How do you account for the change in the general conduct of the native officers and men, as also for their altered manner and bearing towards their European officers?

*Answer*—I noticed it in December or January last about the time that the general order was received for the formation of the new rifle depots and the succeeding introduction of the new cartridges, and to that cause I attribute the change in question.

This witness's examination is closed. At 7 A.M. the Court adjourn until 11 A.M. to-day, so as to allow of the arrival from Fort William of Lieutenant and Brevet-Captain Allen and Lieutenant Liscombe.

---

*Friday, 19th April 1857.*

The Court re-assembled pursuant to adjournment. President, Members, and Officiating Judge-Advocate all present.

*7th Witness*

*Lieutenant and Brevet-Captain A. S. Allen, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry*, is called into Court and examined by the Officiating Judge-Advocate.

*Question*—What was your opinion of the feeling and temper of the native officers and men of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, when you left this station on the 3rd instant?

*Answer*—With the exception of the parties who misbehaved in the quarter-guard on the 29th ultimo, I am not aware that

*Answer*—(concld.)

the regiment generally has shown symptoms of disloyalty. My reasons for so thinking are—

(1).—Because on the evening alluded to, the pay-havildars of both my companies came running to my quarters and informed me that Mungul Pandy, sepoy of one of those companies (No. 5), was standing with a loaded musket near the quarter-guard.

(2).—Because when I proceeded towards the lines on that occasion, and as I approached the Grenadier Company lines, I was stopped by another havildar of my company, and two sepoys of other companies, who laid hold of my horse's head, and told me not to advance, otherwise I would be shot. The names of the two pay-havildars are Goorbucus Sing of No. 5, and Jewrakun Tewary of the Grenadiers.

(3).—Because, about six weeks ago, a sepoy of No. 8 Company, named Ram Sahai Lalla, who reads and writes English, came to my quarters one evening and revealed to me the fact of a combination amongst the sepoys of all the regiments at Barrackpore, and the intention of their delegates to hold a meeting on that night. I reported the circumstance to Colonel Wheler and Brigadier Grant.

*Question*—It is a notorious fact that a very large number of the men of your regiment witnessed the attack upon the adjutant and sergeant-major on the 29th ultimo; how do you account for the total apathy and indifference of those men upon that occasion?

*Answer*—I can only account for it on the supposition that Lieutenant Baugh was not very popular amongst the men, arising perhaps from the circumstance of the late havildar-major having been shortly before removed from his appointment by the commanding officer on the representation of the adjutant. For the attack on the sergeant-major I am wholly unable to account.

266

*Question*—Have you noticed of late any falling off from the respect which the native officers and men used to show their European officers?

*Answer*—I have not.

*Question*—Are you aware of the existence of a preponderating influence amongst the Brahmins of your regiment?

*Answer*—I am not.

*Question*—Suppose your regiment were now ordered on field service, would you have entire confidence in the loyalty and good faith of men of all castes?

*Answer*—I would have as much confidence in them as I would have in any native regiment.

The witness withdraws.

*8th Witness*

*Lieutenant J. T. Liscombe, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry*, is called into Court, and examined by the Officiating Judge-Advocate.

*Question*—What was your opinion of the temper and feeling of the native officers and men of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, when you left this station on the 3rd instant?

*Answer*—I considered the regiment to be in a disaffected state, because when, on the evening of the 29th ultimo, I went down to the lines, I saw what I conceived to be the whole of the men in the lines looking on at an armed mutineer, and not attempting to seize him.

*Question*—Are you aware of any recent change in the manner and bearing of the native officers and men towards their European officers?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Would you now accompany your regiment on service in full assurance of the loyalty and good faith of men of all castes?

*Answer*—Having already given it as my opinion that the regiment is in a disaffected state, I would, of course, have no confidence in them in a case of emergency.

*Question*—Does that distrust extend equally to Sikhs, Mussulmans, and Hindus?

*Answer*—No; I would depend upon the Sikhs, and I understand that the Mussulmans are also good soldiers.

The witness withdraws.

267

The Court, upon the additional evidence before them, adhere to their former opinion, *viz.*, "that the Sikhs and Mussulmans of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, are trustworthy soldiers of the State, but that the Hindus generally of that corps are not trustworthy."

The proceedings are closed, and the Court adjourns at 1 P.M., *sine die.*

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Barrackpore, 29th April 1857.*

I beg permission to forward herewith, for submission to the Government of India, the enclosed letter dated the 22nd instant, from the Officer Commanding the detachment, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, at Chittagong, transmitting a petition from the native officers, non-commissioned officers, and sepoys composing this detachment, expressive of the exceeding abhorrence with which they have viewed the disgraceful conduct of some of their comrades at regimental head-quarters, and at the same time begging to assure the Government of their own faithful and loyal feelings towards the State.

---

*From Captain* P. H. K. DEWAAL, *Commanding detachment, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major* A. H. ROSS, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Presidency Division,—dated Chittagong, 22nd April 1857.*

Last Sunday, upon my commenting upon the general good behaviour and proper feeling prevailing in the detachment, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, on duty at this station, in conversation with Mr. Steer, the Commissioner of Chittagong, that gentleman remarked that an expression of the loyal sentiments of the men, if made known, would be gratifying to the Governor-General.

On the following day I called the native officers of the detachment together at my quarters, and after describing to them the very insubordinate and violent conduct of the men at regimental head-quarters, I told them that while such acts were perpetrated in the regiment, I considered that the detachment ought not to remain in a perfectly passive attitude, but that as faithful soldiers it behoved every man to come forward and openly to express his utter abhorrence of such disgraceful behaviour, and if they wished to do so in writing, I would be happy to communicate their sentiments to Government.

268

Yesterday morning, Tuesday, a body of sepoys, consisting of men of almost every caste in the detachment, attended by their non-commissioned officers, waited at my quarters, and in the name of the three companies, in the most soldier-like and respectful manner, expressed the greatest sorrow and abhorrence of what occurred at regimental head-quarters, gave their approval of the well-merited punishment of the offenders, and declared their unalterable attachment to, and faith in, the Government of India.

This demonstration, which is quite in keeping with the general good conduct of the men, has given me the greatest satisfaction, and has served to confirm my former opinion, which I reported, of their steady fidelity to the State.

I beg leave to enclose the written expression of the sentiments of the detachment, which was placed in my hands, and have the honor to request you will solicit the Major-General Commanding the Presidency Division to communicate the contents thereof to His Lordship the Governor-General in the usual manner.

---

*TRANSLATION of the petition of commissioned and non-commissioned officers and sepoys of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Companies, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,—dated Chittagong, the 22nd April 1857.*

According to orders we left Barrackpore and came to Chittagong; we obey and have obeyed all orders; we place no belief in the reports lately circulated. It is with extreme regret we have heard of the disgraceful conduct of the sepoy and guard towards the adjutant and sergeant-major.

By a careful performance of our duties we have gained a reputation for fidelity to Government; these men have deprived us of it. We well know that the Government will not interfere with our religion. We hope that the Government will consider us as faithful as ever, and we pray that this petition may be sent to the Governor-General in order that His Lordship may know the state of our feelings.

---

*From Brigadier* C. GRANT, C.B., *Commanding at Barrackpore, to Major* A. H. ROSS, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Presidency District,—dated Barrackpore, 21st April 1857.*

I have the honor to forward the accompanying numerical returns of castes of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, as called for by the Major-General Commanding the Division,

269

*Detailed return showing the number of each caste present at Regimental Head-Quarters, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, on the afternoon of 29th March 1857.*

| | Subadar-Major. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Havildars. | Naicks. | Drummers. | Sepoys. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *At Regimental Head-Quarters.* | | | | | | | | |
| Off duty, and present in the lines of the regiment on 29th March 1857— | | | | | | | | |
| Brahmins ... ... ... | ... | 2 | ... | 7 | 4 | ... | 129 | 142 |
| Hindus of inferior description ... | ... | 1 | 4 | 10 | 10 | 1 | 145 | 171 |
| Sikhs ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 33 | 33 |
| Mussulmans... ... ... | ... | 1 | ... | 7 | 8 | 3 | 70 | 89 |
| Sick in hospital and attending on sick, 29th March 1857— | | | | | | | | |
| Brahmins ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | 1 | ... | 8 | 9 |
| Hindus of inferior description ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | | 12 | 14 |
| Sikhs ... ... .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 2 |
| Mussulmans... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 4 | 5 |
| On regimental duty on 29th March 1857— | | | | | | | | |
| Brahmins ... ... ... | ... | ... | 1 | 4 | ... | ... | 20 | 25 |
| Hindus of inferior description .. | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 1 | ... | 19 | 22 |
| Sikhs ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | 4 | 4 |
| Mussulmans ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| On station duty on 29th March 1857— | | | | | | | | |
| Brahmins ... ... ... | 1 | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 18 | 20 |
| Hindus of inferior description ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | 17 | 19 |
| Sikhs ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 12 | 12 |
| Mussulmans ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | 10 | 12 |
| Total ... | 1 | 4 | 5 | 32 | 33 | 5 | 504 | 584 |

*N. B.*—One sepoy, Mungul Pandy, included in the roll of Brahmins "present in the lines."

(Sd.) C. C. DRURY, *Capt., 34th Regt., Native Infy.*

BARRACKPORE, *The 20th April 1857.*

(Sd.) S. G. WHELER, *Lieut.-Col., Comdg. 34th Regt., Native Infy.*

*Numerical return of the different castes in the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

| | Subadar-Major. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Havildars. | Naicks. | Drummers. | Sepoys. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brahmins ... ... ... | 1 | 2 | 4 | 24 | 10 | ... | 294 | 335 |
| Chuttrees ... ... ... | ... | 4 | 3 | 11 | 13 | ... | 206 | 237 |
| Hindus of inferior description ... | ... | 1 | 2 | 14 | 13 | 1 | 200 | 231 |
| Christians ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . | 10 | 2 | 12 |
| Mussulmans... ... ... | ... | 2 | 1 | 12 | 24 | 8 | 153 | 200 |
| Sikhs ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 74 | 74 |
| Total ... | 1 | 9 | 10 | 61 | 60 | 19 | 929 | 1,089 |

(Sd.) C. C. DRURY, *Capt.*,
*Actg. Adjt., 34th Regt., Native Infy.*

BARRACKPORE,
*The 21st April 1857.*

(Sd.) S. G. WHELER, *Lieut.-Col.*,
*Comdg. the 34th Regt., Native Infantry.*

---

*PROCEEDINGS in continuation of a Native General Court-martial re-assembled at Barrackpore, on Friday, the 10th April 1857, by order of Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, for the trial of* JEMADAR ISSUREE PANDY, *34th Regiment, Native Infantry, and all such prisoners as may be duly brought before it.*

PRESIDENT:

*Subadar-Major* JOWAHIR LALL TEWARY, *43rd Regiment, Native Infantry.*

MEMBERS:

*Subadar* BHOLA OPADEAH, *17th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* HURRUCK SING, *40th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* RAM SING, *9th Battalion, Artillery.*
*Subadar* AMANUT KHAN, *37th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* SEWUMBUR PANDY, *34th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* DIRGA RAM, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* KHOODA BUKSH, *2nd Regiment, Native Infantry, Grenadiers.*
*Subadar* MEERWAN SING, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* SOOKHLALL MISIR, *43rd Regiment, Native Infantry.*

MEMBERS—(*concld.*)

*Subadar* ADJOODHIA TEWARY, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* JALIM SING, *43rd Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Jemadar* DEWAN ALIE, *9th Battalion, Artillery.*
*Jemadar* MOHUN SING, *65th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Jemadar* LALLA RAM BUKSH, *8th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

JUDGE-ADVOCATE:

*Captain* G. C. HATCH, *Depy. Judge Advocate-Genl., Presidency Divn.*

INTERPRETER:

*Lieutenant* J. VALLINGS, *19th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

The Court re-assembled this day at ten o'clock in the forenoon, at the Mess House, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, the President, Members, Judge-Advocate, and Interpreter all being present, with the exception of Jemadar Dewan Alie, 9th Battalion, Artillery, reported sick. Jemadar Promode Sing, 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry, a member in waiting, takes his place in Court.

*Jemadar Issuree Pandy, No. 1 Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is brought prisoner before the Court.

Lieutenant and Brevet-Colonel S. G. Wheler, Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, takes his place in Court as Prosecutor.

The names of the President and Members of the Court are read out in the hearing of the prisoner.

BY THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE

*Question*—Jemadar Issuree Pandy, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,—Do you object to being tried by the President or any of the Members of this Court-martial?

*Answer*—I object to none.

The Interpreter, President, Members, and Judge-Advocate make the prescribed solemn affirmation.

The following charge is read and entered:—

*CHARGES*

*Jemadar Issuree Pandy, No. 1 Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* placed in confinement by order of Major-General J. B. Hearsey, Commanding the Presidency Division, on the following charges:—

*1st*—For having, at Barrackpore, on the 29th March 1857, he being then in command of the quarter-guard of his regiment, not used his utmost or any endeavours to suppress a mutiny begun by Mungul Pandy, sepoy, No. 5 Company of the regiment, the said sepoy having, on the afternoon

*1st*—(concld.)

of the day abovementioned, gone out into the parade ground in front of and near to the quarter-guard of the regiment armed with a sword and musket, and then and there used words to excite the men of the regiment to come forth and join him in resistance to lawful authority; and having then and there, on the parade ground and near to the quarter-guard of the regiment, discharged his loaded musket at Sergeant-Major James Thornton Hewson and Lieutenant Bempde Henry Baugh, of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, and then and there, with a sword, struck and severely wounded the said Lieutenant B. H. Baugh and Sergeant-Major J. T. Hewson; and he the said jemadar not having taken any measures to arrest and confine the said sepoy throughout the aforesaid occurrences, nor to assist the said Lieutenant B. H. Baugh and Sergeant-Major J. T. Hewson; and he, the said jemadar, having moreover, then and there, discouraged and interfered to prevent any sepoys of his guard from going to their assistance.

*2nd*—For disobedience of the lawful command of his superior officers in not having advanced with his guard to rescue the sergeant and capture the aforesaid sepoy, Mungul Pandy, when, shortly after the occurrences set forth in the first charge, he was ordered to do so by Brevet-Colonel S. G. Wheler, Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.

BY THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE

*Question*—Jemadar Issuree Pandy, No. 1 Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,—How say you, are you guilty or not guilty of these charges?

*Answer*—I am not guilty.

### *PROSECUTION*

*1st Witness*

*Lieutenant-Colonel and Brevet-Colonel S. G. Wheler*, the Prosecutor, is duly sworn.

BY THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE

*Question*—You are commanding, I believe, the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, and commanded it on the 29th of last month at this station?

*Answer*—Yes, I did.

273

*Question*—Did you go down to the parade ground of your regiment on the 29th of last month? If so, please to state what occurred there?

*Answer*—I did. I received a report at my house that a man, a sepoy of the regiment, was walking up and down in front of the quarter-guard of the regiment, inciting the men to mutiny. On arriving at the lines at the quarter-guard, and observing Sepoy Mungul Pandy, of the regiment, with a musket and sword, walking up and down about a hundred yards from the quarter-guard, I ordered the quarter-guard to load, and directed the prisoner, Jemadar Issuree Pandy, who was then in command of the quarter-guard, to advance and seize the prisoner with his guard. He murmured and said, to the best of my recollection—"The guard will not touch the prisoner." I repeated the order two or three times, when he ordered the guard to advance. They did so a few paces, when they halted, and he, the jemadar, returned and said, "The guard will not advance any further, and refuse to touch the prisoner." I then went to the Brigadier, who had arrived to the left of the lines, and reported the matter to him. The General (Major-General J. B. Hearsey) Commanding the Division, came up soon after on horseback, and after speaking a few words to the Brigadier, he rode towards the quarter-guard of my regiment, accompanied by several officers, mounted and on foot. He directed the quarter-guard to advance. They did so a few paces, when the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, sat down and shot himself. The wound was not mortal, but a slight flesh wound.

*Question*—You ordered the jemadar, Issuree Pandy, to advance and seize the prisoner; whom do you mean by the prisoner?

*Answer*—The sepoy in front of the quarter-guard, Mungul Pandy.

*Question*—Why did you repeat your order to the jemadar to advance and seize the sepoy?

*Answer*—Because it was not obeyed in the first instance.

*Question*—Did you see Lieutenant and Adjutant Baugh of the regiment and the sergeant-major of the regiment at that time?

*Answer*—No.

274

*Question*—Why did you order the guard to go out and seize the sepoy?

*Answer*—Because it had been reported to me that his musket was loaded, and that he was ready to shoot any European who exposed himself in front of the bells-of-arms.

*Question*—When you first ordered the jemadar to take his guard and advance, did he say anything in reply?

*Answer*—Yes; he said the guard would not advance or touch the sepoy.

*Question*—Were you near when Major-General J. B. Hearsey ordered the jemadar to advance?

*Answer*—Not within, I suppose, fifty yards.

*Question*—Did you hear what Major-General Hearsey said to the jemadar?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Who was with you when you gave your order to the jemadar of the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—Captain Drury was present.

*Question*—Did you hear any of the guard say they would not advance when the jemadar halted and returned to you and said they would not advance?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Did you perceive any reluctance in the manner of the sepoys of the guard to advance with the jemadar?

*Answer*—Some hesitation apparently.

*Question*—When the jemadar advanced a short way with his guard, where was he?

*Answer*—On the left flank of the front rank.

*Question*—In what part of the guard did you observe the hesitation you speak of?

*Answer*—In the rear rank chiefly. I was in rear of the guard at the time.

*Question*—When, after you had repeated your order to advance, and the jemadar did so a few paces, did he advance with alacrity and willingness, or otherwise?

*Answer*—Yes; I saw no hesitation in the advance.

*Question*—Did the jemadar order the guard to halt, or did the men of the guard halt themselves?

*Answer*—That I did not hear, nor have ever learnt.

*Question*—Did you hear the jemadar say anything to encourage the men to advance?

*Answer*—Nothing.

275

*Question*—Did the guard load when you ordered them to do so?

*Answer*—Yes; they were ordered through the native officer, but they loaded, I recollect, rather sluggishly.

*Question*—What was the strength of the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—A jemadar, havildar, naick, and twenty men.

*Question*—Had the jemadar set a proper example, do you think, from what you observed at the time, that the men of the guard would have advanced with him?

*Answer*—I do.

### Cross-examined by the Prisoner

*Question*—How many paces in advance did I go when I left the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—About twelve paces.

### By the Court

*Question*—When you first saw the guard, in what state did you find it?

*Answer*—In front of the guard-house, at ordered arms, to the best of my recollection.

*Question*—Did the jemadar, either by his manner or actions, show any inclination to seize the prisoner?

*Answer*—No; to the contrary; otherwise he would have promptly obeyed my order in the first instance.

The Court now rose and proceeded to the quarters of the sergeant-major of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, reported to be unable to leave his quarters.

The Court being assembled at the quarters of the sergeant-major, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, and the prisoner, Prosecutor, and Court being all present.

### *2nd Witness*

*Sergeant-Major James Thornton Hewson, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is duly sworn.

### By the Prosecutor

*Question*—Your names are James Thornton Hewson, and you are sergeant-major of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Quetions*—Will you state the occurrences of the 29th of March last?

*Answer*—Between the hours of four and six on the afternoon of Sunday, the 29th March, I dressed myself and left my bungalow, to proceed towards the quarter-guard of my regiment. On reaching the bells-of-arms of the light company, I was fired at by Mungul Pandy, sepoy, No. 5 Company of the regiment. I then went in rear of the bells-of-arms, and on my way towards the quarter-guard called out for the guard to turn out. On reaching the quarter-guard I saw some of the men dressed, some dressing. I saw Issuree Pandy, jemadar, No. 1 Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, who was at the time in command of the quarter-guard. I told him that I had sent to the adjutant of the regiment, and asked him why he did not arrest Mungul Pandy, sepoy, the man who fired at me. He answered me, saying—"My havildar is gone to the field officer of the day; my naick is gone to the adjutant's; am I to take him by myself?" I then told him to fall in his guard and load. He called some of the men; some of them came, and some of them did not. His manner altogether was careless whether they fell in or not, neither did he draw his own sword. He kept telling me—"The man is mad, the man is mad; don't go near him, don't go near him." During this time Mooktar Persaud Pandy, color havildar, No. 5 Company, came and said that he had been at Captain Drury's quarters, and Captain Drury ordered the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, to be confined.

*Question*—Did Mooktar Persaud Pandy say this in the presence of the jemadar, Issuree Pandy?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Go on with your statement.

*Answer*—(Witness resumes). I said to Jemadar Issuree Pandy—"Do you hear?" He did not answer my question, but repeated—"The man is mad." I then lost sight of the jemadar, until after I was cut down by Mungul Pandy.

*Question*—State what happened to you then.

*Answer*—Immediately after this I heard the sound of horses' hoofs, and the adjutant of the regiment, Lieutenant Baugh, came riding up. Lieutenant Baugh called out—"Where

*Answer*—(contd.)

is he! where is he!" I immediately answered—"He is on your left; look to the left, and ride towards the right." Immediately I heard a shot fired. The sepoy, Mungul Pandy, fired the shot; Lieutenant Baugh fell. Lieutenant Baugh then drew a pistol from the holster, and fired at Mungul Pandy. The adjutant then drew his sword, and rushed towards Mungul Pandy. When I saw him go towards the sepoy I drew my sword and ran up towards him, at the same time calling out to the guard to load their pieces and come on. On coming up in a line with Lieutenant Baugh, I found that Mungul Pandy, who had not time to complete the loading of his piece, had drawn a *tulwar*, (Native sword). Mungul Pandy made a feint at me, and struck the adjutant with his sword. The second I received from Mungul Pandy on the head. I was wounded. At the same time I was knocked down from behind by a blow from a musket in the hands of a sepoy regimentally dressed. On rising up from the ground I ran towards Mungul Pandy again, and caught him by the collar with my left hand. I then received a second cut on the head from Mungul Pandy, and was again knocked down by repeated blows from a man dressed in regimentals, and beaten when on the ground. During the time I was facing Mungul Pandy, I heard a shot fired, which came from the direction of the lines and quite close to me. After being knocked down the second time, on getting on my legs again, I looked round, and saw several men regimentally dressed in front of the lines. I saw Lieutenant Baugh walking slowly towards the 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry, lines, on the left of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, lines; I followed him. On coming near the light company's bells-of-arms of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, I heard footsteps behind me, and on turning round I saw Issuree Pandy, jemadar, his sword still in the scabbard. I spoke to him. I said —"You have acted in a most shameful manner. Why did not you bring your guard to our assistance? I shall put you under arrest." I then made an effort with my

*Answer*—(concld.)
right hand to grasp his sword, but he stepped back and prevented me, saying something which I did not understand; I heard him mumbling. I then went towards my house, and met my wife and step-daughter, who brought me to the sergeant-major's bungalow of the 43rd Regiment, Native (Light) Infantry.

*Question*—When the first shot was fired, did you see aim taken at you?

*Answer*—Yes; Mungul Pandy, sepoy, aimed at me.

*Question*—Did you hear the sound of a bullet?

*Answer*—Yes, close by.

*Question*—Where was Mungul Pandy when he fired?

*Answer*—When he fired at me, he was in front, between No. 6 and No. 7 company's bells-of-arms on the parade.

*Question*—How far was he from the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—About forty or fifty yards.

*Question*—When you went up to the quarter-guard, where was this sepoy?

*Answer*—The sepoy had loaded his piece and came up in front of the quarter-guard.

*Question*—How far off from it?

*Answer*—About forty yards to the front.

*Question*—Did you hear the sepoy say anything?

*Answer*—He called out to the men to turn out—"Why don't you turn out? You have sent me out here: why don't you turn out?"

*Question*—Did you hear the sepoy say anything about the Europeans having come?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—What did the jemadar of the quarter-guard do while all this was going on?

*Answer*—He remained walking about in the rear of the quarter-guard.

*Question*—Did he make the men load when you told him to do so.

*Answer*—No, he gave no order whatever. He asked me what was the use—"The man was mad."

*Question*—Was there time for the jemadar of the quarter-guard to have come to the assistance of Lieutenant Baugh and yourself if he had chosen to do so?

*Answer*—Plenty of time; the men were all dressed.

*Question*—Were any other sepoys of the regiment about at the time?

*Answer*—A great number from each company were between the bells-of-arms, in Hindustani clothes.

*Question*—Did none of these say or do anything?

*Answer*—Not one; a native officer came forward, Gunness Lalla, jemadar, and addressed the sepoy, Mungul Pandy. One-half what he said I could not understand, as he was at some distance from me.

*Question*—Did the jemadar of the quarter-guard, the prisoner now before you, address the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, or say anything to him?

*Answer*—No; not a word.

*Question*—Do you know whether the jemadar is a relation of the late sepoy, Mungul Pandy.

*Answer*—No; I cannot swear to that.

*Question*—When the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, fired at the adjutant, did you see him taking aim?

*Answer*—Yes, he took a deliberate aim standing.

*Question*—Are you still suffering from the wounds you received?

*Answer*—Yes; I was severely wounded in two places, and bruised about my arms with the blows from the butts of firelocks.

*Question*—Do you know what sepoys struck you with their firelocks?

*Answer*—I could not recognise them. There was one man of the light company, but I could not swear to his features.

*Question*—Did the sepoys of the guard (quarter-guard) show any inclination to assist you?

*Answer*—No; on the contrary, they beat me.

*Question*—How do you know they beat you?

*Answer*—When I left the guard to go out to assist Lieutenant Baugh the guard were dressed. Before Lieutenant Baugh came I was standing for ten minutes in rear of the quarter-guard, and had full opportunity to see whether any other portion of the regiment had put on their regimentals. I am confident they had not time to do so. Also there *is* a picket mounted at sundown, but those men wear *blue* pantaloons. The men who struck me had white pantaloons on; all the remainder of the regiment were dressed in Hindustani clothes.

*Question*—How far from the quarter-guard is the place where Lieutenant Baugh and yourself were engaged fighting with Sepoy Mungul Pandy?

*Answer*—Sixty or seventy yards, not more.

*Question*—During the time you were at the quarter-guard, what was Mungul Pandy, sepoy, doing?

*Answer*—Walking about with his firelock, sometimes at the shoulder, sometimes bringing it up to the present. Four times he presented it at me when I went beyond the rear of the quarter-guard, but he did not fire?

*Question*—Did he say anything during this time.

*Answer*—He called out to me to get out of his way, and repeated the words "Come out, men; come out, men; you have sent me out, why don't you follow me?"

The prisoner declines to cross-examine. The Court now rose and proceeded to the quarters of Lieutenant and Adjutant Baugh, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, reported to be unable to leave his quarters on account of his wounds.

The Court being re-assembled at Lieutenant Baugh's quarters, and the Court, Prosecutor, prisoner, and Interpreter being all present.

*3rd Witness*

*Lieutenant Bempde Henry Baugh, Adjutant, 34th Regiment Native Infantry*, is sworn.

BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—You are Adjutant, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, and were so on the 29th March last?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Will you state to the Court the occurrences on the parade of your regiment on the afternoon of that day?

*Answer*—On the afternoon of the 29th March, about five o'clock, it was reported to me by the havildar-major of the regiment that a sepoy of the name of Mungul Pandy was out in front of the quarter-guard of the regiment, and had fired at the sergeant-major. I told the man to go and report the circumstance to Colonel Wheler, in command of the regiment, ordered my horse, and galloped down to the parade. Immediately on pulling up at the quarter-guard a shot was fired, and my horse fell. As soon as I could disentangle myself from my horse, I took a pistol

281

*Answer*—(concld.)

from one of my holsters and presented it at Mungul Pandy, the sepoy who had fired the shot, and who was then in the act of re-loading. He stopped re-loading and I immediately fired and rushed in, sword in hand, to secure the sepoy, Mungul Pandy. I had advanced half way when he drew a *tulwar*, (Native sword), which I was not aware he had about his person. I continued my advance and engaged the sepoy, Mungul Pandy. During a conflict of eight or ten minutes, I received three wounds, one of which totally disabled my left hand. A shot was fired close by, and I perceived myself gradually being hemmed in. As I was bleeding profusely, I commenced retreating, and was enabled to make good my retreat by the assistance rendered me by Shaik Pultoo, sepoy, since promoted to havildar, and reached the bungalow of the sergeant-major of the 43rd Regiment, Native (Light) Infantry, in the adjoining lines. During the conflict, with the exception of the havildar aforesaid, not a man from the quarter-guard or the regimental lines attempted to give me the slightest assistance.

*Question*—Did you give any order to Jemadar Issuree Pandy, the prisoner before you, or say anything to him when you rode up?

*Answer*—No, not that I recollect.

*Question*—Who were the people who hemmed you in?

*Answer*—I cannot exactly say, but I believe they were men of the regiment.

*Question*—Were they dressed in regimentals?

*Answer*—I could not exactly say, for they were all in rear of me.

*Question*—Did you receive any blows from behind?

*Answer*—I got one at the back of the head, which I believe was given by the butt of a musket.

*Question*—While you were engaged with the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, did you hear a shot fired?

*Answer*—Yes, there was a shot fired close by.

*Question*—Did you hear the sound of a bullet?

*Answer*—No, I cannot say I did that; I was too much engaged.

*Question*—From what direction did you hear the shot fired?

*Answer*—From the direction of the quarter-guard.

282

*Question*—At what distance from the quarter-guard did this occur?

*Answer*—About fifty or sixty paces.

*Question*—During this occurrence, did you hear or see anything of the jemadar commanding the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—No, not during the conflict.

*Question*—Was your horse wounded with a bullet?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—During the time you were engaged with Mungul Pandy, were you impeded in any way from using your weapon to the best effect?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Did Sepoy Mungul Pandy say anything when you first approached him?

*Answer*—Not a word.

*Question*—From whom did you receive the wounds you have spoken of?

*Answer*—The one in the throat, and the other in my hand, I received from Mungul Pandy.

*Question*—Did you see any one strike the sergeant-major?

*Answer*—No; I saw the *sergeant-major tumble*, as though he had been struck down by a blow from behind.

*Question*—When you rode up to the quarter-guard, did you see any of the guard in front of the guard-house?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Were they dressed; and how many do you think were there?

*Answer*—They were dressed; I cannot tell the number.

*Question*—Did you call upon any of the guard to assist you?

*Answer*—I was so anxious to prevent the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, reloading that I had not time to say much; but as far as I can recollect, when I rode up, I said—"Why are not some arrangements made to secure this man"—or something to that effect. I received no reply.

*Question*—Had not there been considerable excitement amongst the sepoys on account of a new kind of cartridge?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Were not the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, expected to arrive in the station?

*Answer*—Yes, they were.

283

*Question*—Were the sepoys of your regiment informed why the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, was to be marched in?

*Answer*—I believe they were aware; a parade was held, and Major-General J. B. Hearsey informed the men that he expected he would receive orders to disband the corps.

*Question*—On the 29th March last, was it known that any Europeans had arrived at the station?

*Answer*—I believe it was.

*Question.*—Do you know how long the prisoner now before you has served as a Native officer?

*Answer*—I do not; I believe he is an old jemadar.

*Question*—Do you know whether there is any relationship between the jemadar and the late sepoy, Mungul Pandy.

*Answer*—I believe there is none.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER.

*Question*—Did the adjutant give me any order to seize the sepoy?

*Answer*—I gave no other order than that I have mentioned.

It being near four o'clock, the Court adjourned until to-morrow, the 11th April, at ten o'clock in the forenoon.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

*Barrackpore, Saturday, 11th April 1857.*

The Court re-assembled this day at 10 A.M., at the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, Mess House; the President, Members, Judge-Advocate, Interpreter, Prosecutor, and prisoner all being present, except Jemadar Dewan Alie, 9th Battalion, Artillery.

*4th Witness*

*Shaik Pultoo, Mussulman, havildar, Grenadier Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and makes the prescribed solemn affirmation.

BY THE PROSECUTOR

The witness being wounded and weak, sits down.

*Question*—Will you state to the Court how you got your wound?

*Answer*—About a quarter to four, on the afternoon of the 29th March, I went out to ease myself. On returning to the bells-of-arms of No. 3 Company, I saw Mungul Pandy, sepoy, come out of his hut and proceed in the direction of the quarter-guard, wearing his regimental coat and cap, with a musket and sword in his hand. He proceeded to the quarter-guard, and then loaded his musket and ordered the bugler to sound the assembly. He was

2-84

*Answer*—(concld.)
shouting out—"The Europeans are come; you will be forced to bite cartridges contrary to your religion; come out all of you with me."

*Question*—Where did the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, load his musket?

*Answer*—On the left, about twenty paces from the quarter-guard.

*Question*—Where did he then go?

*Answer*—He stood near No. 6 Company bells-of-arms, and threatened the bugler if he did not sound the assembly.

*Question*—Did the sepoy remain any time at the bells-of-arms of No. 6 Company?

*Answer*—A little while.

*Question*—Where did he then go to?

*Answer*—He went out on the parade between the 6th and 7th Company's bells-of-arms, and marched up and down.

*Question*—How far was this from the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—About thirty paces.

*Question*—Was any attempt made to prevent this sepoy loading by the jemadar of the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—No, none was made.

*Question*—When the sepoy was loading his musket, where was the jemadar of the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—The jemadar was in front of the guard-house, outside.

*Question*—Was the place at which the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, loaded visible from the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—Yes; he came out from his hut in the act of loading, and had finished his loading near to No. 6 Company bells-of-arms.

*Question*—Did the jemadar of the quarter-guard say nothing to this sepoy?

*Answer*—He did not say a word.

*Question*—What did the sepoy then do?

*Answer*—He walked up and down on the road in front of the lines, about thirty paces from the quarter-guard, when the sergeant-major came from the left of the lines in front towards where the sepoy was. The sepoy, Mungul Pandy, retired a little way further on to the parade ground from the quarter-guard; when the sergeant-major came along near to the quarter-guard, the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, took a deliberate aim and fired at the sergeant-major, who was not hit, and went into the quarter-guard.

285

*Question*—Where were you when the sergeant-major went into the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—I was under the shelter of a *peepul* tree, about three paces from the quarter-guard.

*Question*—What took place between the sergeant-major and jemadar of the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—The sergeant-major complained that the jemadar took no steps to prevent the sepoy from firing at him.

*Question*—What did the jemadar say in reply?

*Answer*—He said nothing; he and the sepoys were standing about.

*Question*—Did you hear the sergeant-major tell the jemadar to load?

*Answer*—He ordered the jemadar to take steps to seize the sepoy.

*Question*—Did the jemadar take any steps?

*Answer*—None whatever.

*Question*—What happened after this?

*Answer*—The sepoy took aim at him again whenever the sergeant-major showed himself.

*Question*—When the adjutant came up, where did the adjutant come to?

*Answer*—He stopped his horse near the quarter-guard, where he was.

*Question*—Did the adjutant say anything?

*Answer*—He spoke to the jemadar, and asked him why he had taken no measures to apprehend the sepoy.

*Question*—Did the jemadar make any reply?

*Answer*—The jemadar made no reply; he was inside the quarter-guard.

*Question*—What happened then?

*Answer*—I was myself telling the adjutant to look out and take care of himself, when Mungul Pandy took aim and fired and shot the adjutant's horse on the left thigh.

*Question*—Did the jemadar, or any of the guard, tell the adjutant where the sepoy was?

*Answer*—I did not hear any one tell him.

*Question*—What occurred then?

*Answer*—The adjutant drew his pistol and went at the sepoy, and said to me—"Shaik Pultoo, come with me." I went, and the sergeant-major came out also. Mungul Pandy was rapidly re-loading his musket; the adjutant fired and

*Answer*—(concld.)
missed. We advanced so quickly that the sepoy had not time to load; there was a combat between the adjutant and sergeant-major against the sepoy; the sepoy wounded both the adjutant and sergeant-major. I came up when the first blows were struck, and caught Mungul Pandy round the waist, and extended one hand to avert the blows from the adjutant, and was wounded by Mungul Pandy by a sword-cut on that hand. I retained my hold on Mungul Pandy with one hand, and told the adjutant and sergeant-major to retreat.

*Question*—Did any sepoy of the quarter-guard, or did the jemadar of the quarter-guard come up to assist the adjutant?

*Answer*—No, not one.

*Question*—Did any of the sepoys of the guard come up, and what did they do?

*Answer*—After the adjutant had retreated a little way, four sepoys came out from the quarter-guard and struck the adjutant and sergeant-major with the butts of their muskets from behind.

*Question*—Did you recognise any of these four men?

*Answer*—No; I did not. I was then holding Sepoy Mungul Pandy, lest he should again attack the adjutant.

*Question*—When and why did you let go?

*Answer*—When the adjutant and sergeant-major had got off, these men who struck the adjutant and sergeant-major with muskets threatened to fire upon me if I did not let go.

*Question*—When you were holding the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, did you call out to the jemadar of the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—Yes; I said "Send four sepoys to seize him; I have got hold of him; he can do no harm."

*Question*—Did the jemadar give any answer?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Was the distance such that assistance could have been given at the moment?

*Answer*—It was about thirty or forty yards; assistance could have been given in a moment.

*Question*—Did you at any time see any inclination among any of the sepoys of the quarter-guard to assist?

*Answer*—Not when I was there.

*Question*—Was a shot fired during the fight?

*Answer*—Yes, from the quarter-guard.

*Question*—Did you see Mookta Pershad Pandy, the late drill-havildar?

*Answer*—I did not see him.

*Question*—Did Mungul Pandy continue to call upon the men of the regiment to turn out?

*Answer*—He continued to call upon them to turn out, as they would have to bite the cartridges.

The prisoner declines to cross-examine.

BY THE COURT

*Question*—When Sepoy Mungul Pandy came out and threatened the bugler, where was he, the bugler?

*Answer*—Near the guard-house.

*Question*—At what distance was the sepoy then?

*Answer*—About twenty paces.

The witness withdraws.

*5th Witness*

*Sobha Sing, Sikh, sepoy, 6th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry*, being a prisoner, is brought into Court and duly sworn.

BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Were you one of the quarter-guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, at this station, on the 29th March, the day when the adjutant and sergeant-major of the regiment were cut down?

*Answer*—I was.

*Question*—State what you saw.

*Answer*—When the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, came out and fired at the sergeant-major I was lying on my *charpoy* undressed. I hurriedly put on my clothes. The adjutant came down afterwards on his horse, and Mungul Pandy then fired at him and wounded the horse. The adjutant then drew a pistol, fired at the sepoy, and missed him. He then drew his sword and advanced upon him. Mungul Pandy wounded him with a sword, and the sergeant-major also. I was in the quarter-guard at the time. I heard the jemadar say to us "Don't go out unless I give you orders. Am I not in command of the guard?"

*Question*—Did any sepoy show any desire to go out to assist the adjutant?

*Answer*—I and another Sikh, Atma Sing, and two Hindustanis, whose names I don't know but whom I can recognise, wanted to go, especially when we saw the sergeant's sword broken. The sergeant-major asked the jemadar for his sword when his was broken.

*Question*—Did any sepoy of the guard go out to where the fight was going on?

*Answer*—Yes; Heeralall Tewary of the Light Company went out, and struck the sergeant-major with the butt of his musket.

*Question*—Did the jemadar of the guard try to prevent him going out?

*Answer*—I don't know whether he tried to stop him, but he went; whether with an order or without I don't know.

*Question*—When that sepoy returned to the guard, what did the jemadar of the guard do?

*Answer*—He told him to go and change his pantaloons, on which there was blood.

*Question*—Was the jemadar angry with him, or did he confine him?

*Answer*—He did not confine him. I did not hear the jemadar say this about changing his clothes; I have been told so by Mehee Lall, sepoy.

*Question*—Was a shot fired when the fight was going on?

*Answer*—I did not hear; there was a great row.

*Question*—What happened when the colonel of the regiment came up?

*Answer*—The colonel came and asked if we were loaded. We were not loaded then. The colonel then ordered us to shoulder arms and quick march. When we had gone twenty paces, the sepoy presented his piece, and the jemadar stepped behind the guard, and halted it, and went towards the colonel. I did not hear what was said. The guard was then faced right about, and arms were piled, and caps were taken off.

*Question*—Did you see Sepoy Heeralall Tewary come back to the guard after changing his clothes?

*Answer*—I saw the blood on his clothes. In about a quarter of an hour afterwards he was wearing clean pantaloons with the guard.

289

*Question*—As far as you can judge, are you of opinion that the guard would have continued to advance if the word "halt" had not been given by the jemadar?

*Answer*—We were going on when the jemadar halted us.

*Question*—During the whole time did the jemadar commanding the quarter-guard do anything for the assistance of the officers?

*Answer*—Nothing whatever.

*Question*—In what way did you or any other sepoys of the guard show a desire to go out and assist the officers?

*Answer*—Both I and others spoke to the jemadar and said—"Your officers are being murdered outside; why don't you do something;" I offered to go myself to their assistance.

*Question*—What did the jemadar say?

*Answer*—"People will be killed, and what answer shall I give? Don't you go without orders."

*Question*—Did the jemadar look on while the fight was going on?

*Answer*—He was with all the rest looking on.

*Question*—Did any other sepoys than those you have alluded to show any desire to go out to assist?

*Answer*—Not that I know; they were standing about.

*Question*—How many sepoys were absent from the guard at that time?

*Answer*—They were all there with the exception of the four sentries.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—When the sergeant-major asked for a sword, where were you?

*Answer*—The sergeant-major was wounded, holding his hand to his head. I was outside the quarter-guard, where the sentry is.

BY THE COURT

*Question*—How many sepoys went out from the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—I only saw one, Heeralall Tewary.

*Question*—Did this sepoy strike the adjutant?

*Answer*—He struck both.

*Question*—When the guard was halted and ordered to the right about, who gave the order to right about?

*Answer*—The jemadar.

The witness withdraws.

*6th Witness*

*Atma Sing, Sikh, sepoy, No. 6 Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry*, being a prisoner, is brought into Court and duly sworn.

By the Prosecutor

*Question*—Were you on the quarter-guard of the regiment on the day when the adjutant and sergeant-major were wounded?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—State what you saw.

*Answer*—I saw the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, fire at the sergeant-major. The sepoy, Mungul Pandy, called upon the men to come out for their religion. The adjutant came up, and Mungul Pandy taking aim fired and wounded the adjutant's horse. A conflict took place between the adjutant and the sepoy, Mungul Pandy. The sergeant-major was also with the adjutant. I saw the adjutant wounded, and the sergeant-major's sword broken.

*Question*—What did the jemadar commanding the quarter-guard do all this time?

*Answer*—The jemadar was at his guard, which was collected. The jemadar shut the doors of the quarter-guard looking on to the parade. Four men of the guard wanted to go out to help the adjutant, but the jemadar prevented them, saying there were no orders for them to go.

*Question*—How do you know these four men wanted to go out to help the adjutant?

*Answer*—When Shaik Pultoo called for four sepoys to seize Mungul Pandy, then the jemadar would not let any one go.

*Question*—Did you hear Shaik Pultoo call out for assistance?

*Answer*—I heard him.

*Question*—What did the jemadar say?

*Answer*—He said "If you kill that sepoy you will be hung; and if he kills you, what shall I do?"

*Question*—What was the jemadar of the quarter-guard doing while the fight was going on?

*Answer*—He remained with his guard.

*Question*—Did he give no orders for any one to assist?

*Answer*—No, he did not.

-29A

*Question*—Did any sepoy of the guard go out to the fight?

*Answer*—Heeralall Tewary, who has since absconded, went out and struck both the adjutant and sergeant-major with the butt of his musket.

*Question*—Where was the jemadar at this time?

*Answer*—He was outside the guard, looking on at the fight.

*Question*—What did the jemadar do when Heeralall Tewary, sepoy, returned to the guard?

*Answer*—I saw Heeralall Tewary change his clothes; they were bloody. The jemadar did nothing.

*Question*—Was the jemadar angry with that sepoy when he came back, or did he confine him, or say anything to him?

*Answer*—He did nothing with him.

*Question*—Had the sepoy changed his clothes before the colonel came to the guard?

*Answer*—Yes, before he came.

*Question*—When the colonel came up, did the guard get an order to advance?

*Answer*—The colonel ordered the guard to load, which was done, and afterwards to advance, which we did for about twenty paces, when Mungul Pandy aimed at the jemadar. The jemadar fell behind the guard and halted them, and returned and spoke to the colonel. I did not hear what he said. The jemadar afterwards ordered us to the right-about, which was done, and afterwards caps were removed from the nipples. In the meantime, General Hearsey arrived, and asked if the guard was loaded; he was told that they were, but the caps were not on. He then ordered them to be put on, and the guard to march, first at the quick, then at the double. Mungul Pandy then shot himself, having first aimed towards the guard.

*Question*—When the sepoy first came out in front of the guard and called to the men to come out, did the jemadar do anything?

*Answer*—He did nothing; he gave no order.

*Question*—How do you know four men wanted to go out?

*Answer*—They asked the jemadar to be allowed to go out. I was one of the four. Mehee Lall, sepoy, was one, Sobha Sing

242

*Answer*—(concld.)
was another, and I myself and another man whose name I don't know.

*Question*—Did Colonel Wheler give the order to advance, or did he repeat the order to the jemadar?

*Answer*—I did not hear how many times; I was in the ranks.

*Question*—What did the jemadar say when you four sepoys wanted to go out?

*Answer*—He said "If you kill the man you will be hung." He prohibited us from going.

The prisoner declines to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

*7th Witness*

*Mehee Lall, Hindoo, sepoy, No. 1 Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry*, a prisoner, is brought into Court, and makes solemn affirmation.

BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Were you one of the quarter-guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, on the day when the adjutant and sergeant-major of the regiment were wounded on the parade?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Did you see the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, go out on to the parade?

*Answer*—I saw him on the parade when I returned from going out to ease myself.

*Question*—Did you hear the sepoy say anything?

*Answer*—He said "Come out, sepoys, come out for your religion;" and told the bugler to sound the assembly.

*Question*—Did the jemadar commanding the quarter-guard then do anything or say anything?

*Answer*—No, he did nothing.

*Question*—Did you see the adjutant and sergeant-major fired upon by Sepoy Mungul Pandy?

*Answer*—I was in the rear of the quarter-guard, and heard the sound of the firing. I did not see the musket fired.

*Question*—Did you afterwards see the adjutant and sergeant-major fighting with Sepoy Mungul Pandy on the parade?

*Answer*—I saw it from the front of the guard-house. We had all gone in front, when a sentry shouted out—"He is killing the adjutant."

293

*Question*—Where was the jemadar of the quarter-guard then when the fighting was going on?

*Answer*—He was with the guard in front of the quarter-guard.

*Question*—Did the jemadar give any orders when the fighting was going on?

*Answer*—He gave no orders. He stood looking on.

*Question*—Did any men of the guard express a desire to go out to assist their officers?

*Answer*—Yes, Atma Sing, Sobha Sing, Sewbuccus Tewary, and I myself asked the jemadar to let us go to the assistance of the officers.

*Question*—What did the jemadar say?

*Answer*—He prevented us from going; he said "You are not to go without orders."

*Question*—When the fighting was going on, was a shot fired?

*Answer*—I heard a shot fired; I heard the report of three shots fired.

*Question*—Did any sepoys of the guard go out to where the fighting was going on?

*Answer*—I saw Heeralall Tewary of the quarter-guard come back from the place where they were fighting, with his pantaloons bloody.

*Question*—Did you see Heeralall Tewary, sepoy, strike any one?

*Answer*—I saw him strike the sergeant-major with the butt of his musket?

*Question*—Did Sepoy Heeralall Tewary return to the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—What did the jemadar commanding the quarter-guard say; did he say anything to him?

*Answer*—He ordered him to change his clothes.

*Question*—Was the jemadar angry with Sepoy Heeralall Tewary?

*Answer*—No, he was not.

*Question*—Did he order him into confinement?

*Answer*—No, he did not.

*Question*—Did you see Sepoy Heeralall go out from the quarter-guard on to the parade to where the fighting was going on?

*Answer*—I saw him go out.

*Question*—Did he say anything when he was going out?

*Answer*—No, he rushed out without saying anything.

294

*Question*—Did the jemadar call him back?

*Answer*—No.

The prisoner declines to cross-examine.

BY THE COURT

*Question*—Why did you want to go out from the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—To assist the adjutant, as it was my duty.

The witness withdraws.

*8th Witness*

*Captain C. C. Drury, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court and duly sworn.

BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Are you now Acting Adjutant of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Did you go with Colonel Wheler, Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, to the quarter-guard of the regiment on the afternoon of the 29th March last?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Will you state what then took place?

*Answer*—On arriving at the guard, the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, was pointed out to us parading in front of the guard, about a hundred and twenty yards off, calling out something. I could not hear what he said. Colonel Wheler ordered part of the guard to load, and afterwards the whole guard, and gave the order to Issuree Pandy, jemadar, who was commanding the guard, to advance and capture the sepoy, Mungul Pandy. The jemadar took me aside, behind the quarter-guard, and said—"It is of no use, they will not advance, they will take the man's part, they are with the man,"—or words to that effect. I said—"Nonsense, you must go where you are ordered; fall in with your guard, and obey the orders you have received." The jemadar fell in with his guard in a reluctant kind of manner, and advanced them some eight or ten paces, when the guard halted. The jemadar fell to the rear. This state of things lasted for two or three minutes. I went in the direction of the 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry, to try if I could get a rifle. As I went along to the left of our lines

*Answer*—(concld.)

Major-General Hearsey, Commanding the Division, rode up to the guard, and the guard advanced with him, and some twelve or more mounted officers, when the man, Mungul Pandy, sepoy, knelt down and shot himself.

*Question*—Did Colonel Wheler have to repeat the order to the jemadar to advance?

*Answer*—I think more than once; I can't be positive. To the best of my belief the order was given more than once.

*Question*—When the guard advanced with the jemadar a little way and then halted, who halted it?

*Answer*—I did not hear any order given to halt; whether it was done by any mutual understanding between the jemadar and the guard I cannot say. The jemadar was on the right of the guard, I was on the left rear. From where I was, I could not see the jemadar.

It being near four o'clock, the Court adjourned until 11 A.M., on Monday, the 13th April.

## Third Day's Proceedings

*Barrackpore, 13th April 1857.*

The Court re-assembled this day at their former place of meeting. The President, Members (except Jemadar Dewan Alie, Artillery), Judge-Advocate, Interpreter, Prosecutor, and prisoner being all present, the examination of Captain Drury is continued.

### By the Prosecutor

*Question*—When yourself and Colonel Wheler arrived at the quarter-guard, did Jemadar Issuree Pandy make any report of any sepoy of his guard having gone out and taken part in the conflict?

*Answer*—He made no report of that nature.

*Question*—Is Heeralall Tewary, sepoy of the Light Company, now present with the regiment?

*Answer*—No; he deserted the second day after the affair occurred, namely, the evening of the 31st March.

*Question*—When you went up with Colonel Wheler, did you see many men of the regiment collected about the bells-of-arms of the different companies?

*Answer*—Yes, a great many.

296

*Question*—About how many men were in the lines off duty on that afternoon?

*Answer*—About 400, including commissioned and non-commissioned officers, from reports I have received.

*Question*—After the jemadar had told you that the men of his guard would not touch the sepoy, did he again get an order from Colonel Wheler to advance with his guard?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Did he then obey?

*Answer*—He obeyed so far as to advance some ten paces in a hesitating manner.

*Question*—Had the jemadar done his duty with alacrity and without hesitation, are you of opinion, from all you then observed, that the men would have continued their advance?

*Answer*—I think they would.

*Question*—Did you see General Hearsey march off the guard?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Did the guard continue to advance with General Hearsey until the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, shot himself?

*Answer*—Yes.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—Did I not tell Captain Drury to shelter himself lest he should be fired upon?

*Answer*—I cannot recollect whether he did; numbers of men told me to do so; amongst them a member of this Court, Sewumber Pandy, Subadar, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry?

*Judge-Advocate to Court*—It appears that this subadar has a knowledge of the whole of this case, and yet has sat as a member. This was altogether unknown to me, and ought to have been stated to me by the subadar when the charges were read out.

The Court is closed.

The Court re-opened.

*Question*—Did the colonel give me an order to fire upon the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, or to seize him?

*Answer*—He got orders to seize him. His guard was loaded. It was of course at his option either to shoot him or to bayonet him, to secure him in whatever way he chose?

287

By the Prosecutor

*Question*—Is the jemadar an officer of long standing, or recently promoted?

*Answer*—I think he is an officer of 1850 or 1851.

The witness withdraws.

*9th Witness*

*Lieutenant J. Hearsey, 38th Regiment, Native Infantry,* is called into Court and sworn.

By the Prosecutor.

*Question*—You are Aide-de-Camp to General Hearsey, Commanding the Presidency Division?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—On the afternoon of the 29th March, did you go down with General Hearsey to the quarter-guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry? If so, please state what took place there?

*Answer*—The Major-General came up; he asked the jemadar commanding the quarter-guard why he did not seize the man. He replied—"What does it matter—*kyapurwa,*—he will only shoot some of us." The General then asked if the muskets were loaded. The jemadar replied that they were, but they were not capped. The General then told the men to cap and follow him, which they did. On the guard nearing Sepoy Mungul Pandy about fifty or sixty yards, he knelt down and shot himself.

*Question*—Did the General have to repeat any order to the jemadar now before the Court?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Was there any hesitation, as far as you could see, in the guard obeying the orders of the General?

*Answer*—At first there was a little. The men did not seem to assemble quickly.

*Question*—Did the jemadar appear to obey willingly the orders of the Major-General, or otherwise?

*Answer*—He showed a little hesitation at first.

*Question*—Did you observe any one speak to the rear rank as they were advancing?

*Answer*—No.

298

*Question*—Did you hear the jemadar say anything more than the words you have stated?

*Answer*—Nothing more than what I have said.

*Question*—Had the Major-General a revolver pistol in his hand?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Did the Major-General show the guard that he had it?

*Answer*—He had it in his hand. He had no holsters, I think.

The prisoner declined to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

The prosecution is closed.

The prisoner is put on his defence, and states as follows:—

## *DEFENCE*

When the sepoy (whose name I don't know, but who has since been hanged) came out on to the parade, I was informed of the same by the havildar of the guard, who said that the man was in front of the guard with a sword and a loaded musket. I sent immediately to inform the regimental officer of the day, and also the sergeant-major by the naick of the guard, Emam Khan, and also to the adjutant. I then called out to Mungul Pandy, "Have you heard the orders General Hearsey gave on parade; are you going to obey them?" I then ordered some sepoys of the guard to seize the prisoner. The sepoy threatened me if I did not sound the assembly, when I screened myself behind the *peepul* tree; I also ordered the door of the bells-of-arms to be shut, and said "Don't allow any blockhead to approach." I also told the bugler not to sound the assembly, or he would be blown away from a gun. The sergeant-major then arrived. I then left the shelter of the *peepul* tree, and told the sergeant to take care of himself. I then heard a shot fired from the parade ground? I don't know if it was fired at the sergeant-major or myself. I then sent four sepoys to seize the sepoy, and said 'Whoever seizes him will be a brave man." The sepoys whom I told to go were from different companies. I said to Shaik Pultoo, who has since been promoted, "The other sepoys are in regimentals, you are in undress; you will be able to get behind him." I said to the sergeant-major "Keep in shelter yourself, or you will be killed." The adjutant then came up. Then Mungul Pandy fired, and hit the adjutant's horse on the thigh. I said to the adjutant "Your horse is wounded; do you stay here, and let me go and seize the sepoy." I said to the sepoys, "What are you doing?" The adjutant then fired his pistol. The sergeant-major said something to the adjutant. I said to the sepoys, "What are you looking at? Do

not you see the adjutant's horse has been struck? Go forward." I then saw the sepoy strike the adjutant and sergeant, and also that the sergeant-major's sword was broken. Shaik Pultoo then ran up towards the sepoy and the sergeant-major. Another sepoy was also with him of the light company. He was not of the guard. Mungul Pandy then loaded his musket and aimed at me. I then retreated, as I thought my sword was of the same kind as the sergeant-major's, which had broken. A Sikh sepoy then went towards the sergeant-major. I said to him "Take care where you are going to; why are you going towards the sergeant-major?" This Sikh sepoy was on the guard, a stout man; I don't know his name. The sergeant-major and the adjutant were both wounded. I sheathed my sword first, and said "Who has wounded you; was it Mungul or another sepoy?" The sergeant-major then told me to give up my sword; I did not give it; I retreated. I then said to the men of my guard, "You have allowed four men to be wounded; why have you done so? You could have prevented this, if you had liked; you have connived at it?" I then determined to report this to all the authorities. I proceeded to the house of the officer of the day, and related to him all that happened. I asked him if I should go and report it to the General myself, or whether he would go. The officer of the day told me to go and take care of my quarter-guard. I told the men of the guard to seize the sepoy in any way they could; four or five sepoys got ready. I asked if they were loaded. I said, "If any European officer should come, I will go in front, you come behind." After this the colonel and Captain Drury came. I then told the colonel and Captain Drury to keep in shelter. The colonel then ordered me to load the guard. I loaded the guard, and called Captain Drury aside, and said "I doubt about two or four of the men of the guard." Captain Drury said "Never mind." I then again told him to keep in shelter, and the colonel also. The colonel asked if we were ready, and ordered us to shoulder arms. We advanced about twenty or twenty-five paces, when three sepoys spoke and said—"What! are not the colonel and Captain Drury coming?" I then halted the guard, and ran towards the colonel, and said the guard are disobedient. The colonel then ordered me to bring back the guard. The General, General Hearsey, *Saheb Bahadoor*, then arrived, and asked if we were loaded. I said, "We are, but the caps are not on." The General then ordered me to shoulder arms, which I did, and to quick march, which I ordered the men to do; then afterwards to double. General Hearsey had a loaded pistol in his hand. As we advanced, the sepoy first presented his musket at us, and then

shot himself. The General then gave orders about funeral ceremonies for the man. The General then told us to unload our muskets. This is all. Some of the sepoys on the guard were young, and there were no non-commissioned officers at the moment with me.

The prisoner being asked, says, "I have no witness to call."

The defence is closed. The Court is closed.

*FINDING*

The Court find the prisoner, Jemadar Issuree Pandy, No. 1 Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, guilty of both charges preferred against him.

*SENTENCE*

The Court sentence the prisoner, Jemadar Issuree Pandy, No. 1 Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, to suffer death by being hanged by the neck until he be dead.

(Sd.) JOWAHIR LALL TEWARY, *Subdr.-Maj.*,
*43rd Regiment, Native Light Infantry,*
*President of the Court.*

(Sd.) G. C. HATCH, *Capt.*,
*Deputy Judge Advocate-General.*

BARRACKPORE, *The 13th April 1857.*

(Sd.) JAMES VALLINGS, *Lieut.*,
*Interpreter to the Court.*

---

Approved and confirmed.

HEAD-QUARTERS, SIMLA; *The 20th April 1857.*

(Sd.) G. ANSON, *Genl.*,
*Comdr.-in-Chief, East India.*

---

*REMARKS*

The Court closed proceedings on this trial at 3-30 P.M., and adjourned until further orders.

(Sd.) G. C. HATCH, *Capt.*,
*Deputy Judge Advocate-General.*

---

It is unnecessary for General Anson to observe that it is a most painful duty to order the execution of the sentence of death upon any officer or soldier of the army he has the honor to command, but there is not, in the whole of the evidence on which Jemadar Issuree Pandy has been convicted, one single extenuating circumstance upon which he could rest a claim for mercy.

The extreme punishment of military law has been justly awarded, and General Anson trusts that the enormity of the crime will be regarded with horror by every native officer, non-commissioned officer,

301

and soldier of his army. Should, however, there be any still undetected, who have looked on with apathy or passive encouragement at the act of mutiny of which the jemadar has been found guilty, his ignominious end, and that of Sepoy Mungul Pandy, will be a warning to them of the fate which awaits all mutineers, and which General Anson would fain hope will have a beneficial influence upon their future conduct.

*The 20th April 1857.* (Sd.) G. ANSON, *Genl., Comdr.-in-Chief, East India.*

---

*Telegram from Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, Calcutta, to the Commander-in-Chief, Simla,—No. 382-164, dated 14th April 1857.*

With reference to trials now going on at Barrackpore, Government considers it expedient that Major-General J. B. Hearsey should have power, under Article 73, to confirm all sentences on native commissioned officers. Will you be pleased to issue a special warrant to Major-General J. B. Hearsey accordingly, and to intimate to me by telegraph that you have done so.

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Colonel* C. CHESTER, *Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 382-A, dated 14th April 1857.*

I am instructed to acquaint you, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, that a telegram to the following effect has this day been transmitted to His Excellency:—

"With reference to trials now going on at Barrackpore, Government consider it expedient that Major-General J. B. Hearsey should have power, under Article 73, to confirm all sentences on native commissioned officers. Will you be pleased to issue a special warrant to Major-General J. B. Hearsey accordingly, and to intimate to me by telegraph that you have done so."

2. I am desired, with reference to the above, to explain for the information of His Excellency that as it seems probable that the native officer of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, now undergoing trial for his conduct while in command of the quarter-guard of that regiment on the 29th ultimo, during the attack upon Lieutenant and Adjutant B. H. Baugh and Sergeant-Major J. T. Hewson, will be sentenced to death, Government consider it very desirable, not only for the sake of discipline but on account of the troops who are assembled under canvas

302

at Barrackpore awaiting the result of the trial, that no delay that can be avoided should take place in carrying out any sentence that may be passed by the Court.

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to the Officiating Military Auditor-General,—No. 430, dated Fort William, 16th April 1857.*

I am instructed to inform you that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council has been pleased to confirm the Presidency Division Order of the 5th April 1857, promoting Shaik Pultoo, sepoy of the Grenadier Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, to the rank of havildar, and directing that he be borne on the rolls as a supernumerary from the 29th March 1857.

---

*Telegram from General* ANSON, *Simla,* viâ *Umballa, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—No. 98, dated 16th April 1857.*

With reference to Act, seventh Victoria, Chapter eighteen, warrant to the Commander-in-Chief, which is in the following terms:— "Provided that nothing in this warrant shall be deemed or taken to empower you to authorise any officer to confirm any sentence of death, transportation or cashiering on any commissioned officer employed on our staff, or serving in any of our regular regiments, or on any commissioned officer of the East India Company's service."

---

*Telegram from Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, Calcutta, to Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, Barrackpore,—No. 457-175, dated 17th April 1857.*

The Commander-in-Chief refuses to empower you to confirm sentences of courts-martial on commissioned officers.

---

*Telegram from Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, Calcutta, to the Commander-in-Chief, Simla,—No. 541-A—176, dated 18th April 1857.*

Message of 16th instant received. Seventh Victoria, Chapter 18, does not affect the Commander-in-Chief's power to issue warrant under 73, Articles of War for native troops,—*see* Section 6 of 7th Victoria, Chapter 18. Be pleased to grant warrant to General Hearsey to confirm sentence on native commissioned officers. If not, if sentence passed on Issuree Pandy, jemadar, be confirmed by you, please intimate

by telegraph that sentence is confirmed and may be carried into effect. The jemadar's trial was sent to you by express on Tuesday last, the 14th instant.

*From Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Colonel* C. CHESTER, *Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 541-B, dated Fort William, 18th April 1857.*

I have the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, that a telegram to the following effect has this day been despatched to His Excellency :—

"Message of 16th instant received. Seventh Victoria, Chapter 18, does not affect Commander-in-Chief's power to issue warrant under 73, Articles of War for native troops,—*see* Section 6 of 7th Victoria, Chapter 18. Be pleased to grant a warrant to General Hearsey to confirm sentence on native commissioned officers. If not, if sentence on Issuree Pandy, jemadar, be confirmed by you, please intimate by telegraph that sentence is confirmed and may be carried into effect. The jemadar's trial was sent to you by express on Tuesday last, the 14th instant."

With reference to the above telegram, I am directed to explain that part of the warrant from Her Majesty to which the Commander-in-Chief's message refers is understood to be based upon Section V of the Act, 7 Victoria, Chapter 18, and it appears to Government that the term "a commissioned officer of the East India Company's service," used in the Act and in the Warrant, relates to European commissioned officers only.

Should it, however, be considered that the words cited relate to native commissioned officers also, still it is observed by Government that while the Statute and the Queen's Warrant expressly refrain from empowering any officer inferior to a Commander-in-Chief to confirm sentences of death, transportation or cashiering on commissioned officers, yet neither the Act nor the Warrant contains any prohibitions to the delegation of authority to confirm such sentences, provided the power to delegate be otherwise committed to the Commander-in-Chief by competent authority.

The Government of India is such competent authority, and in the Articles of War for the native troops passed by the Government of India, Article 73 empowers the Commander-in-Chief to appoint general or other courts martial, and to issue his warrant to any general or other officer having the command of a body of troops to appoint general or other courts-martial for the trial of native officers and others,

364

and to confirm and otherwise dispose of all sentences passed by such courts.

Further, I am instructed to remark that the 6th section of the Act, 7 Victoria, Chapter 18, expressly provides that excepting in some of its provisions which do not relate to the present topic, this Act shall not alter or affect any Article of War for the East India Company's forces, whether natives or not of the East Indies.

*Telegram from General* ANSON, *Simla,* viâ *Umballa, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, Calcutta,—No. 113, dated 20th April 1857.*

The sentence passed upon Issuree Pandy, Jemadar, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, has been approved and confirmed by General Anson, and instructions have been sent to General Hearsey to carry the sentence into execution without unnecessary delay. The warrant to confirm sentence on native commissioned officers has, as requested, been sent to General Hearsey by this day's post.

*Telegram from Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, Calcutta, to Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, Barrackpore,—No. 623-182, dated 21st April 1857.*

The Commander-in-Chief has confirmed the sentence on Jemadar Issuree Pandy, and he is to be executed without delay. If you require the four howitzers, they can be sent to you this evening, and can be manned by the golundauz. Pray reply immediately by telegraph on this point.

*Telegram from Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, Barrackpore, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, Calcutta,—No. 114, dated 21st April 1857.*

The execution takes place this afternoon at 6 P.M. A telegraph message will be sent as soon as it is over. It is too late to send for howitzers.

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Barrackpore, 21st April 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, that, conformably with instructions which I received to day at 11 A.M. from Army Head-Quarters by a telegraph message, Jemadar Issuree Pandy, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, was duly hanged by the neck this afternoon at

six o'clock, in presence of all the troops at the station. The crimes, finding and sentence of the general court-martial before which he was arraigned, approved and confirmed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, having been first carefully explained to all the native corps.

It may perhaps be satisfactory for the Government to learn that when on the scaffold the jemadar made a voluntary confession of his guilt, and admitted the justice of the sentence which had been passed on him, at the same time imploring all his fellow-soldiers who were present to take warning by his untimely fate.

The prisoner's bearing and behaviour upon the scaffold were manly and becoming the solemn position of one about to be launched into eternity.

---

*MINUTE by Governor-General of India in Council, concurred in by* MR. DORIN, *dated 30th April 1857.*

The disposition and temper of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, has for many weeks occupied the serious attention of the Government of India.

The share which that regiment appeared to have in the disturbances that took place at Barrackpore in January, the fact that the presence at Berhampore of two detachments from their corps was followed by the outbreak of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, at that station; the murderous attack by Mungul Pandy, a sepoy of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, upon his officers on the 29th of March, and his language at the time, which showed that his comrades had instigated him to it; and, above all, the conduct of the native officers and men of the regiment present on that occasion, whether on duty or only as spectators, coupled with other rumoured indications of a bad spirit in the corps, led the Governor-General of India in Council to determine that evidence as to its state of feeling and temper should be taken by a Special Court of Inquiry composed of field officers.

The result of this investigation is now before the Government, as are also the proceedings taken in the cases of the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, and of the Jemadar, Issuree Pandy, which led to the conviction and execution of both.

Enquiry has also been made into the conduct of the quarter-guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, which was under the command of Issuree Pandy; and the depositions of Durriow Sing and Ramsahai Lalla, who have tendered evidence bearing upon the general question, have been received and recorded.

306

The Special Court of Inquiry above-mentioned have declared their opinion that the Sikhs and Mussulmans of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, are trustworthy soldiers of the State, but that the Hindus generally of the corps are not trustworthy.

Of eight officers of the regiment summoned as witnesses, five, amongst whom are the colonel and the adjutant, express their opinion to the same effect, and state that if the regiment were ordered on field service they should not accompany it with full reliance on its loyalty and good conduct.

Studied disrespect towards their officers, and the use of insubordinate language on parade, are clearly established against the regiment; and I see no reason to doubt that the opinion expressed by the Court, as to the Hindu portion of it, is correct.

When such a verdict as has been given by the Court of Inquiry can with truth be passed upon a regiment, and when a large part of the corps has furnished such indisputable proof of disaffection and sympathy with mutiny as was exhibited by the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, on the 29th of March, it becomes necessary that the punishment and remedy should be sharp and effectual.

I should, indeed, have been glad if some punishment, short of the disbandment of the seven companies of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, now stationed at Barrackpore, could have been considered thoroughly adequate for the occasion; but upon a careful examination and comparison of the proceedings which are before the Government, I am satisfied that no penalty less general than this would meet the exigencies of the case, or be effectual as an example.

The disbandment may be, and ought to be, so far tempered as that those of all ranks who were manifestly absent from the lines on the 29th of March shall be exempted from it, as also those who upon that or any other recent occasion have shown attachment and fidelity to their officers and to the State.* But I see no possibility of drawing a line

* Those who deserve exemption on this account are:—Subadar Sewumber Pandy who warned Captain C. C. Drury of his danger on the 29th of March, and did his duty as a member of the court-martial on Issuree Pandy; Subadar Muddeh Khan in command of the Mint guard on a recent occasion; Jemadar Durriow, Sing, who has given evidence to Government which, whatever its value may be, appears to be honestly given; Havildar Shaik Pultoo, distinguished by his fidelity on the 29th March; Havildar Goorbucus Sing and Havildar Jewrakun Tewary,—these two brought notice of the disturbance on the 29th of March to Captain A. S. Allen (see his evidence before the Special Court of Inquiry); Sepoy Ramsahai Lalla, who gave useful information to Captain A. S. Allen on the 6th of February; Sepoys Sobha Sing, Atma Sing, Mehee Lall, and Sewbuccus Tewary, all of the quarter-guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, on the 29th of March, but who may be believed to have been anxious to do their duty had not the jemadar restrained them.

307

of separation between creeds, in the spirit of the decision given by the Special Court of Inquiry, and which should have the effect of relieving the Sikhs and Mussulmans who were present from the punishment to be inflicted upon the Hindus. It would be impolitic and dangerous to attempt it.

All must suffer together; and indeed, as regards the conduct of the corps on the day of the mutinous exhibition by Mungul Pandy, all were equally culpable. The proportion of Hindus to Mussulmans and Sikhs amongst those who may be assumed to have been present, appears to be about eight to three.

The reports of the conduct and temper of the three companies of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, who were stationed at Chittagong are very favourable. There is no good evidence of their having been implicated in the misdoings, or of their sharing the spirit, of their comrades at Barrackpore. I annex a draft of a G. O. which I would propose to issue directing the disbandment.

(Sd.) CANNING.

I assent entirely to the measures proposed by the Governor-General of India in Council.

In my opinion it is impossible that a regiment can be in the state of insubordination disclosed in these proceedings, without grave fault on the part of the commanding officer, and much of Lieutenant-Colonel Wheler's conduct appears to me open to serious question.

I forbear, however, from discussing this subject at present, as I know it is the intention of the Governor-General to consider it separately.

*1st May 1857.* (Sd.) J. DORIN.

---

*MINUTE by Major-General* LOW, *dated 2nd May 1857.*

The disloyal feelings and the insubordinate and disrespectful conduct which have of late been, in various ways, evinced by the native officers and the men of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, have formed the subject of many full and anxious discussions at the Council Board since February last, and we have read so many public and demi-official letters and papers connected with the present condition and conduct of that corps, including the voluminous records of proceedings now circulated, that it is clearly unnecessary to delay any longer to punish the offenders in the most public way possible, and thereby give a wholesome warning to the Native Army generally.

2. The narrative of what has taken place connected with the misconduct of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, the measure proposed

as the requisite punishment, and the reasons for inflicting the punishment, to the specified extent and in the particular manner described, are all so clearly detailed in His Lordship's minute of the 30th ultimo, that it is needless for me now to say more than that I fully concur with His Lordship in all the sentiments therein recorded.

I greatly regret to think that in all probability there are some good soldiers, especially Sikhs and Mahomedans, in the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, who, by the measure proposed, will be punished along with the real delinquents; but under the peculiar circumstances of the case, the risk of this must be incurred, for it is in the highest degree important to avoid any act which could be supposed by the Indian community to indicate that Government is more indulgent towards certain classes of men among its native soldiers than it is to any other class on the score of their religion. We should endeavour in all our measures to show that our grand object is to have a faithful and trustworthy army of natives of India, and that we have no desire nor intention to meddle in any way with the religion of the soldiers composing that army, or to show by our treatment of them the least preference for one religious creed over another. We should try to impress upon the minds of all our native soldiers that they will be protected and rewarded, and punished, solely according to their own conduct as soldiers.

In conclusion, I have only to state that I entirely agree in regard to all parts of the measure now proposed by the Governor-General and in the reasoning on which that measure is founded.

(Sd.) J. LOW.

---

*MINUTE by* J. P. GRANT, Esq., *dated 2nd May 1857.*

I have read all these papers carefully, and I have come to this conclusion that no measure short of that proposed by the Governor-General of India in Council is adequate for the occasion. I agree entirely with all that has been above recorded on this subject.

That an extremely disloyal and mutinous feeling has existed in the seven companies of this regiment now at head-quarters for some months past; that the feeling was general, and its prevalence known to every native officer and man of these companies; and that this feeling has taken outward shape in inducing the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to commit the offence for which they have been justly disbanded, and in the disgraceful affair of the 29th of March in which the mass of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, itself, in the light of day, were actively or passively participators, are facts admitting

309

of no doubt. It is probable that some sections of the regiment were not affected with a spirit of active mutiny, but here there has been, besides the offence of the active encouragement of disloyalty, concealment of the fact, and failure to denounce the workers of the mischief in order to enable the authorities to repress it, which is an offence but one degree removed from active mutiny. And although some sections of the regiment may be free from any deep participation in the former crime (a supposition, however, which is not proved) all certainly are equally implicated in the latter.

The punishment which is to be imposed is after all but a deprivation of the advantages of further military service. It appears to me that this necessary punishment is leniently inflicted when it is restricted to those only who presumably were present, and at least passive spectators of the outrage of the 29th of March. Soldiers who in a large body, whether on or off duty, armed or unarmed, stand quietly by, when other soldiers are in open mutiny attempting to murder their officers before their eyes, deserve a very much heavier punishment than the mere loss of a service which they have disgraced; and it cannot be right to retain in the service men each one of whom may be fairly presumed to have acted in this manner.

(Sd.) J. P. GRANT.

---

*MINUTE by* B. PEACOCK, Esq., *dated 3rd May 1857.*

I am of opinion that nothing short of the punishment proposed by the Governor-General of India in Council would be sufficient for the late mutinous proceedings which have brought dishonor and disgrace upon all, with only few exceptions, of the native officers and sepoys of the seven companies of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, who were at Barrackpore on the 29th of March last, and no less punishment would, in my judgment, operate as a sufficient warning and example to others.

In my opinion the subadar, Muddeh Khan, and the sepoys, Sobha Sing, Atma Sing, and Mehee Lall, ought not to be exempted from the punishment. If the evidence of Durriow Sing is to be trusted, I think that there can be little doubt that Muddeh Khan was one of the principal ringleaders. Major-General J. B. Hearsey reports that he has but little doubt that the statement is founded on truth, and Durriow Sing is to be exempted from punishment for having given it. If there were any reason for supposing that he gave false evidence as regards Muddeh Khan, he ought to be punished rather than excused. I think it will be very inexpedient to declare that recent events have satisfied the Governor-General of India in Council of the fidelity of Muddeh Khan to the

310

Government, when most probably it must be known to himself, as well as to many of those who are to be punished, and of those who are to escape punishment, that he was actually engaged in promoting mutiny and disaffection. I do not mean to say that there is legal evidence to criminate him, but if he was in the lines at Barrackpore on the 29th I do not think that the fact of his having given the two men into custody at the Mint, which took place some time before the 29th, ought to operate to exempt him from the general punishment awarded for what took place on that day, when upwards of 400 men, according to the evidence of Colonel Wheler, must have been in the lines looking on, while a murderous attack was made on two of their officers, without attempting to render them the slightest assistance, or to bring the actual perpetrators of the crime to justice. For this act those who were present are to be punished, and I see no sufficient ground, on the face of the evidence of Durriow Sing, to make Muddeh Khan an exception.

If he was one of those who were absent from the lines on the 29th, he will fall within the general exception: if he was present, I would punish him in the same manner as the others.

Each of the three sepoys admits that he saw Heeralall Tewary strike the sergeant-major with the butt of his musket; that he saw him come back with his pantaloons bloody, and that he went and changed them. Yet this man was allowed to remain until the 31st, when he absconded, without being arrested, as he would have been if those witnesses of his guilt had acted as they ought to have done, and informed any of their European officers of what they had seen.

With that evidence of actual dereliction of duty on record, I think there is no sufficient ground to exempt them from the general punishment, which will probably fall on many less deserving of it than they. I think a mere offer to go to the assistance of those officers, even if it is believed that they did offer, is not, under the circumstances, sufficient to excuse them from the general punishment.

The very fact of their having come to the knowledge of Heeralall Tewary's mutinous act, without immediately giving information thereof to their commanding officers, was a grave offence for which, in strictness, they were liable, by the Articles of War, to a much more severe punishment than that of dismissal.

I also doubt whether there is sufficient ground to exempt Sewbuccus Tewary, who was one of the quarter-guard, from the general punishment. In all probability many of the quarter-guard, if they had been

examined, would have sworn that they were willing to go to the assistance of the officers. The fact would still remain that they did not go.

(Sd.) B. PEACOCK.

*MINUTE by the Governor-General of India in Council, dated 4th May 1857.*

I have read with attention the observations of my honorable colleague Mr. Peacock upon the exceptions it is proposed to make in the disbandment of a certain portion of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.

I am still of opinion that the subadar, Muddeh Khan, should not be included in the disbandment.

However reliable the evidence given by Durriow Sing, as to the meetings held at Barrackpore in the early part of the year, may be (and on this point it has been confirmed from other sources), and however truly he may believe all that he has said respecting the designs upon the fort at the end of January, it is to be observed that his testimony against Muddeh Khan individually is not direct, except so far as regards Muddeh Khan's abuse of him; in other respects it rests entirely upon messages brought to Durriow Sing by another person professing to come from Muddeh Khan.

On the other hand, we have the incontestable facts that Muddeh Khan did, on a subsequent occasion, seize and give up to justice the traitors who attempted to seduce his guard from its post at the Mint; and that a year ago Muddeh Khan was recommended for the second class of the Order of British India on the ground of long and honorable service.

It is by no means impossible that Muddeh Khan may have been at one time an honest and well-conducted soldier, at another time on the verge of treason and mutiny, and that circumstances may have brought him back again to better courses; but I do not think that Durriow Sing's evidence can be held to establish conclusively the intermediate condition of evil-mindedness against Muddeh Khan; and if good and faithful conduct exhibited since disaffection has been rife in the regiment is to entitle to exemption at all, I still recommend that Muddeh Khan should be one of the exempted.

There is no doubt a seeming inconsistency in rewarding Muddeh Khan for fidelity, whilst Durriow Sing, who is rewarded as an informant, charges him with being a traitor. But Durriow Sing gave some information of the truth and importance of which there is no question;

312

and I think it not unreasonable or impolitic to assume that he was mistaken in respect of Muddeh Khan, in favour of whom facts speak, but that his evidence, which in many other points was correct, was given conscientiously throughout.

With respect to the sepoys of the quarter-guard whom it is proposed to exempt, it is true that they witnessed Heeralall Tewary's attack upon the officers; but they were on duty at the time, with their jemadar at their side forbidding them to move; the jemadar saw what passed as well as they. As soon as the colonel of the regiment came upon the ground, he addressed himself to the jemadar; the jemadar appeared to have the full confidence and approval of the lieutenant-colonel, who sanctioned the return of the guard after they had marched a few paces towards the mutineer, and the piling of their arms.

I am not surprised, and I do not think it inexcusable, that in these circumstances the men of the guard did not step forward to tell the lieutenant-colonel of Heeralall Tewary's assault upon the officers.

It is true that the evidence of the good disposition of these men comes from themselves; but it is given with an appearance of sincerity; they confirm each other's testimony on all principal points without any sign of concert, and I think that the perusal of the evidence leaves a conviction that they did offer to go to the assistance of their officers, and to seize the mutineer, and were prevented from doing so only by the prohibition of the superior under whose orders they were at the time.

Whether this be a sufficient ground for exemption is another question. My own opinion is that it is so; and that although a more sweeping measure than that which has been proposed would be perfectly defensible in military justice, it will be sound policy to make the punishment a discriminating one wherever this can be done with fair show of reason.

(Sd.) CANNING.

---

## *MINUTE by Mr.* DORIN *and Major-General* LOW, *dated 4th May 1857.*

I cannot say I am satisfied that any of the native officers and men of this regiment have been altogether untainted with mutiny; but I think it good policy to make the punishment as discriminating as possible, and would uphold the exemptions proposed by the Governor-General.

I specially question the character and loyalty of the subadar, Muddeh Khan, but consider, nevertheless, that whatever his real motives

313

and intentions may have been, his action at a somewhat critical juncture entitles him to the liberal consideration of the Government.

(Sd.) J. DORIN.

I also entirely concur in the sentiments recorded by the Governor-General in his minute No. 2 of this date on this sad subject.

(Sd.) J. LOW.

---

*MINUTE by* J. P. GRANT, ESQ., *and* B. PEACOCK, Esq., *dated 4th May 1857.*

I quite agree with the Governor-General in the propriety of adhering to the exception from the general disbandment of the four individuals whose cases are now specially in question.

As to the subadar, Muddeh Khan, whatever may be our conjectures, what we certainly know of him, and the only thing we certainly know of him, is, that, very lately, he seized, denounced, and brought to justice, two secret mutineers connected in some way with the disaffection that has blazed out in his own regiment. We do not know that he was present on the 29th of March, and the actively loyal officer-like conduct which we do know him to have displayed lately, in connection with the same general matter, is in my judgment more than a counterpoise in his individual case, to that fair presumption on which the general measure of punishment is founded. Moreover, his act of loyalty, which is a certain fact, is all that the army at large will ever hear of this subadar's conduct; and I think it would have a bad effect if the next thing they are to hear of him were to be his dismissal from the service without trial or charge.

As to the three sepoys of the quarter-guard, although it is quite true, as His Lordship admits, that the evidence of their good disposition comes from themselves, yet this is not all the evidence they gave. It was upon their evidence, spontaneously proffered, that their disloyal jemadar was tried, convicted, and hanged. Surely it would be neither just nor politic to reward this good service with dismissal. They did not act, and they do not pretend to have acted, with unimpeachable propriety throughout; but they were in a very trying position, and they have, by their later conduct, not without personal risk, separated themselves by a wide interval from the mass of their misconducted comrades. As to their own good disposition, I must say for myself that I place as full credit upon that part of their evidence as I do upon that which

proved the treachery of the jemadar. For why was it that, of the whole guard, all of whom had the same opportunity, when arrested, of professing their own good disposition, and of denouncing their officer, these three men alone availed themselves of the moment?

(Sd.) J. P. GRANT.

I very much regret that the expression of my opinion should have caused any delay from the necessity of re-circulating the papers. It is not my wish to re-argue the question, but I feel bound to state that I still retain the opinion before expressed. I have no doubt that I have taken an erroneous view of the case, seeing that I stand alone in the opinion which I have formed.

(Sd.) B. PEACOCK.

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division,—dated Fort William, 4th May 1857.*

I am directed to transmit to you the accompanying G. O. by the Governor-General of India in Council, directing the dismissal of the seven companies of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, at Barrackpore.

His Lordship in Council requests that you will carry out this order as speedily as possible.

To save time the necessary instructions have been issued from this department to the Pay Department to forward to Barrackpore sufficient money to pay up the seven companies; to the body-guard to proceed escorting the treasure, so as to reach Barrackpore by to-morrow evening; and to the musketry depot and native artillery details at Dum-Dum, to march to-morrow morning early, and arrive at Barrackpore by to-morrow evening.

The steamer and flat have been directed to proceed to Chinsurah, so as to bring the 84th Foot down to Barrackpore by to-morrow evening. You are requested to send tents sufficient to shelter the dismissed men, to Ghyretty Ghat, whither they are to be made to proceed after dismissal. The European officers should not accompany the men to Ghyretty; but the Governor-General of India in Council leaves it to your discretion to keep the dismissed men under proper surveillance during the day of their dismissal, to enable them to settle their accounts with the bunneahs, and to get together their property for the conveyance of which, across the river to Ghyretty, carriage will be provided by Government; and

315

should you so arrange, the men themselves may be marched over under proper escort to their camp on the other side of the river in the evening. The Governor-General of India in Council directs me to request that you will have a good translation of the G. O. made at once, and that a copy of that translation may be forwarded to me; it being the intention of His Lordship in Council to cause the same translation to be read to all the regiments in the army.

---

*GENERAL ORDER by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Fort William, 4th May 1857.*

No. 645 of 1857.—On the 29th of March, a sepoy of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, stationed at Barrackpore, armed himself with a loaded musket and sword, advanced upon the parade ground in front of his lines, and, after conducting himself in a violent and mutinous manner, and calling upon the men of the regiment to come forth and to join him in resisting lawful authority, attacked and wounded the adjutant and sergeant-major of his regiment, who approached to restrain him.

This man has been tried, condemned, and hanged.

On the same occasion, the native officer, a jemadar, in command of the quarter-guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, refused to obey his superior, by whom he was ordered to seize the above-mentioned sepoy.

After being tried by a Court of native commissioned officers, this man, himself a commissioned officer, has paid the penalty of his mutiny by the same ignominious death.

But these men were not the sole offenders upon that occasion.

The Governor-General of India in Council laments to say that the conduct of the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and men of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, who were then present has been shown to be such as to destroy his confidence in them as soldiers of the State, and to call for severe and exemplary punishment.

The mutinous sepoy was permitted to parade himself insolently before his assembled comrades, using menaces and threatening gestures against his officers, without an attempt on the part of any to control him.

No such attempt was made even when he had deliberately fired at the sergeant-major of the regiment.

316

None was made when, upon the appearance of the adjutant, Lieutenant Baugh, and after having re-loaded the musket unmolested, the mutineer discharged it at that officer and shot his horse.

When the horse fell, not a sign of assistance to Lieutenant Baugh was given either by the quarter-guard or by the sepoys not on duty, although this took place within ten paces of the guard.

During the hand-to-hand conflict which followed between the mutineer and Lieutenant Baugh, supported by Sergeant-Major Hewson, the men collected at the lines in undress looked on passively; others in uniform and on duty joined in the struggle, but it was to take part against their officers, whom they attacked with the butts of their muskets, striking down the sergeant-major from behind, and repeating the blows as he lay on the ground.

The Governor-General of India in Council deeply regrets that of the ruffians who perpetrated this cowardly act, the only one who was identified has escaped his punishment by desertion.

There was, however, one amongst those who stood by who set an honorable example to his comrades; Shaik Pultoo, sepoy (now havildar), of the Grenadier Company, obeyed the call of his officer for assistance unhesitatingly. He was wounded in the endeavour to protect Lieutenant Baugh from the mutineer, and did all that an unarmed man could do to seize the criminal. His conduct was that of a faithful and brave soldier.

When the adjutant, maimed and bleeding, was retiring from the conflict, he passed the lines of his regiment and reproached the men assembled there with having allowed their officer to be cut down before their eyes without offering to assist him. They made no reply, but turned their backs and moved sullenly away.

For the failure of the quarter-guard to do its duty, the jemadar who commanded it has already paid the last penalty of death. In this guard, consisting of twenty sepoys, there were four who desired to act against the mutineer, but their jemadar restrained them; and when eventually the order to advance upon the criminal was given by superior authority, the majority yielded obedience reluctantly.

Upon a review of these facts, and of all the circumstances connected with them, it is but too clear to the Governor-General in Council that a spirit of disloyalty prevails in those companies of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, which are stationed at the head-quarters of the Presidency Division. Silent spectators of a long continued act of insolent mutiny, they have made no endeavour to suppress it, and have

thereby become liable themselves to the punishment of mutineers. The Governor-General of India in Council can no longer put trust in them, and he rejects their services from this time forward.

Therefore, it is the order of the Governor-General of India in Council that the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and men of the seven companies of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, now quartered at Barrackpore be disbanded and dismissed from the Army of Bengal, with the following exceptions in favor of those who in the course of recent events have given the Governor-General in Council good reason to believe in their fidelity to their officers and to the Government :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Subadar Sewumber Pandy. | Havildar Jewrakun Tewary. |
| „ Muddeh Khan. | Sepoy Ramsahai Lalla. |
| Jemadar Durriow Sing. | „ Sobha Sing. |
| Havildar Shaik Pultoo. | „ Atma Sing. |
| „ Goorbuccus Sing | „ Mehee Lall. |

Sepoy Sewbuccus Tewary.

All those non-commissioned officers and sepoys will be excepted whose absence from the lines on the 29th of March, whether as having been on duty, in hospital, or from other cause, can be established.

But this exemption will not apply to the native commissioned officers, all of whom, with the exception of the three abovenamed, are dismissed from the Army.

The Army of India is well aware that it is to the native officers that the Government looks for the maintenance of order and fidelity in their respective corps. This was solemnly proclaimed in the General Order of the 23rd January 1856, No. 132; and each regiment may rest assured that it is a principle which will be rigorously and invariably enforced.

The disbandment will be carried out at the head-quarters of the Presidency Division, in the presence of all available regiments stationed within two days' march of the spot.

The regiment will be paraded for the purpose, and every dismissed man, after giving up his arms and receiving the pay due to him, will be deprived of his uniform and be required to leave the cantonment.

The foregoing part of this order does not apply to the three companies of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, which are stationed at Chittagong, and against which there is no reproach.

There remains one point which the Governor-General of India in Council desires to notice.

The sepoy who was the chief actor in the disgraceful scene of the 29th of March called upon his comrades to come to his support for the reason that their religion was in danger, and that they were about to be compelled to use cartridges, the use of which would do injury to their caste; and from the words in which he addressed the sepoys, it is to be inferred that many of them shared this opinion with him.

The Governor-General of India in Council has recently had occasion to remind the Army of Bengal that the Government of India has never interfered to constrain its soldiers in matters affecting their religious faith. He has declared that the Government of India never will do so; and he has a right to expect that this declaration shall give confidence to all who have been deceived and led astray.

But whatever may be the deceptions or evil counsels to which others have been exposed, the native officers and men of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, have no excuse for misapprehension on this subject. Not many weeks previously to the 29th of March it had been explained to that regiment,—first by their own commanding officer, and subsequently by the Major-General Commanding the Division,—that their fears for their religion were groundless. It was carefully and clearly shown to them that the cartridges which they would be called upon to use contained nothing which could do violence to their religious scruples. If, after receiving these assurances, the sepoys of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, or of any other regiment, still refuse to place trust in their officers and in the Government, and still allow suspicions to take root in their minds, and to grow into disaffection, insubordination, and mutiny, the fault is their own, and their punishment will be upon their own heads. That it will be a sharp and certain punishment the Governor-General of India in Council warns them.

This order is to be read at the head of every regiment, troop, and company in the service, at a parade ordered for that purpose.

---

*Telegram from Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Barrackpore, 6th May 1857.*

The 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, has been disbanded. All quiet: time on parade.

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Barrackpore, 6th May 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of Government, that a portion of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, as per margin, was disbanded this morning between the hours of five and seven in presence of all the troops within two marches of this station.

412 men of all ranks.

The disbanded portion of the regiment, after being stripped of their coats on parade, as well as disarmed, were sent under escort of two companies of Her Majesty's 84th Foot and a troop of the body-guard to Fultah Ghat. One of the steamers on board of which the private baggage of these men was loaded was sent under charge of a guard of native sepoys to Chinsurah, where it will be delivered over to them on their arrival there.

---

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Barrackpore, the 7th May 1857.*

I have the honor to report for the information of Government, that being now able to dispense with the services at Barrackpore of the undermentioned troops, I directed them to return this morning to their respective cantonments at Chinsurah, Dum-Dum, and Ballygunge:—

Governor-General's Body-Guard.

3rd Company, 5th Battalion Artillery, with No. 20 Light Field Battery.

A wing of Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment.

Her Majesty's 84th Regiment.

Rifle Musketry Depot.

2. The 84th returned to their barracks at Chinsurah yesterday in the steamers.

3. It is not probable that I shall again require the presence of any of these troops at this station.

4. I have also permitted the commanders of both the Government steamers and their accommodation flats to return to Calcutta.

---

370

# CHAPTER II.

## MEERUT

*From Major-General* W. H. HEWITT, *Commanding the Meerut Division, to Colonel* C. CHESTER, *Adjutant-General of the Army, Simla,—No. 347, dated Division Head-Quarters, Meerut, 24th April 1857.*

I HAVE the honor to annex, for submission to His Excellency the Commander-in Chief, copy of a letter just received from the Officer Commanding the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, relative to the refusal of a detachment of the regiment to receive the cartridges tendered to them for practice, and to report that I have convened a Native Court of Inquiry to investigate the case, the Proceedings of which will be duly forwarded for His Excellency's information.

2. The 85 men who were guilty of disobedience of orders have been taken off duty and confined to their lines.

---

*From Colonel* G. M. C. SMYTH, *Commanding the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, to Lieutenant-Colonel* G. P. WHISH, *Major of Brigade at Meerut,—No. 63, dated 24th April 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of the officer commanding the station, that yesterday I ordered a parade to take place this morning for the purpose of showing the men the new mode by which they might load their carbines without biting their cartridges, and late in the evening I received information from the havildar-major that the men of the 1st Troop would not receive their cartridges (which were the same that they had always used), and my adjutant received a letter from Captain Craigie, copy of which is enclosed.

2. This morning I explained to the men my reason for ordering the parade, and I first ordered the havildar-major to show them the new way of loading, which he did, and fired off his carbine. I then ordered the cartridges to be served out, but, with the exception of the men noted in the margin, they all refused to receive them, saying they would get a bad name if they took them, but that if all the regiments would take their cartridges, they would do so. I explained to them that they were not new cartridges, but the very same they had always been using, and once more called on them to receive the cartridges, saying—"You see the havildar-major has used one;" but, with the exception of the men above-mentioned, they all still refused; after which I ordered the adjutant to dismiss the men, as they were too large a party to send to the guard. The party consisted of 90 men.

Heera Sing, havildar, 4th Troop.
Pursaud Sing, havildar, 5th Troop.
Golam Nubbee Khan, havildar, 5th Troop.
Shaik Golam Mohammed, naick, 6th Troop.
Dilawar Khan, naick, 6th Troop.

---

Forwarded for the information and orders of the Major-General Commanding the Division.

(Sd.) H. R. JONES, *Col.*,
*Comdg. the Station.*

---

*From Captain* H. C. CRAIGIE, *3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, to the Adjutant of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry,—dated Meerut, 23rd April 1857.*

Go at once to Smyth and tell him that the men of my troop have requested in a body that the skirmishing to-morrow morning may be countermanded, as there is a commotion throughout the native troops about cartridges, and that the regiment will become *budnam* if they fire any cartridges. I understand that in all six troops a report of the same kind is being made. *This is a most serious matter, and we may have the whole regiment in mutiny in half an hour if this be not attended to. Pray don't lose a moment, but go to Smyth at once.*

2. We have none of the objectionable cartridges, but the men say that if they fire any kind of cartridge at present they lay themselves

open to the imputation from their comrades and from other regiments of having fired the objectionable ones.

---

*Demi-official from General the Hon'ble* G. ANSON, *Commander-in-Chief in India, to Colonel* C. CHESTER, *Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Simla, 27th April 1857.*

We must wait for further report; but this appears a most outrageous case, and if there is no excuse for the behaviour of this troop, summary dismissal of the whole of them will be no more than they deserve.

---

*From Major* J. WATERFIELD, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Meerut Division, to Captain* D. MACDONALD, *Superintending Officer, Native Court of Inquiry,—No. 342, dated Meerut, 24th April 1857.*

I have the honor, by direction of the Major-General Commanding the Division, to request that the Court of Inquiry, of which you are nominated Superintending Officer, will carefully and fully enquire into the cause of a party of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, having, as reported in the accompanying copy of a letter* from the officer commanding the regiment, refused to receive the cartridges tendered to them for practice, and also whether by receiving the cartridges and using them as ordered any scruples of religion either of the Hindu or Mussulman would have been injuriously affected.

* No. 63, dated 24th April 1857, from Colonel G. M. C. Smyth, Commanding the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, to Lieutenant-Colonel G. P. Whish, Major of Brigade at Meerut, with enclosures.

The Court are required to record their opinion on both these subjects.

---

*From Major-General* W. H. HEWITT, *Commanding the Meerut Division, to Colonel* C. CHESTER, *Adjutant-General of the Army, Simla,—No. 354, dated Division Head-Quarters, Meerut, 26th April 1857.*

In continuation of my letter No. 347, of the 24th instant, I have the honor to forward the Proceedings of the Native Court of Inquiry convened by me as therein reported, and to request I may be favored with the orders of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief relative to the disposal of the 85 men whose names are given in the roll attached to the Proceedings.

323

*PROCEEDINGS of a Native Court of Inquiry assembled at Meerut on the 25th of April 1857, by order of Major-General* W. H. HEWITT, *Commanding the Meerut Division, to enquire into matter which will be communicated to Captain* D. MACDONALD, *20th Regiment, Native Infantry, Superintending Officer, by Major* J. WATERFIELD, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General of the Division.*

PRESIDENT.

*Subadar-Major* THAKOOR AWUSTEE, *20th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

MEMBERS.

*Subadar* GUNGA DEEN DOOBEY, *20th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* RAM CHURN, *3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry.*
*Subadar* GUNNESS SING, *20th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* GOOLAB KHAN, *3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry.*
*Subadar* BUXEES SING, *20th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Jemadar* FYZE KHAN, *3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry.*

SUPERINTENDING OFFICER.

*Captain* D. MACDONALD, *20th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

INTERPRETER.

*Captain* W. H. S. EARLE, *20th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

DEPUTY JUDGE ADVOCATE-GENERAL.

*Major* F. J. HARRIOTT, attends the Court.

The Court assembled at the Mess House, 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, this morning at six o'clock, pursuant to Division and Station Orders of the 24th instant. The President, Members, Superintending Officer, Interpreter, and Deputy Judge Advocate-General are all present.

Division and Station Orders forming the Court and fixing the hour and place of assembly are read.

All witnesses are directed to withdraw.

Letter No. 342, of the 24th April 1857, from the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General of the Division, is produced, read, and explained to the Court by the Interpreter; it is also marked "A" and appended.

*1st Witness*

*Colonel G. M. C. Smyth, Commanding the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry,* called into Court.

*Question*—Be kind enough to state whether any cartridges were refused by the men of your regiment yesterday, and under what circumstances?

*Answer*—I ordered a parade on Thursday to assemble on the morning of Friday, the 24th instant, at which all the men who

324

*Answer*—(contd.)

had carbines were to be shown the new mode of loading, *viz.*, that which directs them to tear the cartridges with their fingers, without any necessity for putting them into their mouths. Ninety men were drawn up for this purpose; their names are contained in the following list, which is read, marked "B," and appended. First of all I ordered the havildar-major, Shaik Bucksh Ally, to load and fire his carbine, to show them how it was to be done; he immediately did so. I then ordered the cartridges to be served out to the 90 men on parade. The first man to whom a cartridge was offered, Shaik Peer Ally, naick, said he would get a bad name if he took it. I said to him—"You see the havildar-major has taken and fired one;" he replied: "Oh, the havildar-major!" in a manner to signify that his position obliged him to do it, adding—"If all the men will take the cartridges, I will." He assigned no reason for not taking it, but still refused to do as I ordered him. I then ordered one to be given to Ameer Koodrut Ally, naick, who stood in the rear of Shaik Peer Ally, but he also refused, saying—"If all the regiment will take cartridges, I will." After this I ordered each man in succession to take his cartridges, but with the exception of five men, *viz.*, Heera Sing, havildar, 4th Troop; Pursaud Sing, havildar, 5th Troop; Golam Nubbee Khan, havildar, 5th Troop; Shaik Golam Mohammed, naick, 6th Troop; Dilawar Khan, naick, 6th Troop, they all refused to do so; none of them assigned any reason for refusing, beyond saying that they would get a bad name; not one of them urged any scruple of religion; they all said they would take these cartridges if the others did. After this I ordered the five men who had taken their cartridges to fall out, and again urged the others to follow the example set by these five non-commissioned officers, but not another man did so. There appeared to be a general murmur, which as far as I could make out was to the following effect: "If you order the whole regiment to take these cartridges, perhaps they will do so." I pointed out to them that the cartridges were not greased, that they

*Answer*—(concld.)

were the same as they had been using all the season, that the havildar-major had fired one off, that five of their non-commissioned officers had taken them, and they had better do the same; but as they still refused, I ordered the adjutant to dismiss the parade, and immediately reported what occurred to the officer commanding the station. On the day previous, *viz.*, the 23rd of April, I directed the havildar-major's orderly, Brijmohun Sing, to bring a carbine and some blank cartridges from the lines. I showed him how the carbine was to be loaded without biting the cartridge; he loaded and fired twice, remarking that when the whole army learnt the new way of loading they would be much pleased. This man's hut was burnt down on the night of the 23rd, and an old horse hospital close to the magazine was also set fire to and entirely destroyed the same night. I reported both of these circumstances when I made known the misconduct of the troopers on parade.

The Court having no questions to put, the witness withdraws.

*2nd Witness*

*Thakoor Sing, quartermaster-havildar, 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry*, is called into Court, and section 22, rule 11 of the Military Regulations, being explained to him, he is examined as follows:—

*Question*—Have the cartridges in use with the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, been prepared and made under your supervision?

*Answer*—No, they were made while I was on leave of absence during the hot months of last year. Pursaud Sing, havildar, then acted for me, and I suppose they were made under his supervision.

*Question*—Is the paper of which they are made such as has been continually in use with the regiment?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Is there to your knowledge anything in the material of the cartridges or the manner in which they are made up that should prevent any Mussulman or Hindu from using them?

*Answer*—No, I know of nothing which should prevent either Hindu or Mussulman using them; the cartridges are unobjec-

*Answer*—(concld.)
tionable; they are the same as have been in use with the regiment for years; there is no grease on them.

The witness being called upon to produce some, shows no hesitation in doing so, but at once brings them into Court. The members of the Court examine the cartridges, and observe that they are exactly similar to what have been in use in the service for thirty and forty years, and that in their opinion neither Hindu nor Mussulman would suffer in any religious scruple by using them.

The witness withdraws.

*3rd Witness*

*Pursaud Sing, havildar, 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry,* is called into Court, and section 22, rule 11, being explained, he is questioned as follows:—

*Question*—Were the cartridges now in your regimental magazine made while you were acting quartermaster-havildar, and under your superintendence?

*Answer*—Yes, they were made in my presence.

*Question*—Are you aware whether there is anything in the material of them or the manner in which they were made that should make any Hindu or Mussulman unwilling to use them?

*Answer*—There is nothing whatever about them that either Hindu or Mussulman can consider objectionable; they are precisely the same as have been in use for years with the regiment; they were made in the regimental magazine as heretofore by the regimental *khalasis*.

*Question*—Have you ever heard any of the men, either Mussulman or Hindu, state or urge that their religious scruples would be affected by using them?

*Answer*—I never heard of it before, but lately there has been a rumour that a new description of cartridge had been made up. The sepoys of the regiment who were on parade yesterday refused to take the cartridges unless the whole of the sepoys of the brigade would do the same. I took the cartridges when ordered to do so and can see no objection to them.

The witness withdraws.

*4th Witness*

*Chuttur Sing, senior Hindu Trooper present with the 1st Troop, 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry,* is called into Court, and being informed of section 22, rule 11, is examined as follows :—

*Question*—Are you aware whether there is anything in the material of the cartridges served out to the sepoys of your regiment which renders them objectionable for a Hindu to use ?

*Answer*—We have doubts about them, as none of the sepoys in the station will touch them.

The witness here declares that he is very ill and unable to stand; he is accordingly permitted to withdraw.

*5th Witness*

*Meer Tarub Ally, senior Mussulman Trooper of the 1st Troop, 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry,* is called into Court, and section 22, rule 11, being explained to him, he is examined.

*Question*—Are you aware whether there is anything in the cartridges served out to the sepoys of your regiment that renders them objectionable for a Mussulman to use ?

*Answer*—No, I am not aware of anything; they are just the same that have always been in use, but there is some rumour against them, and the sepoys yesterday alleged that if the whole brigade would use them, they would do so.

The witness withdraws.

*6th Witness*

*Sook Lall Sing, senior Hindu Trooper present with the 2nd Troop, 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry,* being informed of section 22, rule 11, of the Military Regulations, is examined as follows :—

*Question*—Are you aware whether there is anything in the cartridges served out to the sepoys of your regiment that renders them objectionable for you to use ?

*Answer*—I know of nothing; the cartridges seem of the old kind, and I have no doubt are so, but a suspicion attaches to them, but I cannot say on what point.

*Question*—Have you ever heard any one mention suspicion on any particular point or material of the cartridges ?

*Answer*—No, I have never heard of anything beyond a general suspicion, but about what I do not know.

The witness withdraws.

*7th Witness*

*Kufeyut Oollah, senior Mussulman Trooper of the 2nd Troop, 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry,* is called into Court, and section 22, rule 11, being explained, states—

The cartridges on the table and those in the regimental magazine are the same that have always been used, but there is a doubt attached to them ; I cannot say on what point ; there is a general rumour against them.

The witness withdraws.

*8th Witness*

*Shaik Gholam Jullani, senior Mussulman Trooper of the 3rd Troop, 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry,* is called into Court, and section 22, rule 11, being explained, states—

I know nothing more against the cartridges than a general rumour that there is something wrong about them. I never heard any particular point objected to.

The witness withdraws.

*9th Witness*

*Chundee Sing, senior Hindu Trooper present with the 3rd Troop, 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry,* is called into Court, and section 22, rule 11, being explained, states—

I know nothing against the cartridges of the regiment. I can see nothing objectionable in them; they are the same as have always been used.

The witness withdraws.

*10th Witness*

*Fuzzur Ally Khan, senior Mussulman Trooper of the 4th Troop, 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry,* is called into Court, and section 22, rule 11, being explained, states—

These cartridges are exactly the same as we have always used. I know of no objection to them, but yet I have a doubt in my heart; I do not know on what particular point, but there is a general rumour against them.

The witness withdraws.

*11th Witness*

*Buldeo, senior Hindu Trooper present with the 4th Troop, 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry,* is called into Court, and section 22, rule 11, being explained, states—

The cartridges are the same that have always been used. I know of no objection to them. Why they were rejected, I cannot make out.

The witness withdraws.

329

*12th Witness*

*Saheb Deen Khan, senior Mussulman Trooper present with the 5th Troop, 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry,* is called into Court, and section 22, rule 11, being explained, states—

These cartridges are apparently all right, but the army won't use them, as there is some suspicion attaching to them; I do not know of what nature.

The witness withdraws.

*13th Witness*

*Thakoor Sing, senior Hindu Trooper present with the 5th Troop, 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry,* being called into Court, and section 22, rule 11, being explained, states—

The cartridges in use with the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, are exactly the same as the old ones, but doubt has been raised about them. I never heard any particular point objected to.

The witness withdraws.

*14th Witness*

*Moullah Bux, senior Mussulman Trooper present with the 6th Troop, 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry,* is called into Court, and section 22, rule 11, being explained, states—

I have doubts about the cartridges; they apparently look like old ones, but they may, for aught I know, have pig's fat rubbed over them.

The witness withdraws.

*15th Witness*

*Doorga Sing, senior Hindu Trooper present with the 6th Troop, 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry,* is called into Court, and section 22, rule 11, being explained, states—

There is nothing objectionable in these cartridges; they are exactly the same as the old, but some objectionable rumour has got abroad regarding them.

[This witness without being asked or in any way expected to do so voluntarily handles the cartridges in Court.]

The witness withdraws.

*16th Witness*

*Bhuggun, tindal, Quartermaster's establishment, 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry,* is called into Court, and section 22, rule 11, being explained, states—

The present cartridges were made up by myself and the *khalasis* of the regiment; they are precisely the same in paper and in all materials as they have been ever since I have been in the regiment, and that is

230

thirty-three years. Till now I never heard an objection of any kind against them, and even now I cannot understand what point in particular is objected to. I have never heard anything beyond some general rumour which no one is able to particularise.

There being no more evidence, the Court is closed.

The Court proceed to record their opinion as directed in the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General's letter.

The Court, having attentively weighed the evidence given before them, are of opinion that no adequate cause can be assigned for the disobedience of Colonel Smyth's orders by the men of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, in refusing to receive and use the cartridges that were served out; the only conclusion the Court can arrive at in regard to this point is that a report seems to have got abroad which in some vague form attaches suspicion of impurity to the materials used for making these cartridges, but the Court are unanimously of opinion that there is nothing whatever objectionable in the cartridges of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, and that they may be freely received and used as heretofore without in the slightest degree affecting any religious scruple of either a Hindoo or Mussulman, and if any pretence contrary to this is urged, that it must be false.

---

*MEMORANDUM from Colonel* K. YOUNG, *Judge Advocate-General of the Army, to Colonel* C. CHESTER, *Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 389, dated Head-Quarters, Simla, 29th April 1857.*

[Report on disaffection in the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry.]

A parade having been ordered by Colonel Smyth on Thursday, the 23rd April, for the following morning, to show all the men of the regiment who had carbines the new mode of loading without biting the cartridges, Captain Craigie of the regiment received intimation that the men of his troop objected to the cartridges, and a report was accordingly made to Colonel Smyth. The parade however took place as directed, when out of 90 men who were on the parade, with the exception of five, all of whom were non-commissioned officers, every man refused to receive the cartridges, saying they would get a bad name if they took them, but that if all the regiment would take the cartridges, they would do so. Previous to ordering the men to receive the cartridges, the havildar-major had shown them the new way of loading, and fired off his carbine; and Colonel Smyth called the notice of the men to this, and explained to them that there was nothing objectionable in the cartridges, but they still, with the exception of the five men as before mentioned, all refused to receive them, and the

parade was dismissed, Colonel Smyth stating that the party was too large to send to the guard. Though not so reported, these mutineers have not, I presume, been allowed to return to their duty. A Court of Inquiry having been ordered by the Major-General Commanding the Division to investigate the cause of the men's refusal to take the cartridges, and to ascertain whether by receiving and using them any scruple of religion, either of the Hindus or Mussulmans, would have been injuriously affected, the proceedings have now come up, with a request from the Major-General to be favoured with the Commander-in-Chief's orders on the case.

2. By the evidence taken before the Court of Inquiry, it is clearly shown that the cartridges are the same in every respect that have been in use in the regiment for many years; and the Court, which was formed of seven native officers, have unanimously recorded their opinion that there is nothing whatever objectionable in the cartridges. Their opinion is here embodied for easy reference :—

> "The Court, having attentively weighed the evidence given before them, are of opinion that no adequate cause can be assigned for the disobedience of Colonel Smyth's orders by the men of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, in refusing to receive and use the cartridges that were served out. The only conclusion the Court can arrive at in regard to this point is that a report seems to have got abroad which in some vague form attaches suspicion of impurity to the materials used for making these cartridges, but the Court are unanimously of opinion that there is nothing whatever objectionable in the cartridges of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, and that they may be freely received and used as heretofore without in the slightest degree affecting any religious scruple of either a Hindoo or Mussulman, and if any pretence contrary to this is urged, that it must be false."

3. This is a very unfortunate occurrence, the more particularly as showing the deep feeling of uneasiness prevailing in the Native Army on the subject of the cartridges. There is absolutely no apparent reason whatever why the men of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, should have declined to use the cartridges served out to them, except the fear of being taunted by their comrades or the sepoys of other regiments, and it might be supposed that a sufficient answer to any taunt would have been that the cartridges were the same as had always been

332

used. It would have been satisfactory to know the last occasion on which cartridges had been served out and fired by the men of the regiment who now object to them.

4. The most fitting way it seems to me of dealing with this case will be to direct the Major-General to bring all the men to trial at once before a General Court-martial on the charge of which I submit a draft for the approval of the Commander-in-Chief. It is probable that the whole of the accused will be convicted and sentenced to imprisonment with hard labor, and I would suggest that such subsidiary orders as may appear necessary to His Excellency may be forwarded to Major-General Hewitt, as to the best mode of carrying out promptly this or any other sentence that may be awarded by the Court-martial.

*P. S.*—Major-General Hewitt might also be instructed to alter the charge now sent, or to prefer any additional charge he may consider expedient against any of the parties to be brought to trial, should either procedure, in his opinion, be requisite, with reference to information he may be in possession of, and which has not yet reached head-quarters.

## Draft of Charge

Mattadeen, No. —, havildar, and Shaik Peer Ally, No. —, Ameer Koodrut Ally, No. —, Shaik Hussunoodeen, No. —, and Shaik Noor Mahomed, No. —, all naicks of the 3rd Regiment Light Cavalry, placed in arrest; and Seetul Sing, No. —, and Jehangeer Khan, No. —, both rough riders; and Meer Mosim Ally, No. —, Ally Noor Khan, No. —, Meer Hoosain Bux, No. —, Muttra Sing, No. —, Narain Sing, No. —, Lall Sing, No. —, Sewdeen Sing, No. —, Shaik Hoossain Bux, No. —, Sahibdad Khan, No. —, Bishun Sing, No. —, Buldeo Sing, No. —, Shaik Nundoo, No. —, Nawab Khan, No. —, Shaik Ramjan Ally, No. —, Ally Mahomed Khan, No. —, Maukun Sing, No. —, Doorga Sing, 1st, No. —, Nusooroollah Beg, No. —, Meerahib Khan, No. —, Doorga Sing, 2nd, No. —, Nubbybux Khan, No. —, Jurakhan Sing, 1st, No. —, Nudjoo Khan, No. —, Jurakhan Sing, 2nd, No. —, Abdoollah Khan, No. —, Easain Khan, 1st, No. —, Jubberdust Khan, No. —, Moortuzah Khan, No. —, Burjuar Sing, No.—, Azeemoollah Khan (1st) No. —, Azeemoollah Khan, (2nd) No. —, Kalla Khan, No. —, Shaik Sadoolah, No. —, Salarbux Khan, No. —, Shaik Ruhut Ally, No. — Dwarka Sing, No. —, Kalka Sing, No. —, Rugbeer Sing, No.—, Buldeo Sing, No. —, Dursun Sing, No. —, Imdad Hoossain, No. —, Peer Khan, 1st, No. —, Mootie Sing, No. —, Shaik Fuzul Emaum, No. —, Heerah Sing, No. —, Sewah Sing, No. —, Morad Shere Khan, No. —,

Shaik Aram Ally, No. —, Kassie Sing, No. —, Ussurruff Ally Khan, No. —, Khadurdad Khan, No. —, Shaik Rustum, No. —, Bugwan Sing, No. —, Meer Imdad Ally, No. —, Sewbux Sing, No. —, Lutchmun Sing, No. —, Shaik Emambux, No. —, Oosman Khan, No. —, Muxood Ally Khan, No. —, Shaik Ghazeebux, No. —, Shaik Omaid Ally, No. — Abdool Wahab Khan, No. —, Ramsahai Sing, No. —, Panah Ally Khan, No. —, Luchmun Dooby, No. —, Ramsawarun Sing, No. —, Shaik Ezad Ally, No. —, Sew Sing, No. —, Seetul Sing, No. —, Mohun Sing, No. —, Velaiat Ally Khan, No. —, Shaik Mahomed Ewas, No. — Indar Sing, No. —, Futteh Khan, No. —, Mycoo Sing, No. —, Shaik Kassim Ally, No. —, Ramchurn Sing, No. —, and Durriow Sing, No. —, all troopers of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, placed in confinement by order of the Officer Commanding the Meerut Division, on the following charge:—

For having, at Meerut, on the 24th of April 1857, severally and individually disobeyed the lawful command of their superior officer, Brevet-Colonel G. M. C. Smyth, Commanding the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, by not having taken the cartridges tendered to each of them individually for use that day on parade, when ordered by Colonel Smyth to take the said cartridges.

---

*Demi-official from General the Hon'ble* G. ANSON, *Commander-in-Chief in India, to Colonel* C. CHESTER, *Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Simla, 29th April 1857.*

I have approved the enclosed drafts of letters to the Officers Commanding the Sirhind and Cawnpore Divisions.

Colonel Young is gone down to you.

I have read the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, and have approved of the course recommended by the Judge Advocate-General.

It will be as well, if the letter can be got off to-day, to write to Major-General Hewitt, and tell him that no time must be lost in convening the Court-martial, and that he must take every proper precaution to enable him to carry out immediately, on the conclusion of its proceedings, any sentence that may be awarded, which he will be empowered to do by the warrant which is forwarded to him by the same post.

---

*From Major-General* W. H. HEWITT, *Commanding the Meerut Division, to Colonel* C. CHESTER, *Adjutant-General of the Army, Simla,—No. 368, dated Division Head-Quarters, Meerut, 30th April 1857.*

I have the honor to forward herewith, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, letters, in original, Nos. 64 and 65

334

of this date, from Major Campbell, Commanding the Meerut Artillery Division, relative to discontent shown by the native portion of the artillery at this station on the subject of the cartridges in use.

---

*From Brevet-Major* J. H. Campbell, *Commanding the Meerut Artillery Division, to Major* J. Waterfield, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Meerut Division,—No. 64, dated Meerut, 30th April 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Major-General Commanding the Division, the following circumstances which occurred on the 27th current in the Native recruit depot.

2. On the morning of the 27th current, at parade hour, I received a verbal report from Lieutenant A. Light, Commanding the Recruit Depot, that a squad of recruits who had been brought on parade for carbine drill had intimated to the drill-havildar their intention not to use the blank ammunition cartridges if they were ordered, and that in consequence, and pending a report being made to me on the subject, he (Lieutenant Light) had ordered that the cartridges should not be served out.

3. On enquiring from the drill-havildar, it appeared that the previous evening, when the squad was formally warned for carbine drill with blank ammunition, they had all said they would refuse to use the cartridges, which resolution of theirs was again repeated on the general parade of the depot. The three drill-havildars of the depot all said that they had endeavoured to reason with the men, and pointed out that the cartridges were the same as those they had used before, but to no purpose.

4. After having fully considered the matter, I determined, in the absence of the Brigadier Commandant of Artillery, that the drill of the squad should be proceeded with as usual, and that if the men positively refused to receive or use the cartridges at once, to pay them up and discharge them from the service, as is authorized to be done by an officer commanding a brigade or battalion with recruits who have not passed their drills.

5. I therefore directed Lieutenant A. Light to have the squad of recruits at carbine drill as usual that same morning, when I would be present on parade.

6. At the usual hour I went to the parade, and having stated to the men of the squad of recruits at carbine drill the report I had received of their conduct from their commanding officer, pointed out to them the error in which they had fallen, the mischievous consequences

that would ensue if they persisted in the line of conduct they had adopted, reminding them of the fate of the men of the 2nd and 19th* Regiments, Native Infantry, as promulgated in G. O.s, and which had only a few days previously been read and explained to them on parade, explaining and showing to them that the cartridges were such as had always been used and used even by themselves, and I reminded them that it was their duty to obey implicitly without cavil all orders issued to them by their superiors.

7. The men made no attempt to deny the correctness of the report of their conduct; on the contrary, two of them in a very insolent tone began to argue in justification of their proceedings, and it was quite evident that their conduct was the result of no thoughtless or sudden resolution, but had been well considered and determined on.

8. I then directed the cartridges to be served out to the men of the squad; each and all positively refused to receive them, upon which I ordered them to lay down their arms and accoutrements, which they did, and informed them that they would be at once paid up and discharged from the service, which was accordingly done.

9. A report of these proceedings was forwarded on the 28th current to the Assistant Adjutant-General of Artillery, for the information of the Brigadier Commandant of Artillery.

---

*From Major* J. H. CAMPBELL, *Commanding the Meerut Artillery Division, to Major* J. WATERFIELD, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Meerut Division, —No. 65, dated Meerut, 30th April 1857.*

In continuation of my letter No. 64, of this date, I have the honor to report, for the information of the Major-General Commanding the Division, that on the morning of the 28th current I was informed by Lieutenant A. Light, Commanding the Recruit Depot, after the drills had been dismissed, that he had received a report from the drill-havildar that the whole of the recruits would refuse to turn out to drill in the evening. I took no further notice of this report, beyond giving Lieutenant Light instructions how to act in the event of the recruits refusing to turn out. During the day I received information from Lieutenant Light that the recruits would turn out to drill, but that they did not like the summary manner their comrades had been dealt with the day previous, and that they all wanted to speak to him. I informed him that such a proceeding could not be allowed, but that if they had anything to say, two or three of them might be allowed to come to me

* "2nd and 19th"—*Sic* in original. Major Campbell must have meant 19th and 34th.

336

at the orderly-room on the following morning, when I would listen to what they had to say. Nothing further occurred. The men turned out to drill that evening, and also the following morning, but none of them wished to speak to me, and thus the matter ended. The men have all turned out to their duties as usual every day, and have in no way shown any discontented feeling in the presence of any officer.

---

*From Brigadier* A. WILSON, *Commandant of Artillery, to Colonel* C. CHESTER, *Adjutant-General of the Army, Simla,—No. 646, dated Meerut, 4th May 1857.*

I have the honor to forward, for submission to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, copy of letter No. 59, of the 28th ultimo, from the Officer Commanding the Artillery at this station, reporting the circumstance of a squad of native recruits having on the previous day positively refused to receive the cartridges which were served out to them for carbine drill, and that he had thought it expedient, as I myself was absent on temporary leave, to pay them up and discharge them on the spot, which was accordingly carried into effect on the same day.

2. I beg to state that under the circumstances of the case, and as these 17 men were simply unattested recruits, I have informed Major J. H. Campbell that I approve of the measure he adopted, and I trust his proceedings will also meet with General Anson's approbation.

---

*From Major* J. H. CAMPBELL, *Commanding the Meerut Artillery Division, to Captain* E. B. JOHNSON, *Assistant Adjutant-General of Artillery, Meerut,—No. 59, dated 28th April 1857.*

I have the honor to forward, for submission to the Brigadier Commandant of the Regiment, the following report of circumstances which have occurred in the native Recruit Depot.

2. Yesterday (Monday) morning, at parade hour, I received a verbal report from Lieutenant A. Light, Commanding the Recruit Depot, that a squad of recruits who had been brought on parade for carbine drill had intimated to the drill-havildar their intention not to use the blank ammunition cartridges if they were ordered, and that in consequence, and pending a report being made to me on the subject, he (Lieutenant Light) had ordered that the cartridges should not be served out.

3. On enquiry from the drill-havildar, it appeared that the knowledge of the men's intentions had not come to him by mere hearsay, but that on the previous evening, when the squad was formally warned for carbine drill with blank ammunition, they had all said they would

337

refuse to use the cartridges, which resolution of theirs was again repeated on the general parade of the depot. The three drill-havildars of the depot all said that they had endeavoured to reason with the men, and pointed out that the cartridges were what they had used before, but to no purpose.

4. In the course of the morning I received from Lieutenant A. Light an official report of the circumstances, as detailed in letter No. 123 of the 27th instant, a copy of which is annexed.

5. It now became necessary to consider what steps should be taken in the matter, in the temporary absence of the Brigadier Commandant from head-quarters. Had he been here, my course was of course simple,—*viz.*, to report the circumstances to him, to be dealt with in such a manner as he might think proper.

6. It appeared to me that three courses were open to me—

I.—To take no further notice of the matter as reported to me; or

II.—To confine the men (17 in number) to their lines, and forbid their attendance at their drills until the return of the Brigadier Commandant, five days hence; or

III.—To point out to them the folly of their conduct, and in the event of their not submitting to carry on their drills, &c., to exercise the authority vested in the officer commanding a battalion to dismiss from the service those recruits who had not passed their drills.

7. To have delayed taking any notice of the matter until the return of the Brigadier Commandant, after it was known to the men themselves that a formal report had been made of their intended refusal to use the cartridges would, I am of opinion, have been misconstrued by the men, tended to increase their disaffection, and rendered it in all probability ultimately more difficult to deal with.

8. On the other hand, to have confined them to their lines for the same period (although it would have shown that ulterior measures would be adopted) was difficult to carry out without any guard to control so many men, would not have prevented them communicating with their comrades, and in both cases would have given them time and leisure to brood over their conduct, and confirm them in their insubordinate intentions.

9. After full consideration of the matter, both as regards the interests of the service and with reference to what I considered would

338

be in accordance with the opinion of the Brigadier Commandant had he been present, I determined that their drills should be proceeded with as usual, and that if the men positively refused to receive or use the cartridges, at once to pay them up and discharge them from the service.

10. I accordingly directed Lieutenant Light to have the squad of recruits at carbine drill as usual yesterday evening, when I would be present at parade.

11. At the usual hour I went to the parade, and having stated to the men of the squad the report I had received of their conduct from their commanding officer, pointed out to them the error into which they had fallen, the mischievous consequences that would ensue if they persisted in the line of conduct they had adopted, reminding them of the fate of the men of the 2nd and 19th Regiments, Native Infantry, as promulgated in G. O.s and which had only a few days previously been read and explained to them on parade; explaining and showing to them that the cartridges were such as had always been used, and used even by themselves, and I reminded them that it was their duty to obey implicitly without cavil all orders issued to them by their superiors.

12. The men made no attempt to deny the correctness of the report of their conduct; on the contrary, two of them in a very insolent tone began to argue in justification of their proceedings, and it was quite evident that their conduct was the result of no thoughtless or sudden resolution, but had been well considered and determined on.

13. I then directed the cartridges to be served out to the men of the squad. Each and all positively refused to receive them; upon which I ordered them to lay down their arms and accoutrements, which they did, and informed them that they would be at once paid up and discharged from the service, which was accordingly done.

14. I have now reported in detail the whole of the circumstances connected with this case, and trust that the Brigadier Commandant will consider that I was justified in acting as I did in his absence, and that my proceedings will meet with his support and approval.

---

*From Major-General* W. H. Hewitt, *Commanding the Meerut Division, to Colonel* C. Chester, *Adjutant-General of the Army, Simla,—No. 375, dated Division Head-Quarters, Meerut, 4th May 1857.*

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1271, of the 30th ultimo, and to report that a Native General Court-martial has been directed to assemble for the trial of the 85 men of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, as therein directed.

2. With reference to Captain Craigie's objectionable note having been transmitted to Army Head-Quarters, I beg to state that as the note was attached to, and quoted in, Brevet-Colonel Smyth's report, the latter would have been incomplete without it, and a day's dâk would have been lost in making His Excellency acquainted with what had occurred had the notes been returned by me to be re-written in official form.

3. With reference to the last paragraph of your letter under acknowledgment, I regret to have to state that Brevet-Major A. W. C. Plowden, who was in temporary command of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, during Colonel Smyth's absence on committee duty at Hurdwar Fair, reports that G. O. G. G. No. 470, dated 27th March 1857,* which was received by him as commanding officer of the regiment on the 12th ultimo, "escaped his recollection, otherwise it should have been read as ordered."

4. Brevet-Major A. W. C. Plowden has been placed in arrest pending His Excellency's orders.

*From Major-General* W. H. Hewitt, *Commanding the Meerut Division, to Colonel* C. Chester, *Adjutant-General of the Army, Head-Quarters, Kurnaul,—No. 413, dated Meerut, 28th May 1857.*

I have the honor to forward, in original, letter No. 143 of the 26th instant, from Brigadier A. Wilson, giving the information called for in your letter No. 1466, of the 13th instant, relative to the G. G. O. disbanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, not having been read to the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, by Major A. W. C. Plowden, and to state that I had no reason to doubt that the G. O., which was addressed to officers commanding regiments, had been acted up to till the omission was brought to my notice by Brigadier A. Wilson.

*From Brigadier* A. Wilson, *Commanding at Meerut, to Major* J. Waterfield, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Meerut Division,—No. 143, dated Meerut, 26th May 1857.*

With reference to the explanation required in letter No. 1466, of 13th instant, from the Adjutant-General of the Army, to the address of the Major-General Commanding the Division, I have the honor to report that Colonel G. M. C. Smyth resumed command of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, on 23rd April. The parade at which his men refused to receive cartridges occurred next morning.

* See pages 94-97, *ante*.

340

2. It was only ascertained on receipt of the copy of regimental orders of that corps for the past month that the G. O. regarding the disbandment of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, had not been read to the regiment as ordered. Immediate enquiry was made of Colonel G. M. C. Smyth, who forwarded copies of his letter and Major Plowden's reply, dated 1st May, which were duly transmitted for the Major-General's information on receipt.

---

*From Major-General* W. H. HEWITT, *Commanding the Meerut Division, to Colonel* C. CHESTER, *Adjutant-General of the Army, Simla,—No. 386, dated Division Head-Quarters, Meerut, 7th May 1857.*

I have the honor to report that, with reference to the state of feeling at present existing in the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, I have withheld from Captain J. Fairlie, pending His Excellency's orders, the leave granted to that officer by G. O. C. C. of the 15th ultimo.

I take this opportunity of reporting that the insubordination shewn by some men of the above regiment does not seem to have spread to any of the Native infantry regiments in the division.

---

*From Major-General* W. H. HEWITT, *Commanding the Meerut Division, to Colonel* C. CHESTER, *Adjutant-General of the Army, Simla,—No. 393, dated Division Head-Quarters, Meerut, 9th May 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that the Native General Court-martial assembled for the trial of the 85 men of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, having yesterday closed its Proceedings, the finding and sentence of imprisonment with hard labor for ten years was published this morning to the whole of the troops at Meerut paraded for that purpose, when the prisoners were ironed in front of the brigade, marched down the line, and thence direct to the jail, where they were made over to the civil power.

2. The Proceedings of the Court-martial will be forwarded as soon as possible.

3. The majority of the prisoners seemed to feel acutely the degradation to which their folly and insubordination had brought them.

4. The remainder of the Native troops are behaving steady and soldierlike.

---

341

*From Major-General* W. H. Hewitt, *Commanding the Meerut Division, to Colonel* C. Chester, *Adjutant-General of the Army, Simla,—No. 394, dated Division Head-Quarters, Meerut, 9th May 1857.*

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1336, of the 5th instant, and to inform you that I have communicated to Major Campbell, Commanding the Meerut Artillery Division, His Excellency's sentiments, as set forth in the first, second, and third paragraphs thereof, relative to the discharge of the recruits for disobedience of orders.

2. With respect to the fourth paragraph of the same, relative to the delay which took place in reporting the occurrence, I beg to state that it was not till the evening of the 28th ultimo I learnt accidentally what had taken place, when I directed the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General to call on Major Campbell, through the officer commanding the station, for his reasons for not having reported the conduct of the men and the steps he had taken. Early on the following day Major Campbell waited on me and reported the whole affair, on which I desired him immediately to send in a written report with a view to its transmission to Army Head-Quarters. In the course of the afternoon he forwarded a copy of his report to the Assistant Adjutant-General of Artillery of the conduct and discharge of the 17 recruits, which I, on the following morning, ordered to be returned to him with instructions to make a special report for my information, and to include the after conduct of the other squads, which he had verbally stated to me, but which was not alluded to in the letter to the Assistant Adjutant-General of Artillery. In reply, the letters Nos. 64 and 65 were received and immediately forwarded for the information of His Excellency without comment, as the recruits having been discharged two days previous to the report, no further steps could be taken with reference to them; and, having caused Major Campbell to be informed of his error in not having at once reported for the information of the officer commanding the station, and of myself, a circumstance of so much importance at the present time, but which he apparently conceived concerned the commandant of artillery only, I did not draw your attention to the omission.

In reply to the fifth and last paragraph of your letter under acknowledgment, I beg most respectfully to state that in every instance of disaffection shown by any portion of the troops under my command, I have not allowed a dâk to pass without forwarding the report for the information and orders of the Commander-in-Chief. In doing so I

deemed it unnecessary to bring to notice what I imagined would be inferred, *viz.*, the steady, soldierlike behaviour of the remainder.

---

*From Major-General* W. H. Hewitt, *Commanding the Meerut Division, to Colonel* C. Chester, *Adjutant-General of the Army, Simla,—No. 395, dated Division Head-Quarters, Meerut, 11th May 1857.*

I regret to have to report that the Native troops at Meerut broke out yesterday evening in open mutiny. About 6-30 P.M. the 20th Regiment, Native Infantry, turned out with arms. They were reasoned with by their officers, when they reluctantly returned to their lines, but immediately after they rushed out again and began to fire. The 11th Regiment, Native Infantry, had turned out with their officers, who had perfect control over them, inasmuch as they persuaded them not to touch their arms till Colonel Finnis had reasoned with the mutineers, in doing which he was, I regret to say, shot dead. After which act, the 20th Regiment, Native Infantry fired into the 11th Regiment, Native Infantry, who then desired their officers to leave them, and apparently joined the mutineers. The 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, at the commencement mounted a party and galloped down to the jail to rescue the 85 men of the corps who were sentenced by the Native General Court-martial, in which they succeeded, and at the same time liberated all the other prisoners, about 1,200 in number. The mutineers then fired nearly all the bungalows in rear of the centre lines south of the nullah, including Mr. Greathed's, the Commissioner's, and mine, together with the Government cattle-yard and commissariat officer's house and office. In this they were assisted by the population of the bazaar, the city, and the neighbouring villages. Every European man, woman, and child fallen in with was ruthlessly murdered. Amongst those who are known to have fallen are—Colonel Finnis, 11th Regiment, Native Infantry; Captain Taylor and Captain Macdonald, 20th Regiment, Native Infantry, together with the wife and two children of the latter; Cornet Macnabb, Veterinary-Surgeons Phillips and Dawson, together with the wife of the latter. The above particulars I have learnt from different parties.

2. As soon as the alarm was given, the Artillery, Carabineers, and 60th Rifles were got under arms, but by the time we reached the Native infantry parade ground it was too dark to act with efficiency in that direction, consequently the troops were retired to the north of the nullah, so as to cover the barracks and officers' lines of the Artillery, Carabineers,

and 60th Rifles, which were, with the exception of one house, preserved, though the insurgents, for I believe the mutineers had at that time retired by the Aligarh and Delhi roads, burnt the vacant Sappers and Miners' lines. At break of day the force was divided,—one-half left on guard, and the other taken to reconnoitre and patrol the Native lines. The guard from the 20th Regiment, Native Infantry, at the Pension Pay Office and Cantonment Magistrate's remained at their posts. Five Native officers and some twenty men of the 11th Regiment, Native Infantry, remained with their officers; also about fifty men of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, who came on with their respective troop officers, whom they had aided and preserved. I am led to think the outbreak was not premeditated, but the result of a rumour that a party was parading to seize their arms, which was strengthened by the fact of the 60th Rifles parading for evening church service. Efficient measures are being taken to secure the treasure, ammunition, and barracks, and to place the females and European inhabitants in the greatest security attainable.

3. Nearly the whole of the cantonment and zillah police have deserted.

4. The electric wire having been destroyed, it was impossible to communicate the state of things except by express, which was done, to Delhi and Umballa.

5. His Excellency will be kept daily informed of the state of things, and a more detailed report will be furnished as soon as circumstances permit commanding officers to furnish the necessary reports.

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General* W. H. Hewitt, *Commanding the Meerut Division,—No. 484, dated 13th May 1857.*

A telegram to the following effect has this day been transmitted to you :—

"Reports have reached Government about the conduct of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, on the 10th instant and subsequently. Pray state by telegraph what has occurred, and what measures are being taken."

---

*Telegram from the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, Agra, to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta,—dated 14th May 1857.*

Letter received from Meerut of May 12th. The fort and treasury are safe, and the troops ready for any attack. Trades-people, servants,

344

and parties returning on horseback, coming to scour the neighbourhood. The only name given of all officers killed is Mr. Tregear, of the Educational Department.

---

*Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, Agra,—dated 15th May 1857.*

Proclaim martial law at once.

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Madras, Military Department,—No. 562, dated 15th May 1857.*

A telegram to the following effect has this day been transmitted to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief at Madras:—

"No confirmation of murder of Europeans at Delhi, but two gentlemen and one lady are stated to have been killed. The cantonment and treasury at Meerut are safe, and the troops there prepared to resist attack. The newspaper statement that Government have received intelligence of the murder of the officers of 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, is untrue. Some officers have been killed, probably at Delhi, and a gentleman there in the Educational Department. But particulars not known.

"The troops at Agra are said to be staunch, and will oppose the mutineers if they come from Delhi."

---

*Telegram from the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, Agra, to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta,—dated 15th May 1857.*

Message of to-day received. Every means taken to open communication with Meerut, but the result still awaited. I am doing everything possible here to keep together and prevent the Native troops from giving trouble, and trust to succeed. More again to-morrow.

---

*Telegram from the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, Agra, to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta,—No. 95½, dated 16th May 1857.*

Many thanks for your full confidence; I shall endeavour to deserve it. The worst of the storm is past, and the aspect of affairs is fast

brightening. Martial law has been proclaimed at Meerut as was authorised by you. A proclamation has been issued by me to explain generally our arrangements for surrounding and crushing the mutineers. A copy of this will go by post to-night. I trust it will do good all over the country. The following is the intelligence of the morning from General Hewitt:—"The Commander-in-Chief has sent Her Majesty's 75th Regiment and Fusiliers down there. The Sirmoor Battalion is expected here to-night. Some of the Patiala and Jhind Rajahs' people, with a police battalion and some cavalry, are to assemble at Kurnaul on the 20th, to be supported by Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, 9th Lancers, and four guns. Patiala Rajah reported as having been invited to join the rebels. Martial law proclaimed in Meerut; no communications by telegraph about this. The rebels were to settle their plans yesterday evening after prayers. I have sent for a wing of the 4th Irregulars, and asked for another. The Bhurtpore force of horse and six guns with three British officers reached Muttra last night, and quite re-established confidence there. It shall soon be vigorously patrolling the country round Delhi until the mutineers can be attacked or dispersed. Be sure that confidence and forwardness now mark every step."

---

*Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta, to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, Agra,—dated 16th May 1857.*

Send word as quickly as possible to Sir John Lawrence that he is to send down such of the Punjab regiments and European regiments as he can safely spare.

Orders will meet them on the march.

I have written to this effect, but probably the dâk is interrupted.

If the telegraph is in order beyond Delhi, you will of course use it for this purpose.

Every exertion must be made to regain Delhi; every hour is of importance. General Hewitt has been ordered to press this upon the Commander-in-Chief.

If you find it necessary, you may apply in the Governor-General's name to the Rajah of Patiala or to the Rajah of Jhind for troops. I am glad you accepted Scindia's.

I have sent for an European regiment from Madras and from Pegu, but they cannot be here for a fortnight, and until then I cannot spare a single European from here.

Peace is ratified; but the troops from Persia cannot be here for many weeks.

I will send you a proclamation to-morrow morning by telegraph.

I thank you sincerely for all you have so admirably done, and for your stout heart.

*From Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General* W. H. Hewitt, *Commanding the Meerut Division,—No. 619, dated Calcutta, 16th May 1857.*

A telegram to the following effect has this day been transmitted to you:—

"Message received. Pray state by telegraph what has occurred at Meerut between the 10th instant and the present date. State the condition of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry. It is understood that the two Native Infantry regiments have gone to Delhi. Has there been any loss of life at Meerut? Send frequent messages to me of all that occurs."

*Telegram from Major-General* W. H. Hewitt, *Commanding the Meerut Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, Calcutta,—dated 16th May 1857.*

Sappers and Miners joined from Roorkee. Sirmoor Battalion ordered in from Dehra. The artillery and European infantry barracks with School of Instruction form a place of safety for women and stores, guarded by the European troops. The mutineers said to be still at Delhi. Her Majesty's 75th and 1st European Regiments marched from the hills.

*Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Benares, to Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, Calcutta, —dated 16th May 1857.*

The Regiment of Ferozepore has already marched to Allahabad, leaving a detachment for duty at Mirzapore. The party of the Regiment of Ferozepore at Chunar has been relieved by one of similar strength from the 37th Regiment, Native Infantry, from Benares. Further instructions are requested. The two corps at Benares are very weak.

*Telegram from Major-General* W. H. Hewitt, *Commanding the Meerut Division, to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta,—No. 111, dated 17th May 1857.*

Your message will be sent to Commander-in-Chief. Sappers mutinied yesterday, shot their commanding officer, left cantonments with their arms; when followed, dispersed; fifty cut up. About one

347

hundred and fifty who were on duty have been disarmed and are working as Sappers only. A force from Patiala and Jhind Rajah assembled at Kurnaul on the 20th, supported by Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, 9th Lancers, and horse artillery. The mutineers are said to be still at Delhi. Her Majesty's 75th Regiment and 1st Europeans left the hills on the 14th instant.

---

*Telegram from the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, Agra, to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta,—dated 17th May 1857.*

Heard from Lord Elphinstone that the treaty of peace with Persia is ratified, and that three European regiments and a portion of the European artillery return to India immediately. The early landing of this strong European reinforcement *en masse* in Calcutta, and its rapid despatch to the Upper Provinces, will have the most valuable effect.

I urgently recommend that this be ordered by electric telegraph to Bombay at once. A message from Meerut received an hour ago announced that the Sappers and Miners, who had come in as a reinforcement from Roorkee, had also mutinied, and shot their commanding officer and were marching out of cantonments; they were being pursued by cavalry and artillery, and no doubt a good account will be taken of them; even if a large number join the insurgents at Delhi, it is of no sort of consequence; but it has become indispensably necessary to show how powerfully and rapidly we can reinforce the European strength of our army. I should be much gratified and assisted by authority to announce that those orders have been given.

---

*Telegram from Sir* H. M. WHEELER, *to Secretary to Government, Military Department,—Cawnpore, 17th May 1857.*

The following just received from Agra from the Lieutenant-Governor:—"You will be glad to hear that telegraphic communication with Meerut has just been restored; this is the best proof that things are fast quieting."

---

*Telegram from the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, Agra, to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta,—dated 17th May 1857.*

Communication with Meerut being now found to be opened, I have sent on your message received last night with all haste; all well here; I hope to preserve the peace by not permitting Native troops to meet and directly fight with their brethren; they will not rise against us until the rebels are near.

248

*Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to Sir* John Lawrence, *Rawal Pindi and Lahore,—dated 18th May 1857.*

A European regiment now at Karachi has been ordered to proceed up the Indus by steam to Mooltan.

Direct the Commissioner to make such arrangements as may be necessary to meet the regiment with boats, and to transport it to Ferozepore or wherever you may most need it.

---

*Telegram from Major-General* W. H. Hewitt, *Commanding the Meerut Division, to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta,—dated 18th May 1857.*

On the evening of the 10th, the 20th and 11th Regiments, Native Infantry, with 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, broke into open mutiny, shot down the officers who were on parade, liberated all the prisoners, 1,200 in number, fired cantonments south of the nullah as well as part of the civil lines, and joined by the inhabitants of the city and cantonments, bazaars and neighbouring villages, pillaged houses, murdered every European man, woman, and child who fell into their hands. The mutineers were driven out of the station, and the European artillery, dragoons, and infantry defended the barracks. On the 11th, the garrison of Delhi joined with the mutineers, burning that station and murdering all the officers who were in their power. There are about fifty of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, who remained with their officers, and about one hundred and thirty of the 11th Regiment, Native Infantry. Every night all the European troops are under arms to prevent the barracks being attacked and burnt by the populace. The loss of life at Meerut amounts to about forty, including Colonel Finnis, Captains Taylor, Macdonald, Henderson, Lieutenant Pattle Macnabb, Veterinary-Surgeons Phillips and Dawson. The casualties at Delhi are not yet known. The women and stores at Meerut are safe in the Artillery School of Instruction, which is being fortified to enable part of the garrison to join in the combined movement on Delhi when the Commander-in-Chief's arrangements are completed. Telegraph having been closed, reports were sent by dâk.

---

*From Colonel* A. Becher, *Quartermaster-General of the Army, to Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—No. 934, dated Simla, 13th May 1857.*

The Commander-in-Chief having yesterday received by electric telegraph and express, from both Meerut and Delhi, reports of a

mutinous insurrection among the Native troops at those stations, the circumstances connected with which His Excellency yesterday communicated to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General direct, I have to report, for the information of Government, that orders were yesterday despatched for Her Majesty's 75th Regiment to proceed by forced marches to Umballa, and 250 men of the regiment under Major Herbert started at noon by bullock-train, and ought to have reached Umballa at 9 A.M. to-day; the head-quarters and 500 men of the same regiment started off at 6 P.M. last evening, and by arrangements made halt half-way to-day, and proceed into Umballa either to-night or early to-morrow morning.

The 1st Bengal European Fusiliers have also been ordered to proceed by forced marches, and start this evening, and should be at Umballa on the morning of the 15th instant.

The 2nd European Regiment has been held in readiness to move down also at a moment's notice.

The 4th Regiment, Irregular Cavalry, from Hansi, has been told to be ready to move either to Delhi or Umballa, on any requisition from the Major-General Commanding the Division, and the Sirmoor Battalion from Dehra has been directed to proceed to Meerut to aid the European troops at that station; and the Major-General Commanding the Division has been duly informed, and told to use his discretion about bringing them into Meerut.

---

*Telegram from the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, Agra, to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta,—No. 117, dated 18th May 1857.*

This is the latest news from Meerut: Fifty-six Sappers shot by Carabineers, two hundred and eighty escaped with arms; two companies on duty elsewhere laid down arms on order; profess readiness to serve on as Sappers unarmed; one Carabineer killed. Thirteen English at Khekara near Bagput, escaped from Delhi, protected by zemindars; party of 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, sent to bring them in. Mutineers at Delhi removed to Ajmere Gate; have plundered six villages for subsistence. King has posted troops at Shadairia, Fyzabad, and Daoree. All right at Moradabad 14th, and at Saharunpore to 14th. Beresford still at Mozuffernugger. Greathed not arrived. Gurkhas not yet heard of; 75th Queen's and Irregular Cavalry sent for to Meerut by express. The Meerut force cannot move for want of carriage, nor could it do so without leaving protection for women and stores at Meerut. Things continue in a satisfactory state here.

*Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, Agra,—dated 18th May 1857.*

Send on the following message to the Commander-in-Chief by the quickest and surest means:—

The Madras Fusiliers left Madras for Calcutta on Sunday.

The S. S. *Oriental* has been despatched to bring up the 35th Regiment from Moulmein.

An officer goes to Ceylon by to-morrow's mail to bring European troops from there.

A European regiment has been ordered from Karachi by steam to Mooltan, and will be brought up from there in boats.

Two European regiments and some artillery will come round to Calcutta from Bombay, where they are expected immediately from Persia.

I hope to catch the regiments which are on their way to China.

But time is everything, and I beg you to make short work of Delhi.

---

*From the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, Agra, to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta,—No. 122, dated 18th May 1857.*

A line only to say that the complexion of all the news of the day is better and better. I am sending a party from a Gwalior cavalry corps into the Doab, who will clear the roads and put down the petty plunderings that are going on in many places from the want of trusty light troops. Commissioner of Meerut reports that Syuds and Jâts near him are acting upon our side. A Syud brought in three British officers from the Delhi force whom he had shielded, and said that five other officers had been killed by the Goojars, a low plundering tribe near Meerut.

---

*Telegram from Major-General* W. H. Hewitt, *Commanding the Meerut Division, to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta,—No. 126, dated 19th May 1857.*

Last night passed off quiet, though we were warned of an attack by the mutineers from Delhi. Several villages were seen on fire during the night.

---

*From Major-General* W. H. Hewitt, *Commanding the Meerut Division, to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Meerut, 26th May 1857.*

All dâk communication downwards having been stopped, and the telegraphic wire cut by the insurgents at Bolundshuhur and Allygurh,

I have been unable to keep the Governor-General, as requested, informed of the state of affairs in this district, but as Bolundshuhur is now occupied by the Sirmoor Battalion, with 200 of the Rampore Horse, and having been informed that a force is collecting at Hattrass for the re-occupation of Allygurh, I trust our communication is by this time restored; consequently, I lose no time in forwarding the accompanying copy of a despatch received this morning from the Commander-in-Chief, which will put His Lordship in possession of the movements contemplated in view of the attack on Delhi.

Permission has been solicited to detach at once to Ghazi-ud-din-Nagar, the key of the Doab, that part of this force which is under the command of Brigadier Wilson, to co-operate with the Commander-in-Chief, and I propose to move part of the Sirmoor Battalion and Rampore Horse, with guns from the Hattrass force, if possible, to hold that post on Brigadier Wilson moving *viâ* Bhagpat, to carry out the orders of His Excellency.

From Bareilly and Moradabad we have no public reports, but private information from the latter states that the 29th Native Infantry continue faithful to the Government. The latest news from Delhi is to the effect that the mutineers are divided into two parties, Mussulman and Hindu, who have come into collision and blood has been spilled.

The four companies of the 9th Native Infantry, with the treasure from Bolundshuhur and Allygurh, are stated to have joined the mutineers.

I beg to bring to the notice of the Governor-General the exemplary conduct of the Sirmoor Battalion, under the command of Major Reid, who against great difficulties, from the destruction of the canal works, worked with unremitting perseverance their way to Bolundshuhur, but they were unfortunately too late to save the treasure; but by the retribution inflicted on this village, where the pillaged Government property was found, they contributed to the tranquillisation of the district.

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major* W. A. J. Mayhew, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 701, dated Calcutta, 24th June 1857.*

I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Acting Commander-in-Chief, that the circumstances of the outbreak

252

of the Native regiments at Meerut on the 10th ultimo, so far as Government were informed of them, and especially the apparent want of energy and prompt action, owing to which the escape of a very large body of the mutineers appeared to be alone attributable, seemed to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council to call for the removal of Major-General W. H. Hewitt from the command of the Meerut Division, and that a message by telegraph was despatched to the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra and to Major-General Sir H. M. Wheeler, Commanding the Cawnpore Division, on the 2nd of June 1857, directing Major-General Penny, to assume the command, and Major-General Hewitt to deliver it over to that officer.

2. Nothing has been heard of the matter since, and it is believed that the obstruction to the despatch of letters by post, and of telegraphic communications, has prevented the orders alluded to reaching Major-General Penny.

3. I am to request that His Excellency may be moved to suggest what measures appear expedient under the circumstances.

4. The correspondence respecting and from Meerut, since the outbreak, is herewith transmitted in original for His Excellency's information, and I am to request that you will have the goodness to return them when no longer required.

---

*From Major* W. A. J. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—No. 594, dated Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 6th July 1857.*

Having submitted your despatch No. 701 of the 24th ultimo, with enclosures, to the Commander-in-Chief, I am instructed in reply to request you will be good enough to inform the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council that His Excellency entirely concurs in the expediency of the removal of Major-General W. H. Hewitt from the command of the Meerut Division.

2. The Major-General's own account of his proceedings when the Native troops broke into open mutiny at Meerut on the 10th of May fully proves that he is quite unequal to dealing with an emergency where decision, promptitude, and action are of the greatest consequence. Had a wing of the 60th Rifles, supported by a squadron of the 6th Dragoons and some guns, been sent in immediate pursuit of the mutineers on that occasion, Sir Patrick Grant feels persuaded that the insurrection would have been nipped in the bud, and the atrocities which have since been perpetrated altogether averted.

353

3. I am to add that, when communication with the North-Western Provinces shall be re-opened, the Commander-in-Chief will require Major-General Hewitt to give a full and explicit explanation of his conduct throughout this disastrous occurrence.

4. The enclosures of your letter are returned.

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General* N. PENNY, C.B., *Umballa,—No. 1077, dated 28th July 1857.*

A telegram to the following effect was forwarded on the 2nd June 1857 to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, Agra, and to the late Sir H. M. Wheeler, Cawnpore, with a request that it be transmitted with the utmost despatch to Umballa and Simla, but is supposed to have missed them:—

"General Penny is appointed to command the Meerut Division in the room of General Hewitt, who will deliver over the command to him. General Penny to join as soon as possible."

---

*From Major-General* A. WILSON, *Commanding at Meerut, to Captain* S. H. BECHER, *Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, Simla,—dated Mussoorie, 18th October 1857.*

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1663, dated the 12th instant, calling upon me, by order of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, for a full explanation on the subject of the inaction of the European troops at Meerut on the occasion of the mutiny of the Native corps at that station on the 10th May last.

2. I will now proceed to detail, as far as my memory after the lapse of five months' very arduous and anxious work will permit, the measures that were adopted on that occasion, premising that the European force then stationed at Meerut consisted of the 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabineers), half of whom were recruits unable to ride, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, about 800 strong, a troop of horse artillery, a light field battery, and 200 artillery recruits, who had learnt nothing beyond the first principles of foot drill, being totally unacquainted with gun drill or the use of the carbine.

3. It was about half-past six o'clock, or a little later, in the afternoon of the 10th May that I first heard of the outbreak from Lieutenant-Colonel Whish, my Brigade-Major, driving into my compound and telling

me the whole of the Native regiments, cavalry and infantry, had broken out into open mutiny, and were murdering their officers and burning their bungalows. I immediately ordered my horse, and in five minutes was galloping down to the barracks of the 60th Rifles, having first sent orders to the Artillery and Carabineers to harness, mount, and join me on the rifle parade as soon as possible.

4. I found Her Majesty's 60th Rifles paraded, and just about to march to church. I immediately ordered their commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Jones, to dismiss his men to arm themselves and to re-assemble as quickly as possible. This was done in an incredibly short time, but some delay occurred in serving out balled ammunition to the regiment. Before this was done, Major-General Hewitt and the artillery had joined; and on Lieutenant-Colonel Jones reporting his regiment ready, I, with Major-General Hewitt's concurrence, ordered one company of the rifles to proceed to the collector's *kacheri* to protect the treasure, another to remain for the protection of their barracks, and with the rest and the artillery proceeded at once towards the Native infantry parade, where I understood the mutineers were drawn up. On the road to the lines I was joined by the Carabineers, or by as many of them as could mount a horse, the remainder (dismounted) as well as the artillery recruits being left to protect the barracks and the European lines.

5. On arriving near the Native infantry lines, the troops were deployed into line, and the brigade swept down the whole of the lines from right to left without finding a single sepoy either in the lines or their parades; they had all vanished, but in what direction we had no means of ascertaining, it being quite dark at the time, the moon not rising until nearly nine o'clock. On arriving at the extreme left of the infantry lines, near the cavalry lines, a few cavalry sowars were seen apparently coming from the direction of the Sadr Bazar; these were fired at by the 60th Rifles, and went off through a wood in rear of their own lines; the guns were unlimbered and a few rounds of grape fired through the wood, but the ground being here much broken and cut up with drains, the artillery could not advance further in the dark, and I requested Major-General Hewitt's orders as to what he would further wish done. At the same time I gave my opinion that from the hubbub and noise proceeding from the Sadr and city, the sepoys had moved round in the direction of the European portion of the cantonment (this was my firm conviction at the time), and recommended that the brigade should march back for its protection, it being so weakly guarded.

6. Major-General Hewitt agreeing with me in this opinion, the brigade was marched back past the Sadr and the blazing bungalows, but no armed men were seen, only a few unarmed plunderers, the rest having vanished on the approach of the brigade. Strong picquets were placed at the several bridges over the nullah which divides the European from the infantry lines and Sadr Bazar, and the rest of the troops bivouacked for the night. It was not until the next morning I learnt the mutineers had made for Delhi.

7. With reference to your second paragraph, I would beg to refer to the Regulations of the Bengal Army, Section XVII, which will show what little authority over the troops is given to the brigadier commanding a station which is the head-quarters of a division, and that I could not exercise any distinct command, the Major-General being present on the occasion throughout; as Brigadier, I only exercised the executive command of the troops under the orders of the Major-General.

8. I may or I may not have been wrong in offering the *opinion* I did to the Major-General. I acted to the best of my judgment at the time, and under the circumstances I still believe I was right. Had the brigade blindly followed in the hope of finding the fugitives, and the remaining portion of the cantonment been thereby sacrificed, with all our sick, women, children, and valuable stores, the outcry against those in command at Meerut would have been still greater than it has been.

---

*COPY of para. 2 of Captain* S. H. BECHER's *letter cited by Major-General* A. WILSON.

"I am to add that this explanation has been called for from you, instead of from Major-General Hewitt, late commanding the Meerut Division, as that officer in his appeal against his removal from the divisional staff of the army has stated that the military arrangements on the occasion of the revolt were left entirely to you as commandant of the station."

---

No. 1705.

Forwarded for submission to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, with reference to the Deputy Adjutant-General's letter No. 670-A, of the 3rd August last, and in continuation of this office letter No. 1681, of the 19th instant.

ADJT.-GENL.'S OFFICE,
SIMLA;
*The 26th October 1857.*

(Sd.) S. H. BECHER, *Capt.*,
*Asst. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.*

## CHAPTER III

### DELHI

*From Major* H. E. S. Abbott, *Commanding the 74th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major* J. Waterfield, *Assistant Adjutant-General, Meerut Division,—dated Meerut, 13th May 1857.*

As the senior surviving officer of the Delhi Brigade, I have the honor to report, for the information of the Major-General Commanding the Meerut Division, the following circumstances connected with the massacre at Delhi.

On Monday morning, the 11th instant, the city of Delhi was entered by a party of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, who possessed themselves of the bridge of boats. This party proceeded towards cantonments, but were met by a wing of the 54th Regiment, Native Infantry, under the command of Colonel Ripley; but neither this detachment nor the guard of the 38th Regiment, Light Infantry, on duty at the Cashmere Gate, fired on the attacking party. The 54th Regiment, Native Infantry, excused themselves on the score of not being loaded. During the hesitation, or more properly speaking the direct refusal of the 38th Regiment, Native Infantry, men to open fire, and the interval taken up by the men of the 54th Regiment, Native Infantry in loading, five officers of the 54th Regiment, Native Infantry, fell, *viz.*, Lieutenant-Colonel Ripley, mortally wounded; Captain Smith, killed; Captain Burrowes, killed; Lieutenant Edwards, killed; Lieutenant Waterfield, killed; Lieutenant Butler, wounded.

To explain the nature of the 38th Regiment, Native Infantry, men refusing to fire, I beg to state that Captain Wallace, 74th Regiment, Native Infantry, the field officer of the week, took command of the main guard and distinctly ordered the men of the guard to wheel up and fire; they would neither wheel up nor fire, but met the orders of Captain

Wallace with insulting sneers. He urged them by every means in his power, but to no purpose; it was during this time the officers were shot down by the insurgents. These people, seeing the state of affairs, were entering the Cashmere Gate of the city, when providentially the guns under the command of Lieutenant Wilson arrived, which had the effect of causing them to retreat into the city. About this time Major Paterson having taken command of the detachment on the spot, directed Captain Wallace to proceed to cantonments to bring down the 74th Regiment, Native Infantry, with two more guns.

About eleven o'clock I heard that the men of the 54th Regiment, Native Infantry, had refused to act, and that their officers were being murdered. I instantly rode off to the lines of my regiment, and got as many men as there were in the lines together. I fully explained to them that it was a time to show themselves honest; and that, as I intended to go down to the Cashmere Gate of the city, I required good honest men to follow me, and called for volunteers. Every man present stepped to the front, and being ordered to load they obeyed promptly, and marched down in a spirited manner. On arrival at the Cashmere Gate we took possession of the posts, drawn up in readiness to receive any attack that might be made. Up to 3 P.M. no enemy appeared, nor could we during that period get any information of the insurgents. Suddenly we heard the report of heavy guns, and shortly afterwards a violent explosion announced the blowing up of the magazine in the city. This was done by Lieutenant Willoughby, who seeing all hope of keeping the magazine gone, adopted this last resource, by which gallant act an immense number of the insurgents, who had effected an entrance into the magazine by scaling ladders brought from the palace, were killed. Lieutenant Willoughby estimated the number killed to be little short of a thousand men. I immediately sent round a company under Captain Gordon, but nothing could be done. Captain Gordon told me he thought the men hesitated, but I could not see this. About this time I received an order to send back two guns to cantonments, and shortly afterwards another order to take my regiment into cantonments. This order I was on the point of carrying out, when Major Paterson told me that if I did, he would abandon the post, and entreated me not to go. He was supported by the civil officer, a deputy collector who had charge of the treasury, who said he had no confidence in the 54th Regiment, Native Infantry, men who were on guard at the treasury. Although I strongly objected to this act of, as it were, disobeying orders, yet as the deputy collector begged for a delay of only

a quarter of an hour, I acceded to his request. When the quarter of an hour was up, I made preparations for leaving the main guard, and was about to march out, when the two guns I had sent back to cantonments under 2nd-Lieutenant Aislabie returned to the main guard with some men of the 38th Regiment, Light Infantry. I enquired why they had come back, and was told in reply by the drivers that the gunners had deserted the guns, therefore they could not go on. I enquired if any firing had taken place in cantonments. My orderly replied he had heard several shots, and said—"Sir, let us go up to cantonments immediately." I then ordered the men to form sections. A jemadar said—"Never mind sections; pray go on, sir." My orderly-havildar then came up to me, and said—"Pray, sir, for God's sake, leave this place; pray be quick." I thought this referred to going up to the relief of cantonments, and accordingly gave the order to march. I had scarcely got a hundred paces beyond the gate when I heard a brisk firing in the main guard. I said—"What is that?" Some of the men replied, "The 38th Regiment, Native Infantry, men are shooting the European officers." I then ordered the men with me, about a hundred, to return to their assistance. The men said—"Sir, it is useless; they are all killed by this time, and we shall not save any one. We have saved you, and are happy; we will not allow you to go back and be murdered." The men formed round me and hurried me along the road on foot, back to cantonments, to our quarter-guard. I waited here for some time, and sent up to the saluting tower to make enquiries as to what was going on, and where the Brigadier was, but got no reply. The sun was setting and the evening advancing when my attention was directed to some carriages going up the Kurnaul road, and recognised two or three carriages belonging to the officers of my regiment, including my own. I asked what could be the meaning of the carriages going that way. The men of my regiment at the quarter-guard replied—"Sir, they are leaving the cantonment; pray follow their example. We have protected you so far; it will be impossible for us to do so much longer. Pray fly for your life." I yielded to their wishes, and told them—"Very well, I am off to Meerut; bring the colors, and let me see as many of you at Meerut as are not inclined to become traitors." I then got up behind Captain Hawkey on his horse, and rode to the guns which were also proceeding in the direction the carriages had taken, and so rode on on one of the waggons for about four miles, when the drivers refused to go any further, because, they said—"We have left our families behind, and there are no artillerymen to serve the guns." All I could do I could



361

not persuade them to come on. They then turned their horses, and went back towards cantonments. I was picked up by Captain Wallace, who also took Ensign Elton with him in the buggy.

Ensign Elton informed me that he and the rest of the officers of the 74th Regiment, Native Infantry, were on the point of joining to march out with the detachment when he heard a shot, and on looking round saw Captain Gordon down dead; a second shot almost simultaneously laid Lieutenant Reveley low. He then resolved to do something to save himself, and, making for the bastion of the fort, jumped over the parapet down into the ditch, ran up the counterscarp and made across the country to our lines, where he was received by our men, and then took the direction the rest had, mounted on a gun. Up to this time the sole survivors of the Delhi Force known to be such and at Meerut are—

Major Abbott, 74th Regiment, Native Infantry.
Captain Hawkey, 74th Regiment, Native Infantry.
Captain Wallace, 74th Regiment, Native Infantry.
Ensign Elton, 74th Regiment, Native Infantry.
Captain deTeissier, Artillery.
2nd-Lieutenant Aislabie, Artillery.
Farrier-Sergeant Law, Artillery.

I saw some other officers going up the Kurnaul road, and recognised Captain Tytler, 38th Regiment, Light Infantry, and Captain Nicoll, the Brigade-Major. The party with me went up the Kurnaul road until we came to the cross road leading to Meerut, *viâ* Bhagpatta Ghat, which we took, and arrived at Meerut about eight o'clock last night.

With the exception of about five individuals, the whole of the European inhabitants of Delhi have been murdered. I understood from a native, who declared that he had seen the dead bodies, that the King ordered the slaughter of all the Europeans in the palace, including Mr. Simon Fraser, Captain Douglas, the Revd. Mr. Jennings, his daughter, and some others. From all I could glean there is not the slightest doubt that this insurrection has been originated and matured in the palace of the King of Delhi, and that with his full knowledge and sanction in the mad attempt to establish himself in the sovereignty of this country. It is well known that he has called on the neighbouring States to co-operate with him in thus trying to subvert the existing Government. The method he adopted appears to be to have gained the sympathy of the 38th Regiment, Light Infantry, by spreading the lying reports now going through the country of the Government having it in contemplation to upset their religion, and have

them all forcibly inducted to Christianity. The 38th Regiment, Light Infantry, by insidious and false arguments, quietly gained over the 54th and 74th Regiments, Native Infantry, each being unacquainted with the other's real sentiments. I am perfectly persuaded that the 54th and 74th Regiments, Native Infantry, were forced to join the combination by threats that on the one hand the 38th and 54th Regiments, Native Infantry, would annihilate the 74th Regiment, Native Infantry, if they refused, and *vice versâ*, the 38th Regiment taking the lead. I am almost convinced that had the 38th Regiment, Native Infantry, men not been on guard at the Cashmere Gate, the results would have been far different. The men of the 74th Regiment, Native Infantry, would have shot every man who had the temerity to assail the post.

The Post Office, Electric Telegraph Office, Delhi Bank, the *Delhi Gazette* Press, every house in cantonments and the lines, have been destroyed. Those who escaped the massacre fled with only what they had on their backs, unprovided with any provisions for the road or money to purchase food. Every officer has lost all he possessed, and not one of us has even a change of clothes.

Captain deTeissier, Commanding the Artillery at Delhi, will make a separate report detailing the facts connected with the loss of his guns, No. 5 Light Field Battery, 3rd Company, 7th Battalion, Artillery.

---

*Narrative of events at Meerut and Delhi taken from telegrams received from the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra and other sources, dated 19th May 1857.*

Letter from Adjutant-General of the Army, No. 248, dated 6th May 1857.

It seems that some 85 men of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, had been tried by court-martial for refusing to use their cartridges (the old ones—as none of the new kind had been issued), were sentenced to imprisonment, and sent to jail on the 9th May. On the 10th, the troopers of the regiment broke into the jail and released these men. Nothing is known of the further proceedings at Meerut, but that some one hundred men of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, left the station and took possession of the Hindun Bridge. Telegraphic communication between Delhi and Agra and between Meerut and Aligarh was interrupted. A sepoy armed and on a cavalry trooper's horse was apprehended at Bolundshahur. On the 11th at Aligarh all appeared quiet; strong bodies of police were placed on the road to Meerut, to intercept all straggling sepoys and sowars. The mutineers from Meerut appear

to have proceeded to Delhi, and on being joined by the Native troops at that place headed by the 38th Regiment, Native Infantry, took possession of the palace, fort, and town. On the 13th, five sepoys of the 11th and 20th Regiments, Native Infantry, were apprehended at Aligarh. These men had left Meerut on the 11th. They were obstinately silent as to the events at Meerut, and were sent to jail. Mr. Carter, a railway engineer, reached Aligarh, having fled from Pulwa,—probably Pulwal, twenty-seven miles from Delhi, on the road to Muttra. He reported that a large body of insurgents had marched from Delhi towards Agra *viá* Bullaghur (probably Bullunghur, near Pulwal), where Mr. Roods, the portrait-painter, is said to have been killed. In a message, dated 14th, the Lieutenant-Governor said that he had received authentic intelligence from the King of Delhi that the town and fort and his own person were in the hands of the insurgent regiments, which joined about one hundred of the Meerut troops and opened the gates. The treasury and fort at Meerut were safe on the 12th, and the troops ready to move. Mr. Colvin states that he had addressed the Native troops at Agra. A deep and genuine conviction has seized the minds of the sepoys of the army generally that the Government is steadily bent upon making them lose caste by handling impure things. Mr. Colvin urged the desirableness of issuing a proclamation to the army, pointing out that Government would in every way respect and protect their religious feelings and usages of religion and caste. On the 15th, Mr. Colvin recommended that martial law should be proclaimed in the Meerut District; this was authorised at once.

The Maharajah Scindia, to manifest his attachment to the British Government, offered to send to Agra his own body-guard, 300 strong, and a battery of artillery. In addition, a regiment of cavalry and a battery of the contingent were to go to Agra, and two regiments of infantry to occupy the road between Delhi and Agra.

The mutineers from Meerut appear to have reached Delhi on Monday night, the 11th, or Tuesday morning, the 12th. The Delhi troops, headed by the 38th Regiment, Light Infantry, fraternised with them, shot their officers, and put to death all Europeans with the exception of a few who escaped across the Jumna. Lieutenant Willoughby, the Commissary of Ordnance, blew up the magazine; the powder magazine, which is near the Native lines, alone fell into the hands of the insurgents. Thirty Europeans are said to have been massacred in the city and civil lines. The rebels declared the heir-apparent king. They are apparently organising a plan of regular government; they remain in the palace

their policy is supposed to be to annex the adjoining districts to their newly-founded kingdom. They may have received fifty lakhs of rupees. The regiments that have joined are the 11th, 20th (Meerut regiments), 38th, 54th and 74th (the Delhi garrison). The Lieutenant-Governor has received aid from Gwalior and Bhurtpore. The Bhurtpore troops and Gwalior Contingent are to arrive at Muttra in a day or two, to keep open the road. A message from Meerut reports the arrival of the Sappers and Miners from Roorkee. The Sirmoor Battalion (Gurkhas) had marched from Dehra, and the 75th Foot and 1st European Regiment from the hills. The European infantry and artillery barracks formed a place of safety for women and stores, guarded by European troops. The Sirmoor Battalion reached Meerut on the evening of the 16th.

The troops at Cawnpore and Allahabad are stated to be well disposed, though there was great excitement consequent on the events at Delhi and Meerut. There had been some excitement at Benares in the 37th Regiment, Native Infantry, but it was stated to have passed over on the 16th. Full military powers were given to Sir Henry Lawrence in Oudh, and he was authorised to raise at once any irregulars he could trust. On the 17th telegraphic communication between Meerut and Agra was restored. Intelligence received of the Sappers having mutinied on the 16th, shot their officers, and proceeded to Delhi. They were followed, and about fifty were cut up, the men dispersing. One hundred and fifty who were on duty were disarmed, and were working as sappers at Meerut. A force from Patiala and Jhind, supported by the 9th Lancers and 75th Foot and some artillery, will assemble at Kurnaul on the 20th, the 75th Foot and 1st Fusiliers having left the hills on the 14th. At Lucknow, all was prepared on the 17th, the troops having been concentrated so as to protect the treasury and magazine. The Madras Government have despatched the 1st Fusiliers (Madras) in the S. S. *Zenobia*; steamers are in readiness to take them up the Ganges on their arrival in Calcutta.

The whole of the artillery of the European invalid battalion have been ordered to Allahabad.

Authority has been given to the Chief Commissioner in the Punjab to send to Rugpore (?) three companies from each of the eighteen regiments of infantry in the Punjab Force, Guides and Punjab Police, and to raise as far as 1,000 men.

A wing of the 4th Regiment, Irregular Cavalry, has been ordered by the Lieutenant-Governor from Hansi. Martial law has been proclaimed in the Meerut District. The Bhurtpore force, consisting of

365

horse with six guns and three officers, reached Muttra on the night of the 16th. It seems that the men of the 11th Regiment, Native Infantry, on the first outbreak protected their officers.

The Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief have been told of the importance of attacking the mutineers and regaining possession of Delhi as early as practicable.

A regiment of European infantry has been ordered from Karachi to Mooltan, the Beluch Battalion from Hydrabad tc Ferozepore, and the two European regiments and the European artillery returning from Persia are to be sent round to Calcutta as soon as practicable. An officer is to go by steamer to Ceylon to obtain European troops.

All was quiet at Agra on the 18th. A party of cavalry had been ordered into the Doab to clear it of all plunderers. The Syuds, who are Mussulmans of the highest order, and Jâts, a tribe of Hindus in the neighbourhood of Meerut, are entirely on our side. A Syud had brought in three British officers from the Delhi force,—names not mentioned,—and reported that five other officers had been killed by the Goojars, a low plundering tribe near Meerut.

The troops at Benares quiet, the Sikh regiment said to be staunch, and the 37th Regiment, Native Infantry, believed to be quiet.

Thirteen English subjects from Delhi are said to be at Khekara near Bagput, protected by zemindars; a party of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, had been sent out to bring them in. The mutineers at Delhi had removed to the Ajmere Gate, and had plundered six villages for subsistence. Up to the 14th all was quiet at Moradabad and Saharunpore. The 75th Foot and Irregular Cavalry had been sent for by express to Meerut, as the troops at that station could not move out for want of carriage and without leaving protection for women and stores. Nothing heard from Dinapore or Patna. A wing of the Bengal Sikh Police Battalion has been ordered to proceed immediately to Dinapore.

The powers of officers commanding troops to assemble general courts-martial for the immediate trial and punishment of Native officers and soldiers have been extended by an Act of the Legislative Council, and all officers commanding stations of whatever rank can assemble general courts-martial consisting of five officers, either European or Native, at the discretion of the officer assembling the Court, who has also power to confirm and carry into effect at once any sentence.

Sir Henry Lawrence, who has had full military power in Oudh conferred on him, has been appointed Brigadier-General.

A proclamation has been issued by Government assuring the Native troops and the people in general that Government never have and never will interfere with their religious observances and creeds.

A G. O. has also been issued authorising the Commander-in-Chief, the Lieutenant-Governors, Chief Commissioners, Major-Generals, Brigadiers and Officers Commanding Stations at which there may be two or more corps, to promote any non-commissioned officer to a commission, and if sepoys to non-commissioned officers, for any conspicuous acts of loyalty and gallantry, and the Commander-in-Chief and Lieutenant-Governors and Chief Commissioners are authorised to admit Native officers and soldiers to the "Order of Merit." The sanction of the Hon'ble Court will be separately asked for thus extending the "Order of Merit."

---

*From the Lieutenant-Governor of the North Western Provinces, Agra, to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta,—No. 138, dated 20th May 1857.*

This message was received from the Commissioner of Meerut:—"A very few days will now see an end of this daring mutiny. All other stations have remained quiet. You will be pleased to know that the artillery at Delhi joined the mutineers most reluctantly, being actually forced by the mutineers. The 74th Regiment, Native Infantry, joined in the same way. The heart of the mutiny consists of three hundred of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, chiefly bigoted Mahomedans who have raised a cry of religion, and the 20th and 38th Regiments, Native Infantry. The feeling of the 54th Regiment, Native Infantry, who joined, is probably not very warm; the 11th Regiment, Native Infantry, joined only partially and have no part in the business, and spared their officers." Copy of annexed from Meerut:—"Nothing known of George Campbell. Captain MacAndrew, Assistant Commissioner, is with Patiala troops at Meerut. General Anson intended to leave Umballa on 18th with 75th Regiment, 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, 9th Lancers 5th Regiment, Native Infantry, 60th Regiment, Native Infantry, 4th Regiment, Light Cavalry, and one-and-a-half troop horse artillery, two squadrons, 6th Dragoons, one wing Rifles, half troop of horse artillery. One field battery ordered to move on Panipat on or after 22nd instant. Gurkha regiment moving down to Bolundshuhur by canal. Progress interrupted owing to damage to locks; remain there or at Secunderabad to check insurgents. Two lakhs of treasure to be brought from Bolundshahur by *rissalla* of Gwalior Contingent. Communication with Kurnaul

by *kossid.* Captain MacAndrew requested to occupy the road with posts of Patiala Horse. I propose to march with Meerut Column."

*GENERAL ORDER by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Fort William,———1857.*

No. 940 of 1857.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct the publication of the following authentic report of the occurrences at the Delhi Magazine on the 11th of May last, when attacked by mutineers, and of the noble and cool soldiership of its gallant defenders, commanded by Lieutenant G. D. Willoughby, Commissary of Ordnance.

The Governor-General in Council desires to offer his cordial thanks to Lieutenants Raynor and Forrest and the other survivors amongst the brave men mentioned in this report, and to express the admiration with which he regards the daring and heroic conduct of Lieutenant G. D. Willoughby and the warrant and non-commissioned officers by whom he was supported on that occasion. Their names are Lieutenants Raynor and Forrest, Conductors Shaw, Buckley, and Scully, Sub-Conductor Crow, and Sergeants Edwards and Stewart.

The family of the late Conductor Scully, who so devotedly sacrificed himself in the explosion of the magazine, will be liberally provided for, should it be ascertained that they have survived him.

*From Lieutenant* G. FORREST, *Assistant Commissary of Ordnance, to Colonel* A. ABBOTT, C.B., *Inspector-General of Ordnance and Magazines, Fort William,—dated Meerut, 27th May 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of Government, and in the absence of my commanding officer, Lieutenant Willoughby, Artillery, supposed to be killed on his retreat from Delhi to this station, the following facts as regards the capture of the Delhi Magazine by the mutineers and insurgents on the 11th instant. On the morning of that date, between 7 and 8 A.M., Sir Theophilus Metcalfe came to my house, and requested that I would accompany him to the magazine, for the purpose of having two guns placed on the bridge, so as to prevent the mutineers from passing over. On our arrival at the magazine, we found present Lieutenants Willoughby and Raynor, with Conductors Buckley, Shaw, and Scully, and Acting Sub-Conductor Crow, and Sergeants Edwards and Stewart, with the Native establishment. On Sir Theophilus Metcalfe alighting from his buggy, Lieutenant Willoughby and I accompanied him to the small bastion on the river face, which commanded a full view of the bridge, from which we could distinctly

see the mutineers marching in open column, headed by the cavalry; and the Delhi side of the bridge was already in the possession of a body of cavalry. On Sir Theophilus Metcalfe observing this, he proceeded with Lieutenant Willoughby to see if the city gate was closed against the mutineers. However, this step was needless, as the mutineers were admitted directly to the palace, through which they passed cheering. On Lieutenant Willoughby's return to the magazine, the gates of the magazine were closed and barricaded, and every possible arrangement that could be made was at once commenced on. Inside the gate leading to the park were placed two 6-pounders, double charged with grape, one under Acting Sub-Conductor Crow and Sergeant Stewart, with the lighted matches in their hands, and with orders that if any attempt was made to force that gate, both guns were to be fired at once, and they were to fall back on that part of the magazine in which Lieutenant Willoughby and I were posted. The principal gate of the magazine was similarly defended by two guns, with the *chevaux de frieze* laid down on the inside. For the further defence of this gate and the magazine in its vicinity, there were two 6-pounders so placed as either to command the gate or a small bastion in its vicinity. Within sixty yards of the gate and in front of the office, and commanding two cross roads, were three 6-pounders and one 24-pounder howitzer, which could be so managed as to act upon any part of the magazine in that neighbourhood. After all these guns and howitzers had been placed in the several positions above named, they were loaded with double charges of grape. The next step taken was to place arms in the hands of the Native establishment, which they most reluctantly received, and appeared to be in a state not only of excitement but also of insubordination, as they refused to obey any orders issued by the Europeans, particularly the Mussulman portion of the establishment. After the above arrangements had been made, a train was laid by Conductors Buckley and Scully and Sergeant Stewart, ready to be fired by a preconcerted signal, which was that of Conductor Buckley raising his hat from his head, on the order being given by Lieutenant Willoughby. The train was fired by Conductor Scully, but not until such time as the last round from the howitzers had been fired. So soon as the above arrangements had been made, guards from the palace came and demanded the possession of the magazine in the name of the King of Delhi, to which no reply was given.

Immediately after this, the subadar of the guard on duty at the magazine informed Lieutenant Willoughby and me that the King of

Delhi had sent down word to the mutineers that he would without delay send scaling ladders from the palace for the purpose of scaling the walls; and which shortly after arrived. On the ladders being erected against the wall, the whole of our Native establishment deserted us by climbing up the sloped sheds on the inside of the magazine and descending the ladders on the outside, after which the enemy appeared in great number on the top of the walls, and on whom we kept up an incessant fire of grape, every round of which told well, as long as a single round remained. Previous to the Natives deserting us, they hid the priming pouches; and one man in particular, Kurreem Buksh, a *durwan*, appeared to keep up a constant communication with the enemy on the outside, and keep them informed of our situation. Lieutenant Willoughby was so annoyed at this man's conduct, that he gave me an order to shoot him should he again approach the gate.

Lieutenant Raynor, with the other Europeans, did everything that possibly could be done for the defence of the magazine, and where all have behaved so bravely, it is almost impossible for me to point out any particular individual. However, I am in duty bound to bring to the notice of Government the gallantry of Conductors Buckley and Scully on this trying occasion. The former, assisted only by myself, loaded and fired in rapid succession the several guns above detailed, firing at least four rounds from each gun, and with the same steadiness as if standing on parade, although the enemy were then some hundreds in number, and kept up a continual fire of musketry on us within forty or fifty yards. After firing the last round, Conductor Buckley received a musket-ball in his arm, above the elbow, which has since been extracted here; I, at the same time, was struck in the left hand by two musket balls, which disabled me for the time. It was at this critical moment that Lieutenant Willoughby gave the order for firing the magazine, which was at once responded to by Conductor Scully firing the several trains. Indeed, from the very commencement, he evinced his gallantry by volunteering his services for blowing up the magazine, and remained true to his trust to the last moment. As soon as the explosion took place, such as escaped from beneath the ruins,—and none escaped unhurt,—retreated through the sally-port on the river face. Lieutenant Willoughby and I succeeded in reaching the Cashmere Gate. What became of the other parties it is impossible for me to say. Lieutenant Raynor and Conductor Buckley have escaped to this station. Severe indisposition prevented my sending in this report sooner.

*N.B.*—After crossing the river, on the night of the 11th, I observed the whole of the magazine to be on fire, so that I am in hopes that little of the property fell into the hands of the enemy. Park Sergeant Hoyle was shot about 11 A. M. by the mutineers, in attempting to reach the magazine to aid in its defence.

---

*Demi-official from General* G. ANSON, *Commander-in-Chief, to Major-General* W. H. HEWITT, *dated Umballa, 23rd May 1857.*

I wish to place you in possession of what has been done and is doing here, and of my ideas with respect to the future movements of the force from Meerut, which will be required to join this column in its advance towards Delhi.

The force from Umballa consists of the 9th Lancers, one squadron of the 4th Lancers, Her Majesty's 75th Foot, 1st European Regiment, 2nd European Regiment, 60th Native Infantry, two troops of Horse Artillery.

They are formed into two small brigades. Brigadier Halifax commands the 1st, composed of two squadrons Lancers, Her Majesty's 75th Foot, 1st Europeans, 2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery, six guns.

Brigadier Jones will command the 2nd Brigade,—2nd Europeans, 60th Native Infantry, two squadrons, 9th Lancers, one squadron, 4th Lancers, 3rd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery, six guns.

Four companies, 1st Fusiliers, one squadron of 9th Lancers, two guns, Horse Artillery, were moved to Karnál on the 17th and arrived on the 20th.

Six companies of 1st Fusiliers followed on the 21st.

Her Majesty's 75th Foot and 60th Regiment, Native Infantry, march on the 22nd.

One squadron, 9th Lancers, and four guns will march on the 24th or 25th.

The above will all be at Karnál on the 28th.

The 2nd Europeans, 3rd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery, will probably follow on the 26th. The whole will be at Karnál on the 30th.

I propose then to advance with the column towards Delhi on the 1st, and be opposite to Bhagput on the 5th. At this last place I should wish to be joined by the force from Meerut. To reach it four days may be calculated on.

This would require your movement on the 1st or 2nd, according to circumstances. By that time it is hoped you will have made every preparation.

371

Irregular detachments have been sent on the road to beyond Panipat, to stop plundering and to protect the well-disposed.

The road has also been opened to Meerut. Captain Sanford arrived here with your despatches early on the morning of the 23rd and found no obstruction.

A detachment of 150 sowars of the 4th Irregular Cavalry will leave Karnál to-morrow. Twenty-five will be posted at Shamlee; 50 will proceed to Mozuffernagar to restore confidence in that district, and to punish any villagers and marauders that may have been concerned in the plundering of that place.

I have directed 75 sowars to proceed direct to Meerut and to place themselves at your disposal; they will be under the command of a European officer. You will then be enabled to secure carriage for your troops, if you still require it. You must ascertain whether there are any difficulties on the road from Meerut to Bhagput, and the best mode of overcoming them.

It would be very desirable to push forward some reconnaissance to as near Delhi as possible. It is reported here that a detachment of the mutineers with two guns are posted on the Meerut side of the river. They should be captured, and no mercy must be shown to the mutineers.

On the 20th I sent a detachment of the 2nd Company of the 5th Native Infantry and a squadron of the 4th Lancers towards Saharanpur. I have the satisfaction of having heard that they arrived just in time to save that place from pillage, and that confidence is restored there. I hope that the occupation of Mozuffernagar will tend to tranquillise that district.

Many of the 5th Native Infantry have deserted, but it is gratifying to find they have done their duty when detached.

Two companies have been sent to Roopur on duty. The remainder, with light companies of the 2nd European Regiment, will be left to guard these cantonments.

If any families at Meerut would consider themselves more secure in the hills, they might go there with safety.

A small siege train has left Loodiana, and is expected here on the 26th. It will require eleven days to get it to Delhi. It may join us at Bhagpat on or about the 6th, the day after that I have named for the junction of your force.

I depend upon your supplying at least 120 artillerymen to work it. You will bring besides, according to statement received, two squadrons of the Carabineers, a wing of the 60th Rifles, one light field battery, one

troop of horse artillery, and any sappers you can depend upon, and of course the European non-commissioned officers belonging to them. I wish to know whether you have any information respecting troops or guns coming from Agra, or the co-operation of any Native states.

I beg you will communicate this to the Lieutenant-Governor at Agra and to the Secretary to Government at Calcutta—telegraph and letter.

Any change in the above shall be communicated to you instantly.

---

*From Colonel* C. CHESTER, *Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department—(No. 1-A, dated Camp Karnal, 27th May 1857).*

Reports the demise of the Commander-in-Chief.

I deeply regret to have to report, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, the death, at half-past two this morning, of His Excellency General the Hon'ble George Anson Commander-in-Chief in India, from cholera.

2. Major-General Sir H. Barnard, K.C.B., is now in command of this force, and Major-General T. Reed, C.B., commanding in the Punjab, is the senior officer serving in the Bengal Presidency.

3. The Head-Quarters staff of the army will remain in attendance on Major-General Sir H. Barnard during the present operations, unless orders to the contrary should be received.

*P.S.*—A telegraphic message has this instant been received from Major-General Reed, in reply to the announcement of the Commander-in-Chief's demise, intimating his intention of joining this force.

---

*From Major-General Sir* HENRY BARNARD, K.C.B., *to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Head-Quarters, Kurnaul, 29th May 1857.*

I have the honor to forward, for submission to the Governor-General in Council, the accompanying *précis* of proceedings from the time the late Commander-in-Chief heard of the mutinies at Meerut and Delhi up to the date of his death.

This *précis* was drawn up by His Excellency, and had he lived, it was his intention to have forwarded it to the Government.

*11th May*—A letter was received from the Major-General Commanding the Meerut Division, stating that 85 troopers of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, sentenced by general court-martial to ten years' imprisonment in irons, had been removed to the jail, and that all was quiet.

*12th May*—Captain Barnard, A.D.C. to Sir Henry Barnard, arrived at Simla with the intelligence of the massacre at Delhi, which

Artillery. The 2nd Europeans arrived this morning, but without tents or carriages; forty rounds per man only.

Ordered Major Laughton to enclose church compound for protection of the inhabitants of Umballa when the troops move. Heard that the Gurkhas were returning to their duty.

Wrote to Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, detailing my own views. Asked his consent to the raising of one hundred Sikhs by Saheb Mahomed. Sanctioned raising 1,000 horsemen, under Lieutenant Hodson, in the Hansi District. Sent that officer to Kurnaul to make the preparations for detachments, and then to go on to Meerut, from which place no—or at least very imperfect—information has been received. Ordered him to keep open the communication between Kurnaul and Meerut with the Jhind sowars.

*18th May*—Accounts from Simla satisfactory, the Gurkhas taking their duties, and had captured the guard that had robbed the Kasauli Treasury.

Heard from Chief Commissioner that Guides and four Sikh infantry regiments had been ordered to come down by Lahore to Kurnaul.

Ordered Captain MacAndrew to clear the road to Delhi as far as was deemed expedient.

Visited the Patiala Rajah; have every confidence that he will afford all the assistance he can.

*19th May*—Received letter from Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, dated 16th, recommending that a G. O. be issued abolishing the new cartridge.

Adopted his advice, and circulated G. O. by that post. Telegraphed to Chief Commissioner to inform him, also to the Governor-General, also to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, informing him of my movements and intentions and wishing to have his views.

*20th May*—Telegraphed to Chief Commissioner, informing him that intelligence had been received from Meerut, dated 19th; that Sappers, eight companies, had mutinied and gone off; also that the Sirmoor Battalion, which had been expected on the 18th at Meerut, had not arrived. Also received message that the 4th Regiment, Irregular Cavalry, in consequence of the disturbed state of the district, would not be able to move for some days. Acquainted the Chief Commissioner, in answer to his message recommending a move on Meerut first before proceeding to Delhi, that my intention is to move direct to Delhi by the road, which will save the Umballa force crossing the Jumna, and save four marches.

Heard that the regiment at Aligarh had mutinied and gone to Delhi. Heard from the Chief Commissioner, Punjab. I think it advisable, as proposed, that a Native regiment should go with the force to Delhi; also that it will be right to have a siege-train following.

Ordered all the families and women to go up to Kasauli; will probably be able to get a great many off in two days. Chief Commissioner thinks this force should go to Meerut. I am not of that opinion for the reasons above stated, and from its being most desirable at this time of the year to save any extra marching. Major-General Hewitt has sufficient force for his own protection and to punish the inhabitants of the bazaars if it is requisite to do so. They appear to be the only enemies. Wrote to Chief Commissioner to this effect. Chief Commissioner recommends again the disarming of the Native regiments; but I do not myself consider it advisable till they give some cause. Heard of some of the 45th Regiment Native Infantry being in the neighbourhood. Patiala Rajah engages to account for them.

*21st May*—Some of the 5th Regiment, Native Infantry, have deserted. Six companies, 1st Europeans, and squadron of 9th Lancers to march to-night towards Kurnaul. Cholera reported in the 9th Lancers. Received message from Lieutenant-Governor, informing me that European troops are coming from Madras, Bombay, and Ceylon, and hoping no time will be lost in recovering Delhi. Received message from Governor-General *viá* Meerut, urging the same, but that the advance should be made by a strong British force. Received message from Brigadier Graves informing me that the Lall Pritaub Magazine at Delhi had escaped destruction, that the small arms had been distributed and the guns mounted on the gates and on the walls.

Heard of the arrival of the heavy guns at Loodiana. Crossed the Sutlej just in time. The bridge broke in a few hours. The river rapidly rising.

*22nd May*—The guard of the 5th Regiment, Native Infantry, deserted during the night; they were over the cattle, without arms or clothing, about a hundred and twenty. The 75th Foot and the 60th Regiment, Native Infantry, to march to-night. The Chief Commissioner recommends the immediate disbandment of the men of the 45th and 57th Regiments, Native Infantry, remaining in cantonments. The reserve company of artillery would then be available. Sent orders to Brigadier commanding at Ferozepore accordingly, but to exercise his own judgment with regard to men whose fidelity he trusted.

*23rd May*—Heard that two hundred of the 4th Irregulars had arrived at Kurnaul. Sent orders for a detachment of a hundred and fifty to proceed without delay,—twenty-five to Shamlee on the Meerut road, sixty to Mozuffernugger, sixty-five placed at disposal of Major-General Hewitt.

A squadron of lancers and four guns to march to-night. Inspected the preparations for the security of the cantonments during the absence of the troops, and believe that what is to be done will sufficiently provide for it. The exertions made for the supplies both in the Commissariat and Medical Departments have been effected. There are no dhoolies or bearers for the sick, but bullock carriages have been substituted. Intended to have gone to Kurnaul to-night, but have deferred it for one day.

*24th May*—The detachment of the 4th Irregulars proceeded as ordered. Received a pressing requisition for troops at Paniput. Captain MacAndrew having heard that the mutineers intended to go to Rohtuck to seize the treasury there, ordered the detachment at Kurnaul, 250 infantry, a squadron of lancers, and two guns to march that evening.

Reports received of the mutiny of the 29th Regiment, Native Infantry, at Moradabad. Fear, if this is the case, that Saharunpore will be in danger.

*25th May*—Arrived at Kurnaul. The detachment as ordered had moved on towards Paniput; nothing new.

Accounts confirmed of the massacre of the prisoners, principally women and children, given up by the King on the demand of the mutineers. Heard that the mutineers were fighting in consequence of a division of the plunder taking place. One hundred bodies said to have been seen at one of the gates where the fighting took place.

---

*From Lieutenant* H. W. NORMAN, *Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—No. 3-A, dated Camp Delhi, 13th June 1857.*

In continuation of letter No. 1-A of the 27th ultimo, to your address, from the late Adjutant-General of the Army, reporting the death of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on that day, I am now desired by Major-General T. Reed, Commanding the Forces in Bengal, to request you will inform the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council that the Major-General having left Rawal

378

Pindi on the 28th ultimo, reached the camp of the force under Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, at Alipur, one march from Delhi, about 1 A.M. of the 8th instant, when the troops were on the point of moving to drive in the posts of the mutineers outside Delhi.

2. Sir Henry Barnard had been joined on the previous day by Brigadier A. Wilson with the troops from Meerut, and on the 6th instant by the siege-train with its escort, so that the total force in camp was as enumerated in the margin.

Four guns, 2nd Troop, 1st Brigade, 2nd and 3rd Troops, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery.
3rd Company, 3rd Battalion, Artillery, and No. 14 Horse Field Battery.
4th Company, 6th Battalion, Artillery.
Detachment, Artillery recruits.
Head-quarters, Detachment Sappers and Miners.
Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.
Two squadrons, Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards.
Head-quarters and six companies, 60th Royal Rifles.
Head-quarters and nine companies of Her Majesty's 75th Regiment.
1st Bengal Fusiliers.
Head-quarters and six companies, 2nd Fusiliers.
Sirmoor Battalion.

3. I beg to enclose copies of the Major-General's two reports of the successful operations of this day, and am only to add that Major-General Reed entirely approves of the whole of the dispositions made, and cordially concurs in the approbation bestowed on the officers and troops engaged, and particularly on those who are more especially mentioned.

4. The Commander of the Forces, I am to state, was unable from severe sickness and fatigue to accompany the troops, and in no way interfered with the arrangements of Sir Henry Barnard, who was attended in the field by the head-quarters staff.

5. Major-General Reed desires to express his deep regret at the loss of the Adjutant-General of the Army, Colonel C. Chester, who was killed by a cannon shot in the first advance on the enemy's heavy battery at Badli-ki-Serai. The loss of this officer at the present juncture is deeply deplored by the Commander of the Forces.

6. Since the arrival of the troops at Delhi, several affairs have taken place, in all of which the troops engaged have greatly distinguished themselves. The most important of these occurred yesterday morning when our position was attacked in great force and the enemy completely repulsed with much loss. Sir Henry Barnard's report of this action is enclosed.

7. The Guide Corps under Captain Daly arrived on the morning of the 9th instant, having marched from Mardan in Eusufzai, a distance of 580 miles, in twenty-two days.

8. The engineer and artillery portions of the force have been actively employed in throwing up batteries and in maintaining a fire on the city. The mutineers have mounted a very formidable artillery,

and their practice is excellent and usually well sustained; but the Major-General trusts ere long we shall be enabled to strike a decisive blow at the place.

9. In addition to the enclosures already referred to, I am directed to attach copies of Brigadier Wilson's reports of his two actions at Ghazi-ud-din-Nuggur.

---

*From Brigadier* A. Wilson, *Commanding the Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Head-Quarters,—No. 8, dated Camp Ghazi-ud-din-Nuggur, the 31st May 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, Commanding the Umballa Force, that, as reported in my brief despatch of last night, my advance picquets were driven in at about four o'clock yesterday afternoon, and that I was attacked by a large force of the mutineers, accompanied by heavy guns from Delhi.

I immediately sent off a company of Her Majesty's 60th Royal Rifles, with another in support, to hold the iron bridge, which is the key of my position, and I detached the four guns of Major Tombs' troop, supported by a squadron of Carabineers, to the right, along the bank of the Hindun Rive .

The insurgents opened upon these advanced parties with heavy guns. I ordered two more companies of the 60th Regiment to support their advance, and brought up four guns of Major Scott's battery, the Sappers, and a troop of Carabineers to their support, leaving two guns and a troop of Carabineers to protect the camp.

The first few rounds from the insurgents' guns were admirably aimed, plunging through our camp; but they were ably replied to by our two 18-pounders in position under Lieutenant Light and Major Tombs' troop, most admirably led by Lieutenant-Colonel M. Mackenzie, who, raking them in flank with his 6-pounders, first made their fire unsteady, and in a short time silenced these heavy guns.

On remarking the unsteadiness of their fire, I ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Jones to advance his rifles and attack. This was done in a most spirited manner. They drove the enemy from the guns, but in the act of taking possession of two heavy pieces on the causeway close to the toll house, I regret to say that Captain Andrews and four of his men were blown up by the explosion of an ammunition waggon fired by one of the mutineers.

The insurgents were now in full retreat, leaving in our hands ordnance ammunition and stores, as detailed in the accompanying statement. They were followed for a considerable distance on the Delhi road by Lieutenant-Colonel Custance, Commanding the Carabineers with the Force.

Where all behaved so well, and showed such gallant conduct, it is almost invidious to particularise; but I wish to bring to Major-General Sir Henry Barnard's notice, and through him to the Commander of the Forces, Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery, who so ably led, Major Tombs, who so gallantly fought, the 2nd troop of that brigade (the latter had his horse shot under him); Lieutenant-Colonel Custance, Commanding the Carabineers; Lieutenant-Colonel Jones, who so gallantly led the 60th Royal Rifles; and Major Scott, who ably supported that regiment.

I beg to enclose the reports I have received from officers commanding detachments, with a return of killed and wounded, and of the captured ordnance and ammunition.

Mr. Greathed, the Commissioner, attended on me during the whole of the action. From this gentleman, and from my own personal staff—Captain Johnson, Staff Officer of the Force; Captain O. Hamilton, Officiating Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General; Captain Russell, of the 54th, and Lieutenant Barchard, of the 20th Regiment, Native Infantry, my orderly officers; Lieutenant Waterfield, of the Commissariat Department,—I received every assistance.

The casualties may not be considered great under the advantages we have gained, but with my small force I cannot afford to lose men. I have applied to Major-General Hewitt, Commanding the Meerut Division, for a reinforcement, as I consider my present force much too small for the position I am placed in, liable to constant attacks from Delhi. Parties of horse have been seen from that quarter reconnoitring my position all the morning, and it is very harassing to the men to be kept so constantly on the alert.

---

381

FIELD FORCE UNDER THE COMMAND OF BRIGADIER A. WILSON.

*Numerical Return of killed, wounded, and missing, in the action of Ghazi-ud-din-Nuggur on the 30th May 1857.*

| Corps. | Killed. Field officers. | Killed. Captains. | Killed. Subalterns. | Killed. Non-commissioned officers. | Killed. Rank and file. | Killed. Total. | Wounded. Field officers. | Wounded. Captains. | Wounded. Subalterns. | Wounded. Non-commissioned officers. | Wounded. Rank and file. | Wounded. Total. | Missing. Field officers. | Missing. Captains. | Missing. Subalterns. | Missing. Non-commissioned officers. | Missing. Rank and file. | Missing. Total. | Horses. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Horse Artillery ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 5 | 6 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Six horses killed, wounded and missing. |
| Artillery recruits ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 2 | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | 3 | 5 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Lieutenant deBourbel severely wounded; nine horses killed, wounded and missing. |
| 1st Battalion, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles ... | ... | 1 | ... | 1 | 7 | 9 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 7 | 8 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 2 | ... | Captain Andrews killed. |
| Sappers and Miners ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 4th Irregular Cavalry... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| Total ... | ... | 1 | ... | 1 | 9 | 11 | ... | ... | 1 | 3 | 15 | 19 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 2 | ... | |

CAMP GHAZI-UD-DIN-NUGGUR, *The 1st June 1857.*

(Sd.) A. WILSON, *Brigr., Comdg. the Field Force.*

(Sd.) E. B. JOHNSON,
*Asst. Adjt.-Genl., Arty., and Staff Officer, Field Force.*

---

*List of Ordnance, carriages, and ammunition brought in from the enemy yesterday and this morning, (dated Camp, 31st May 1857).*

| | |
|---|---|
| Ordnance, iron gun, 24-pr. ... ... ... | 1 |
| Ditto do. 18-pr. ... ... ... | 1 |
| Ditto howitzer, 10-inch ... ... ... | 1 |
| Ditto do. 8-inch ... ... | 1 |
| Ditto brass, 24-pr. ... ... ... | 1 |
| Carriages, siege, with limber and E. S. complete, gun 24-pr. ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Carriages, siege, with limber and E. S. complete, gun 18-pr. ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Carriages, siege, with limber and E. S. howitzer, 10-inch ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Carriages, siege, with limber and E. S. howitzers 8-inch | 1 |
| Carriages, light field, with limber do. 24-pr. ... | 1 |
| Treasure tumbrils containing cartridges, siege, filled, 18-pr. gun and 8-inch howitzer ... ... | 3 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Carts containing case shot, 24-pr. gun, 10 and 8-inch howitzers ... ... ... ... | 3 |
| Platform cart, with sand bags ... ... ... | 1 |
| Ditto do. entrenching tools ... ... | 1 |
| 24-pounder grape in a waggon ... ... | 41 |
| 9-pounder waggon, complete, with 57 round shot ... | 1 |
| Shrapnel ... ... ... ... | 12 |
| Grape ... ... ... ... | 4 |

MILLS McCARTHY,
*Offg. Conductor.*

---

*From Brigadier* A. WILSON, *Commanding the Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Head-Quarters Camp,—(No. 12, dated Camp Ghazi-ud-din-Nuggur, the 1st June 1857).*

In continuation of my demi-official express of last night's date, I have the honor to report for the information of Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, and through him, of the Commander of the Forces, that the insurgents attacked me again yesterday afternoon at about one o'clock, in force.

They took up a position extending fully a mile, on the high ridge on the opposite side of the Hindun, about a mile from my advanced picquet in front of the bridge, and commenced a fire with their guns from this long distance.

The guns of the horse artillery, supported by a squadron of Carabineers, immediately moved forward to reply to their fire, and the two 18-pounders under Lieutenant Light moved to the bank of the river for the same purpose. The Rifles, leaving one company in camp, moved forward to the support of the picquet at the bridge, supported by two guns of Major Scott's battery and a troop of Carabineers.

Perceiving that the horse artillery was exposed to a very heavy fire, I advanced two more guns of Major Scott's battery under Lieutenant Davidson to support them.

For nearly two hours the action was one of artillery chiefly.

The rifles clearing the village on the left of the toll bar, and the fire of the enemy's guns slackening, I ordered a general advance, the insurgents retiring continuing their fire, until we drove them from their position and crowned the ridge from which we could see them in full retreat to Delhi.

My men were so knocked up by the heat of the sun, by which many officers and men were struck down, that I could not follow them further, as I wished. I therefore withdrew the force into camp, after

having first burnt a village on our right flank from which the insurgents had given us much annoyance.

All the force performed their duty well and to my satisfaction, and in addition to those officers whom I brought to notice in my despatch of yesterday detailing the action of the 30th, I wish to report favorably of Lieutenant Elliot of the Artillery, who supported the Rifles with two guns of Major Scott's battery in the most steady and determined manner. Lieutenant Light also did admirable service with his 18-pounders. The Sappers and Miners, under Lieutenant Maunsell, whom I brought up in support of Lieutenant Elliot's guns, performed most efficient service.

I have to regret the loss of Lieutenant Perkins, of the Horse Artillery, an invaluable officer, and a great loss to me.

I beg to enclose reports from the commanding officers, and a return of killed and wounded.

I regret to say that the insurgents were enabled to carry off all their guns, which appeared to me to consist of two heavy pieces on the *Delhi* road and five light guns, most probably the remains of Captain de Teissier's battery. One of their ammunition waggons only was destroyed.

---

FIELD FORCE UNDER THE COMMAND OF BRIGADIER A. WILSON.

*Numerical Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the action of Ghazi-ud-din-Nuggur on the 31st May 1857.*

| Corps. | Killed. | | | | | | Wounded. | | | | | | Missing. | | | | | | | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Non-commissioned officers. | Rank and file. | Total. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Non-commissioned officers. | Rank and file. | Total. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Non-commissioned officers. | Rank and file. | Total. | Horses. | |
| Horse Artillery ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 3 | 4 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 4 | 5 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8 killed, 16 wounded. | Killed and wounded include five men sun-struck. |
| Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 4 | ... | ... | 1* | ... | 2 | 3 | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | | Killed and wounded include two men sun-struck. |
| 1st Battalion, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 3 | 4 | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 2 | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | | Killed includes three men sun-struck. |
| Sappers and Miners ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 1 | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | | |
| Total ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | 10 | 12 | ... | ... | 2 | 2 | 8 | 12 | . | . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |

* 1 Assistant Surgeon.

Return of wounded horses includes the chargers of Major Tombs, Horse Artillery, and Lieutenant-Colonel Custance, Carabineers.

CAMP GHAZI-UD-DIN-NUGGUR, *The 2nd June 1857.* (Sd.) E. B. JOHNSON, *Asst. Adjt.-Genl., Arty., and Staff Officer, Field Force.* (Sd.) A. WILSON, *Brigr., Comdg. the Field Force.*

384

NOMINAL ROLL OF OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

*2nd Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery.*

Lieutenant H. G. Perkins, killed.

*Her Majesty's 60th Royal Rifles.*

Ensign Napier, wounded severely, leg amputated.

*6th Regiment, Carabineers.*

Assistant-Surgeon Moore, wounded severely, grape-shot in the head.

*Brigade Staff.*

Captain Johnson, wounded slightly, contused.

A. WILSON, *Brigr.,*
*Comdg. the Field Force.*

---

*From Major-General Sir* HENRY BARNARD, K.C.B., *Commanding the Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army,—(Dated Camp, Delhi Cantonments, 8th June 1857).*

The forces under my command marched from Alipur at 1 A.M. this morning, and on reaching Badli-ki-Serai, found the enemy strongly posted in an entrenched position, which I have the satisfaction to inform you was carried after an engagement of about three-quarters of an hour, and proceeded to take up our present position, which we found to be over disputed ground the whole way, and finally in a well defended line of defence from the signal tower to Hindu Rao's house. Our troops behaved with the greatest gallantry and persevering endurance, and after facing a very determined resistance, drove the enemy within the walls of Delhi: all this was accomplished by nine o'clock in the morning. Our loss has been comparatively trifling, only one officer being killed; but I regret to say that that officer is Colonel Chester, Adjutant-General of the Army, who was esteemed by all for every qualification that can adorn the soldier. I have not been able to ascertain the particulars of our loss, or our capture of guns, but I fear I cannot estimate the former under forty to fifty killed, the number of guns taken to be about sixteen or eighteen. I do not in this hurried despatch attempt to recommend any one, but I cannot pass over the assistance I received from Brigadier Wilson, whose cool judgment entitles him to an equal share of any merit that may be given to the officer in command. From the brigadier and staff of the army attached to me from the divisional staff I received every support, and from my personal staff, Captain Barnard and Lieutenant Turnbull, the most daring devotion. The conduct of the Gurkha battalion, the Sappers, and other Native

troops employed, was most praiseworthy; they vied with their European comrades in forward daring. The troops of the Native contingents did equally good service, including those of the Jhind Rajah; and I cannot close this without special mention of many gentlemen attached to the army in civil capacities, who not only accompanied us into the field, but did every service the extended nature of our position rendered prominent, in keeping up mutual communications.

I hope to send you a fuller detail to-morrow. Our siege-train is up, and I hope to open on the town without a moment's delay.

*P.S.*—I find the captured guns amount to twenty-six, and I desire to add to this, in justice to myself, special notice of the assistance I received from Colonel Congreve, Acting Adjutant-General of Her Majesty's Forces in India; Colonel Becher, Quartermaster-General of the Army, and Colonel the Hon'ble R. Curzon, Military Secretary to the late Commander-in-Chief, who never left me; Captain Norman, Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, and on whom the important duties of Adjutant-General devolved on the death of Colonel Chester, and Colonel Young, Judge Advocate-General of the Army, who accompanied me during the whole of the action.

---

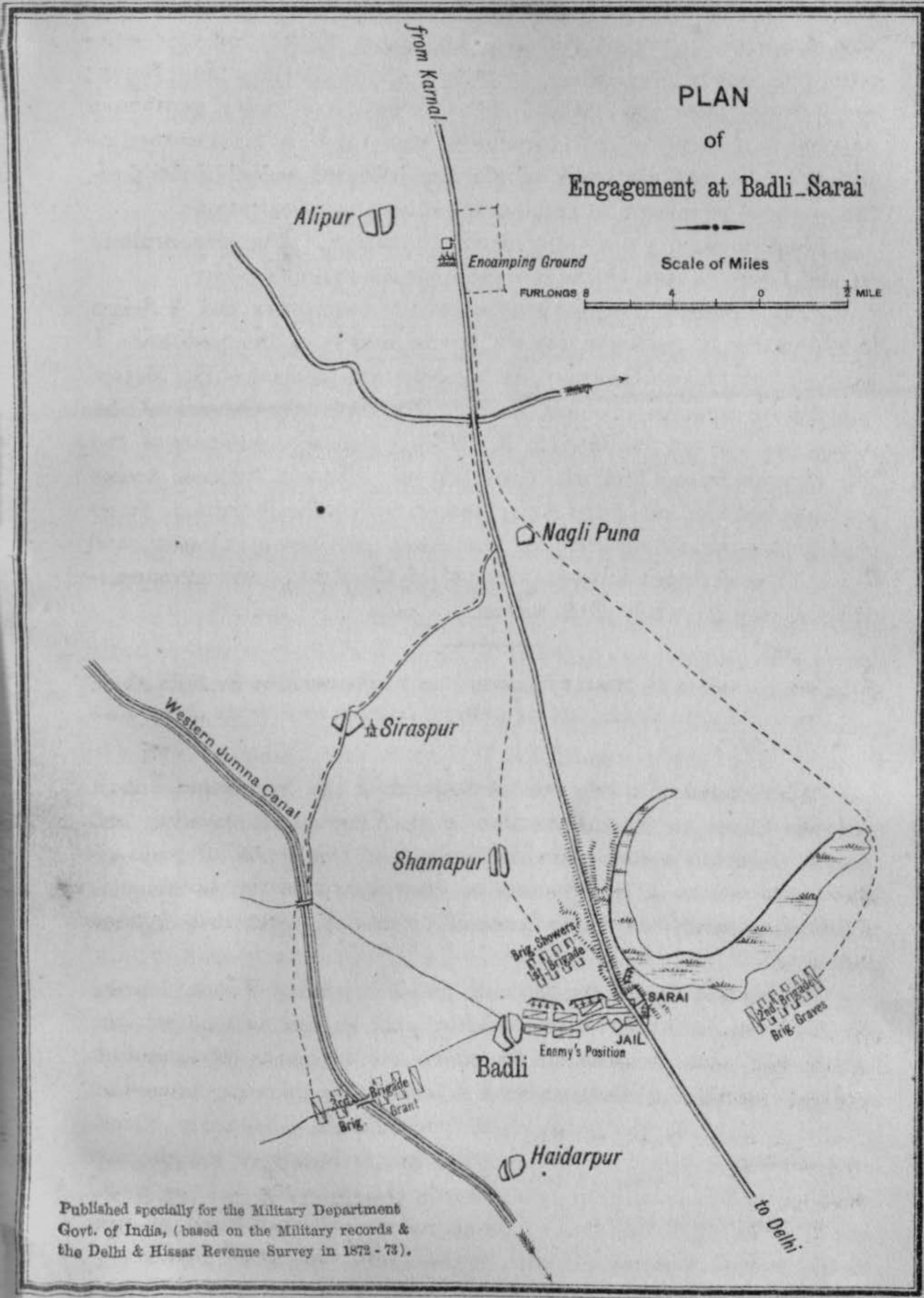
*From Major-General Sir* HENRY BARNARD, K.C.B., *Commanding the Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army,—(Dated Camp before Delhi, 12th June 1857).*

With reference to my hurried despatch of the 8th instant, I have now the honor, for the information of the General Commanding the Forces, to submit a more detailed account of the action of Badli-ki-Serai, and seizure of the position on the ridge above the cantonments of Delhi, necessary to hold with regard to ultimate operations against that city.

Having been joined by the force under Brigadier Wilson, I broke up the camp at Alipur without delay, and on ascertaining that the enemy had made preparations to oppose our advance, and occupied a fortified position at Badli-ki-Serai, I made the following disposition of the forces:—Brigadier Grant, with the force as per margin, was to gain the opposite side of the canal, and re-cross it below and in rear of the enemy's position so soon as he heard the action commence, with a view of taking the enemy in flank. The 1st Brigade, under Brigadier Showers, was to act on the right side of the main Trunk

Six guns of 3rd Troop, 3rd Bde., Horse Artillery.
Four guns of 2nd Troop, 1st Bde., Horse Artillery.
Three squadrons, 9th Lancers.

386




Reg. No. 211. Records.—June 92—1,000.
Photo., S. I. O., Calcutta.

387

388

Road, along which the column was to advance, and the 2nd Brigade, under Brigadier Graves, was to take the left; the heavy guns were to remain in position on the road; the rest of the artillery to act on either side. As soon as our advance picquet met the enemy, these brigades deployed, leaving the main road clear; the enemy soon opened a very heavy fire upon us, and finding that our light field pieces did not silence their battery, and that we were losing men fast, I called upon the 75th Regiment to make a dashing charge, and take the place at the point of the bayonet. This service was done with the most heroic gallantry; and to Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert and every officer, non-commissioned officer, and man of the 75th Regiment my thanks are most especially due. The 1st Europeans supported the attack, and on the 2nd Brigade coming up, and threatening their right, and Brigadier Grant showing the head of his column and guns on their left rear, the enemy abandoned the position entirely, leaving their guns on the ground. The action lasted nearly one hour, and I regret to say cost many valuable lives.

Although the men were much exhausted, I determined to push on under the impression that, if I halted, similar difficulty might be opposed to me the following day in gaining the requisite position, and on the road separating, it became desirable to act in two columns, sending one along the main Trunk Road, and taking the other to the left, through the cantonments. To Brigadier Wilson, supported by Brigadier Showers' brigade, I confided the conduct of this column, which had to fight its way through gardens with high walls, and other obstacles the whole way, and taking the 2nd Brigade with Brigadier Graves with myself, I proceeded to the left. I soon found that the enemy had posted himself strongly on the ridge over the cantonment, with guns in position, and under the range of which we soon found ourselves; upon which I determined on a rapid flank movement to the left, in the hope of gaining the ridge under cover of the cantonments, and taking the position in flank. This was happily successful; the enemy got their guns hastily into a position to meet me, and Brigadier Graves' brigade, consisting of the 60th Rifles, under Lieutenant-Colonel Jones, supported by the 2nd Europeans, under Captain Boyd, advanced gallantly, supported by Captain Money's troop of Horse Artillery, and carried the position; and the enemy finding himself taken in flank and rear, abandoned his guns, and we swept the whole ridge from the flag-staff to Hindu Rao's house, where I had the satisfaction of meeting Brigadier Wilson; and the object of the day having been thus effected, the force was at once placed in position before Delhi

389

I have already mentioned to the Commander-in-Chief the names of officers to whom I am indebted, and whom I desire in justice to call to his notice, and to whose names I beg to add those of Major Ewart, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain Shute, Assistant Quartermaster-General; and Captain Maisey, Deputy Judge Advocate-General; and beg to state that I fully concur in the merit of those recommended by my brigadiers.

---

*Numerical Return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the Field Force under the command of Major-General Sir* H. W. BARNARD, K.C.B., *during the operations of the 8th June 1857.*

| Corps. | KILLED. | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | MISSING. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Non-commissioned officers. | Privates and gunners. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Non-commissioned officers. | Privates and gunners. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Non-commissioned officers. | Privates and gunners. | Horses. |
| Staff ... ... ... | 1 | 2 | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... |
| *Artillery Division.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Head-quarters, 2nd Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 2 | 8 | .. | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... |
| Head-quarters, and 2nd and 3rd Troops, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | 3 | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | 1 | 6 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 11 |
| 3rd Company, 3rd Battalion, and No. 14 Light Field Battery ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | 1 | ... | .. | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... |
| 4th Company, 6th Battalion ... | .. | ... | ... | 1 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 3 | 6 | .. | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... |
| Artillery recruits ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 2 | ... | .. | ... | .. | .. | ... | ... |
| *Cavalry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 5 | .. | ... | ... | 1 | 4 | 1 | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | .. |
| Her Majesty's 9th Lancers ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 12 | 20 | .. | ... | ... | 3 | 7 | 4 | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... |
| *1st Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 75th Regiment ... | ... | ... | 1 | 2 | 20 | ... | 1 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 41 | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | 2 | ... |
| 1st European Bengal Fusiliers ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | 1 | 25 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *2nd Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 60th Rifles ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | 1 | .. | ... | .. | ... | .. | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | | ... | ... | 1 | 5 | .. | ... | ... | .. | .. | ... | ... |
| Sirmoor Battalion ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | 1* | 2 | 6 | .. | ... | .. | ... | .. | ... | ... |
| Total ... | 1 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 41 | 30 | 1 | 2 | 11 | 15 | 103 | 19 | .. | ... | .. | ... | 2 | 11 |
| Grand Total ... | 51 | | | | | 30 | 132 | | | | | 19 | 2 | | | | | 11 |

* Jemadar.

HEAD-QUARTERS, CAMP DELHI; *The 19th June 1857.*

Examined.

(Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj., Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.*

(Sd.) H. W. BARNARD, *Maj.-Genl., Comdg. the Field Force.*

NOMINAL ROLL OF OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

*Adjutant-General of the Army.*

Colonel C. Chester, killed.

*56th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

Captain J. W. Delamain, killed.

*54th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

Captain C. W. Russell, killed.

*Her Majesty's 75th Regiment.*

Lieutenant A. Harrison, killed.

*Artillery Division.*

1st-Lieutenant A. Light, slightly wounded.

2nd-Lieutenant C. Hunter, slightly wounded.

2nd-Lieutenant A. H. Davidson, severely wounded, blown up by explosion of a gun limber.

2nd-Lieutenant R. Hare, slightly wounded, contusion.

*Her Majesty's 75th Regiment.*

Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert, Commanding, wounded.

Captain Dawson, wounded.

Lieutenant J. R. S. Fitzgerald, wounded.

Lieutenant and Adjutant R. Barter, wounded.

Lieutenant C. R. Rivers, wounded.

Ensign C. M. Pym, wounded.

Assistant-Surgeon S. A. Lithgow, wounded.

*1st European Bengal Fusiliers.*

Captain S. Greville, wounded.

2nd-Lieutenant N. Ellis, wounded.

Examined.

(Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj.*, *Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.*

(Sd.) H. W. BARNARD, *Maj.-Genl.*, *Comdg. the Field Force.*

---

*From Major* C. REID, *Commanding the Sirmoor Battalion and Main Picquet, to Captain* H. W. NORMAN, *Officiating Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 71, dated Hindu Rao's House, 11th June 1857.*

For the information of the Major-General Commanding the Forces, I have the honor to report that about five o'clock yesterday evening, the mutineers, about five hundred strong, with two light guns and a party of cavalry, came out of the Ajmere Gate, with the intention apparently of turning our right flank and threatening our rear. I immediately proceeded out with two guns of Major Scott's battery, seven companies of the Sirmoor Battalion, two companies of the 60th Rifles, and a hundred

and fifty of the Guides. The latter I threw out in skirmishing order, with directions to encourage the enemy to approach. The Rifles I extended on my left flank, guns in the centre, with Gurkhas in line on my right. About six o'clock the mutineers approached in force. The guns they had with them opened with grape on the right line of skirmishers. I then threw out another company of my own regiment in skirmishing order in continuation of the first line. They advanced steadily with orders to spare ammunition as much as possible. Whilst the Gurkhas were advancing the mutineers called out to them, saying they would not fire as they (the mutineers) wished to speak to them. Others called out "We expect the Gurkhas to join us; we won't fire." The Gurkhas replied "Oh yes, we are now coming to join you." They closed upon their centre and went up within twenty paces of the mutineers when they gave a well directed volley, killing between twenty and thirty, and followed them up until fired on by the batteries of the Ajmere Gate.

Major Scott's guns opened with grape, and apparently with good effect on the infantry and cavalry, which were seen retreating towards the Ajmere Gate. About 7-30 P.M. the mutineers retreated, on which I withdrew.

Our loss was three killed and two wounded in my own regiment. The Guides three killed, but as yet no report of wounded.* Major Scott's battery (two guns) three horses wounded, one killed.

* Since reported three wounded.

The total loss in my regiment up to the present time is as follows:—

*Killed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Sepoys ... ... ... ... | 3 |

*Wounded.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Jemadar ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Havildar ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Naick ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Sepoys ... ... ... ... | 12 |
| Total killed and wounded ... | 18 |

The jemadar is severely wounded, and is just now a great loss to me, as I consider him one of the smartest Native officers in the regiment. He is certainly worthy of promotion; and although I have no vacancies, I trust the Major-General Commanding will be pleased to authorise me to promote him at once to the grade of subadar, retaining him on the rolls of my regiment as a supernumerary subadar until a vacancy occurs.

392

*Demi-official from* W. H. GREATHED, Esq., *to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces,—dated Delhi Cantonment, 10th June 1857.*

I enclose a duplicate copy of the General's first despatch, of which the original was forwarded by post on the 8th. I trusted the road was open, but as the mails have not come from Agra, I fear they may not have reached you. The men were too fatigued to do anything more than hold their position on the 8th. The enemy turned out about 5 P.M. and made an attack on the position, which was easily repulsed. During the night of the 8th, we got two heavy guns into position, which played on the Moree and Cashmere Bastions; their heavy guns (24-pounders) throw over the ridge, and molest the front of our camp. Yesterday, the 9th, a second attack in force was made upon the position, and repulsed after a heavy fire.

The Guides had arrived in the morning, after an extraordinary march of 750 miles in twenty-eight days; they were hotly engaged, and Quintin Battye taking advantage of an opportunity made a brilliant charge upon a cavalry party, but alas! receiving a wound, which I fear will cost him his life; he was not expected to survive the day, yesterday, but I am glad to hear he is a little better to-day. I hope to get down to see him shortly, but these are busy times. Brigadier Wilson is much indisposed to commence any attack until the fire of the batteries we are now opposing are silenced. I hope other councils may shortly prevail. Dunlop has just come in, and leaves for Meerut very shortly. We do not get very complete information from Delhi. People do not observe with the accuracy which is requisite. The accounts of the temper of the rebels are very various; in fact, they seem to waver every hour. A thousand Pathans are said to have made a religious war of it, and joined in earnest. General Reed takes no part in the operations. Sir Henry Barnard receives valuable assistance from Brigadier Wilson. I am anxious to hear of you, and I trust all is well.

---

*Demi-official from* W. H. GREATHED, Esq., *to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces,—dated Delhi Cantonment, 10th June 1857.*

The power of resistance afforded to the mutineers by the possession of the magazine had not perhaps been sufficiently reckoned upon, and their guns were served with considerable precision. They will to-day feel the weight of our heavy pieces, and shells and rockets will be thrown into the city, and the breaching batteries will now be pushed forward. The defeats cannot be said to have caused any sensible discouragement among them, and the news of the defection of other regiments must check

393

desertion from the force inside the walls. They may perhaps deter these fresh mutineers from embarking in this siege, and the Bareilly regiments are said to be between this and Meerut, awaiting events.

I have not heard from them since the 7th. I had a civil verbal message from the Ballubgurh Rajah yesterday, brought by one of his officers.

I requested the Rajah in reply to look after his own country, and to intercept fugitives. The presence of any of his people would only be embarrassing.

The Guides arrived yesterday; they were engaged in repelling a sortie, and I regret to say Quintin Battye was badly wounded. Dunlop posted down. He will take charge of Meerut as soon as he can. He arrived in camp to-day; he heard of the disturbances up in the snow. The accounts from Dehra and Cashmere are satisfactory, and Mozuffernuggur is in somewhat of an improved state. Meerut will suffer from the presence of the Bareilly mutineers.

I have heard nothing from Bolundshahur or Aligarh since my brother came up. We are well off for supplies, but must think of the river rising. Baghput will furnish grain, and there is plenty of firewood above camp. I am sorry Shakespeare did not commit the entire one-and-a-half lakhs to the party sent from Meerut to bring it in. The half lakh arrived safely; my brother delivered me your instructions, dated the 3rd instant, and I am at my post with General Barnard, who retains command of the army in the field. General Reed, who is very unwell, does not interfere with the force. A party of Jâts plundered the Burote Tahsil. Sabmul of Bijrol was at the head of the attack.

---

*From Major-General Sir* HENRY BARNARD, K.C.B., *Commanding the Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Head-Quarters Camp,—(Dated Camp Delhi Cantonment, 12th June 1857).*

I have the honor to report, for the information of General Reed, Commanding the Forces, that the enemy attacked the position occupied by the troops under my command this morning in force. The troops acted throughout with gallantry and coolness, and the affair ended in the total repulse of the enemy, who have retreated to the city. At about a quarter to 5 A.M. the attack first began. On my ascertaining that both flanks were being attacked, the usual supports were not only sent up to the position on the heights, but the whole of the troops under my command were speedily under arms, and marched up to reinforce the picquets and to drive back the enemy. This was first accomplished on the

394

left, the enemy falling back under the fire of the troops, and after being beaten back from the right, they came on again for a second attack under cover of the thickly-wooded gardens near the Subzee Mundee. The 1st Bengal European Fusiliers were sent against them under the command of Major Jacob, and succeeded most gallantly in not only driving the enemy back, but pursued them, skirmishing all through the thickly-wooded gardens of the Subzee Mundee. It was about 7-30 A.M. when the troops began to be re-called, and the assembly first sounded for the skirmishers.

In comparison with the strength of the attack, our loss was small, and I trust to be able to send in, without delay, the official returns of the killed and wounded. I have heard as yet of only one casualty among the officers—Captain Knox, 75th Regiment, who was killed when reinforcing the picquet at the flag-staff tower, and while driving back the enemy. The loss on the other side, to the enemy, must have been considerable, and although difficult to estimate, could not have been less than two hundred and fifty.

---

*From Major-General Sir* HENRY BARNARD, K.C.B., *Commanding the Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Head-Quarters Camp,—(Dated Camp Delhi Cantonment, 14th June 1857).*

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, that the enemy attacked our position at about 5 P.M., making first an attack on the left and then advancing in force on the right. After about an hour both attacks had been repulsed, and the troops returned to the camp.

---

*From Major-General Sir* HENRY BARNARD, K.C.B., *Commanding the Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Head-Quarters Camp,—(Dated Camp Delhi Cantonment, 16th June 1857).*

While enclosing, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, the reports of the late attack made by the enemy on the force under my command, I would wish to bring to his notice the assistance I have received in every way from the services of Lieutenant Hodson, 1st Bengal European Fusiliers. Since the arrival of his regiment at Umballa up to the present date, his untiring energy and perpetual anxiety to assist me in any way in which his services might be found useful, have distinguished him throughout, and are now my reasons for bringing this officer thus specially to the notice of the Commander-in-Chief.

*From Major-General Sir* HENRY BARNARD, K.C.B., *Commanding the Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army,—(Dated Camp before Delhi, 18th June 1857).*

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, that on ascertaining yesterday that the enemy was erecting a battery and taking up a position about the village of Paharipore from which it was considered important to dislodge them, I ordered a small force to proceed to the spot, in two columns, to march at 4-30 P.M., the first column under Major Tombs of the Horse Artillery, and the second under Major Reid, commanding the Sirmoor Battalion, and form a junction at Treveleyan and Kissengunge, drive the enemy out of their position, and destroy the battery. This service was performed with the usual gallantry and daring of our troops, which cannot be better brought to your notice than by forwarding the reports of the officers in command. I fully concur in the merit of the officers recommended to your notice. I beg also to make most special mention of Major Tombs and Major Reid—the former conspicuous for his usual cool courage and judgment (and who, I regret to say, was slightly wounded and had two horses shot under him), and the latter for that forward gallantry and knowledge of his work, that in both these officers inspire the confidence of their men and lead our troops to such brilliant success.

---

*From Major* H. TOMBS, *Horse Artillery, Commanding the Column, to Major* R. S. EWART, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General,—(dated Camp before Delhi, 18th June 1857).*

I have the honor to report, for the information of Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, Commanding the Field Force, that the troops as per margin, with the command of which he did me the honor to entrust me, left camp at 4-30 P.M., and moved through the Subzee Mundee until they arrived at the road leading across the canal in the direction of the *eedgah*. The column moved up this road, and had not advanced more than a couple of hundred yards, when the enemy opened fire upon it from some walled gardens on the left of the road. Leaving parties of riflemen under these walls, with orders to keep down the fire of the enemy, I advanced with the main body, until we arrived at the suburb of Paharipore. Here I detached the four horse artillery guns, with one company Fusiliers and the Guide Cavalry in support, with orders to take the road leading round the village, until they came in

Four guns, 2nd Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery.
Two companies, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles.
Four companies, 1st European Fusiliers.
Twenty Sappers and Miners.
Fifty cavalry of the Guide Corps.

396

sight of the *eedgah*, against which they were to open fire. I myself, with one company, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles and three companies Fusiliers, went through the village, driving the enemy, cavalry and infantry, before us. On reaching the other side of the suburbs, the enemy appeared in considerable force on this side of the *eedgah*, and at the angle of it nearest the city. Here a hot musketry fire was sustained for some time, until I sent orders for two of the horse artillery guns to be brought from the outside of the suburbs to our support. On these guns opening fire, the enemy appeared to loosen their hold of the position. Seeing this, I ordered the advance, which was made with a rush, and the position was ours. We captured a 9-pounder gun and its limber here in position, and the object of the attack having been effected, I agreeably to orders received, brought the column back into camp at about 7 P.M. The loss on our side, I am happy to say, was small; but I regret that it includes a gallant young officer, Captain Brown, of the 1st Fusiliers, badly wounded. Every officer and man behaved as gallantly as men could do. To Major Jacob, 1st Fusiliers; Captain Williams, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles; Lieutenant Wilson, in charge of the four horse artillery guns; Lieutenant Perkins of the engineers, who led the column; and to Lieutenant Frith, Adjutant, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery, who kindly accompanied me and rendered me the utmost service; also to Lieutenant Phillipps,* attached to Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, who obligingly carried two or three messages for me—my best thanks are due, and I beg to recommend them to the favorable notice of the Major-General. The Guide Cavalry, under their Native officer, Khanan Khan, Rissaldar, executed all orders given to them.

Accompanying are casualty returns of the force employed.

---

*Numerical Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, on the 17th June 1857 of the troops under the command of Major Tombs, Bengal Artillery.*

*Head-Quarters and 2nd Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Field officers, wounded ... ... ... | 1 |
| Horses, wounded ... ... ... | 3 |
| *Her Majesty's 60th Royal Rifles.* | |
| Non-commissioned officers wounded ... ... | 1 |
| Rank and file wounded ... ... ... | 1 |

* Ensign E. A. Lisle Phillipps.—See page 485.

397

*1st European Bengal Fusiliers.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Rank and file, killed ... ... ... | 2 |
| Captains, wounded ... ... ... | 1 |
| Rank and file, wounded ... ... ... | 5 |

*Guide Corps.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Natives, wounded ... ... ... | 2 |
| Horses, wounded ... ... ... ... | 4 |

TOTAL.

| | |
|---|---|
| Killed ... ... ... ... | 2 |
| Wounded ... ... ... ... | 11 |
| Missing ... ... ... ... | *Nil.* |
| Horses, wounded ... ... ... ... | 7 |

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP; DELHI; *The 18th June 1857.*

(Sd.) H. W. BARNARD, *Maj.-Genl., Comdg. the Field Force.*

Examined.

(Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj., Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.*

---

*From Major* C. REID, *Commanding 2nd Column, to Major* R. S. EWART, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Main Picquet,—(Dated Hindu Rao's House, 18th June 1857).*

In obedience to instructions contained in a confidential letter from the Major-General Commanding the Forces, I have the honor to report for his information that I proceeded yesterday at 4-15 P.M., with the troops noted in the margin, to attack the position taken up by the enemy at Kissengunge, simultaneous with the advance of the column under command of Major Tombs, Artillery. The two columns met on the road near the canal bridge, when they struck off at right angles,—Major Tombs' column taking the right and mine the left of a large garden which had a high brick wall round it. I proceeded to the end of the wall, and then entered a *serai* to the right. After battering down the gates of two different *serais*, I succeeded in entering Kissengunge, which I found full of mutineers. Many rushed madly on, but were at once shot down by our troops. I counted thirty-one bodies in one place near one of the batteries, and nine were counted close to the battery erected on the right of a building in the centre of Kissengunge. The enemy must have lost between fifty and sixty killed, and a very great number wounded. I completely destroyed the batteries, which

Four companies 60th Rifles and Sirmoor Battalion.

398

were not quite finished, burnt the village, the timber used in constructing batteries, the magazine (which had evidently been made by Sappers), and the gates of the *serai*, three in number. My loss was very trifling; three wounded in the four companies, 60th Rifles, one man killed in my own regiment, and two wounded.

This report would have been forwarded earlier, but my time is fully occupied at this picquet.

---

*LIST of killed, wounded, and missing in the 2nd Column, commanded by Major* C. REID, *in the attack on the enemy's position at Kissengunge on the 17th June 1857.*

*Her Majesty's 60th Royal Rifles.*—(Four companies).

| | |
|---|---|
| Privates wounded ... ... ... | 3 |
| *Sirmoor Battalion.* | |
| Corporals and Naiks killed ... ... ... | 1 |
| Sepoys wounded ... ... ... | 2 |
| Total killed and wounded ... | 6 |

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major* W. A. J. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 288, dated Fort William, 7th September 1857.*

I am directed to transmit to you, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the accompanying letter with enclosures from the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, dated 22nd June 1857, and to state that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council has received with satisfaction the testimony borne by Major-General Reed to the merits of the officers and troops composing the field force under the command of Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, in its operations against Delhi.

2. The return of the enclosures is requested when no longer required.

---

*From Brigadier-General* N. B. CHAMBERLAIN, *Acting Adjutant-General of the Army, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Camp before Delhi, 2nd July 1857.*

I have the honor, by desire of the Commander-in-Chief, to enclose, for submission to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in

Council, copy of a despatch from Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, Commanding the Field Force before Delhi, enclosing copy of a report from Brigadier J. H. Grant, of an action fought with the mutineers in rear of our camp on the 19th ultimo, in which the troops engaged behaved with great gallantry, and the Brigadier who conducted the affair displayed much coolness and judgment.

2. Major-General Reed desires to support Major-General Sir Henry Barnard's recommendation in favor of the officers and men who distinguished themselves on this occasion.

---

*From Major-General Sir* Henry Barnard, k.c.b., *Commanding the Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army,—(Dated Camp before Delhi, 23rd June 1857).*

I have the honor to submit, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, the report of Brigadier Grant of the affair of the 19th instant.

These repeated attacks upon our position, with the small force we have to repel them, are rendered most harassing by the uncertainty of the point on which it is to be threatened, it being always doubtful whether it is to be confined to one, and can only be successfully repulsed by the untiring and unflinching gallantry of the small bodies who alone can be directed against the enemy; and I can assure you that under no circumstances did officers and men merit greater praise.

I have to deplore the loss of Lieutenant-Colonel Yule, 9th Lancers, an officer of great merit, and Lieutenant Alexander, of the 3rd Regiment, Native Infantry, a young officer of much promise ; also that Colonel Becher, Quartermaster-General, and Captain Daly of the Guides, were wounded; and that I shall be deprived for some time of the services of these officers,—an irreparable loss at this moment.

The Native Irregular Cavalry man mentioned by Brigadier Grant has been rewarded by the Order of Merit, which carries the highest pension, and I would venture to recommend Privates Hancock and Purcell, 9th Lancers, for the Victoria Cross.

My thanks are due to Brigadier Grant, who on this, as on all occasions, evinces the highest qualifications for a cavalry officer.

Our loss, I regret to say, was severe ; but taking the great superiority of the enemy in number into consideration, I am only thankful it should not have been greater.

I enclose a return of casualties.

400

*From Brigadier* J. H. GRANT, C.B., *Commanding the Cavalry Brigade, Field Force, to Major* J. WATERFIELD, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General of Division, Head-Quarters Camp,—(dated Camp Delhi, 22nd June 1857).*

On the afternoon of the 19th instant information was brought in that the camp was to be attacked in the rear.

The safety of the camp being under my direction, I immediately proceeded with a squadron of Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, two guns of Major Scott's, two of Captain Money's, and two of Major Turner's, under command of Lieutenant Bishop, to prevent the near approach of the enemy to our camp. When this force got to the right of the Ochterlony gardens, a heavy fire of artillery was opened upon it, to which our guns replied. The troops from camp now began to arrive, and the action became general.

The enemy had taken up a position about half a mile in rear of the Ochterlony gardens, and from thence opened a very severe fire of round shot, grape, and canister. I advanced our guns right up to them, and our artillery replied to their fire with the greatest spirit.

As long as it was light, we succeeded in driving the rebels back; but in the dusk of the evening, the enemy, who were in great numbers, very nearly succeeded in turning our flank, and for some time two guns were in great jeopardy.

It now became very dark; but I succeeded, with Lieutenant Martin of the 9th Lancers, in getting a few men together, and we charged into the enemy. The guns I am happy to say were saved; but a wagon of Major Scott's battery was blown up.

I must not fail to mention the excellent conduct of a sowar of the 4th Regiment, Irregular Cavalry, and two men of the 9th Lancers—Privates Thomas Hancock and John Purcell,—who, when my horse was shot down, remained by me throughout. One of these men and the sowar offered me their horses, and I was dragged out by the sowar's horse. Private Hancock was severely wounded and Private Purcell's horse was killed under him. The sowar's name is Rooper Khan.

Our fire re-opened, and the enemy were driven back to the town.

On the left flank two squadrons of the 9th Lancers under Colonel Yule, one troop of the Carabineers under Lieutenant Ellis, and the Guide Corps under Captain Daly, proceeded in support of Major Tombs' and Major Turner's guns. The former proceeded with the Guide Corps, the latter with the 9th Lancers in support to the left of the Ochterlony gardens, and both opened fire.

A squadron of the 9th Lancers, under Captain Anson, then charged down the road, and the 3rd squadron, under Lieutenant Jones, with Colonel Yule, followed in support. Colonel Yule, I regret to say, fell at this time, having received a shot in his leg, and was killed by the enemy. He is a severe loss to the 9th Lancers.

The Guide Corps, under Captain Daly, gallantly charged twice, and I regret to say this excellent officer was severely wounded in the shoulder; but the enemy were beaten and retired to the town.

The following morning I was ordered by the Major-General Commanding to take a force out on the same ground and drive the enemy away if any were still left. I proceeded, but found only a strong picquet of the enemy, which was easily driven back, and we captured a gun and two waggons, which they had left the night previous.

I beg to bring to the immediate notice of Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, the names of the officers who had command of guns and squadrons:—Major Scott, Captain Money, and Lieutenant Bishop commanded the guns on the right, and nothing could be better than the way in which they brought their guns forward and opened them on the enemy, fearless of danger; also Captain Head, who was on the right, and Captain Anson and Lieutenant Jones, who commanded squadrons on the left. The conduct of all has been reported most favorably to me. Major Turner's and Major Tombs' names, I presume, will be mentioned by Brigadier Wilson, and it would be needless my saying anything in their favor.

I beg also to bring the name of Captain Daly before Sir Henry, a most gallant and excellent officer.

I regret to say the loss in the 9th Lancers was severe. Five men killed and eight wounded, and thirty-one horses killed, wounded and missing.

---

402

*Numerical Return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the Field Force under the command of Major-General Sir* HENRY BARNARD, K.C.B., *during the operations of the 19th June 1857.*

| Corps. | KILLED. | | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | | MISSING. | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns and Native officers. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, gunners, and rank & file. | Natives. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, gunners, and rank & file. | Natives. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, gunners, and rank & file. | Natives. | Horses. |
| ***Artillery Force.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Head-Quarters and 2nd Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 5 | 1 | 5 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Head-Quarters and 2nd and 3rd Troops, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 9 | 1 | 7 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 3rd Company, 3rd Battalion, and No. 14 Light Field Battery ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ***Cavalry Brigade.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 9th Lancers ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 5 | ... | 6 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8 | ... | 13 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4th Irregular Cavalry ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ***1st Infantry Brigade.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 75th Regiment ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1st European Bengal Fusiliers ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ***2nd Infantry Brigade.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 60th Rifles ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 4 | 1 | 16 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... |
| Sirmoor Battalion ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ***Engineer Brigade.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sappers and Miners ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ***Guide Corps.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cavalry ... ... ... | ... | ... | 1* | 1† | ... | ... | 9 | ... | 1 | ... | 1† | ... | 6 | 6 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 3rd Regiment, Native Infantry ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Total ... | 1 | ... | 2 | 2 | 13 | 1 | 25 | ... | 2 | 5 | 3 | 56 | 11 | 35 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... |
| Grand Total‡ ... | 19 | | | | | | 25 | 77 | | | | | | 35 | 2 | | | | | | |

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP, DELHI; *The 20th June 1857.*

Examined. (Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj.*, *Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.*

(Sd.) H. W. BARNARD, *Maj.-Genl.*, *Commanding Field Force.*

* A Native officer.

† Kote duffadars.

‡ It will be seen from the Nominal Roll that there should be in the column of the wounded, Staff—1, as Colonel A. M. Becher, Quartermaster-General, was wounded severely. The number of Subalterns should be five, not four, as Lieutenant Bishop, Artillery, was wounded on that day (see page 487 and Appendix G) though his name is not mentioned in the Nominal Roll. These alterations would raise the total of wounded to 79.

NOMINAL ROLL OF OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.*

*Staff.*

Colonel A. M. Becher, Quartermaster-General, wounded severely.

*Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.*

Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Yule, killed.

*3rd Regiment, Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant Alexander, killed.

*Her Majesty's 60th Royal Rifles.*

Captain H. F. Williams, severely wounded.
Lieutenant J. S. D. M'Gill, slightly wounded.
Lieutenant J. D. Dundas, slightly wounded.

*20th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant M. A. Humphrys, dangerously wounded (since dead).

*11th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

Ensign E. A. Phillipps, slightly wounded.

*Guide Corps.*

Captain Daly, Commandant, wounded (severely).

Examined.

(Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj.*, *Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.*

(Sd.) H. W. BARNARD, *Maj.-Genl.*, *Comdg. the Field Force.*

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to Major* W. A. J. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 875, dated Fort William, 21st August 1857.*

In transmitting to you, for submission to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the accompanying despatch from the Acting Adjutant-General of the Army with the force before Delhi, dated the 2nd July 1857, of military operations of the 19th of the previous month, I am instructed to request that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will have the goodness to make it known to Major-General Wilson, now in command of that force, that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, while regretting the severe loss sustained on the occasion, has perused with much satisfaction the gallantry displayed by the officers and men under Brigadier Grant, in repelling the mutineers.

* The name of Lieutenant H. Bishop, Artillery, should be included in the list of wounded (see page 187 and Appendix G).

404

2. I am to request the return of the original enclosures when no longer required.

---

*Telegram from* H. TUCKER, Esq., *Benares, to* LORD CANNING, *Calcutta,—No. 216, dated 24th June 1857.*

Major Erskine, in a letter from Jubbulpore, of 21st, sends the following extract from private letter from Indore of 14th June:—"There was a telegram late last night from Agra saying that the walls of Delhi had been knocked down, that the mutineers were entirely dispirited, and that the King of Delhi wished to throw himself on British protection. Major Erskine had written to the Resident at Indore to telegraph to Agra the Governor-General's message as to securing the King and his papers, pending orders. All quiet at Saugor and Nagode on 19th, and at Mhow on 15th, Gorakhpore standing on 21st, and communications re-opened with it and Azimghur, which is occupied by Mr. Venables with 100 men of 65th Native Infantry and 50 of Holmes' Irregulars. Jaunpore still unoccupied. Ghazipore and Mirzapore all right. Benares quiet. Much bad news circulated about Cawnpore; and the 114 Fatehgarh refugees said to have been shot down on the Cawnpore parade; but a man who left Cawnpore only five days ago says the garrison was all right there."

---

*From Brigadier-General* NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, *Acting Adjutant-General of the Army, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—(No. 7-A, dated Head-Quarters, Camp before Delhi, 6th July 1857).*

In forwarding for submission to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council the enclosed copy of a report from Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, K.C.B., dated 28th ultimo, relative to the attacks of the mutineers on the outposts of the force on the 23rd idem, I am directed by the Provincial Commander-in-Chief to add his testimony to that of Sir Henry Barnard as to the persevering gallantry and endurance of the troops engaged, both European and Native, of which Major-General Reed was himself for a portion of the day a witness.

2. The endurance displayed by the troops throughout the whole day, under a scorching sun and without food, the Provincial Commander-in-Chief considers to have been most praiseworthy, and well deserving the special commendation of the Government.

405

*From Major-General Sir* HENRY BARNARD, K.C.B., *Commanding the Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army,—(dated Camp before Delhi, 28th June 1857).*

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, that on the 23rd instant the insurgents renewed their attack upon us, and owing to some religious feeling, kept it up during the whole day; knowing they had come out of the town the day before and had not been seen returning at night, I became anxious for the safety of a valuable convoy, which was to march into camp on the morning of the 23rd, and sent a strong escort out to meet it; this was successful; but the convoy had scarcely arrived in camp, ere my attention was called to the right or Hindu Rao position, where, during the whole of the rest of the day, the combat was maintained. The enemy having lodged themselves in some loop-holed houses and a *serai* and mosque, occasioned some loss, and I regret to say Colonel Welchman, of the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, was severely wounded. The loss on the part of the rebels was very serious. I submit a casualty return.

---

*Numerical Return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the Field Force under the command of Major-General Sir* HENRY BARNARD, K.C.B., *during the operations of 23rd June 1857.*

| Corps. | Killed. | | | | | | | Wounded. | | | | | | | Missing. | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns and Native officers. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, gunners, and rank and file. | Natives. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns and Native officers. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, gunners, and rank and file. | Natives. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns and Native officers. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, gunners, and rank and file. | Natives. | Horses. |
| ***Artillery Force.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Head-Quarters and 1st, 2nd and 5th Troops, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 3rd Company, 3rd Battalion, No. 14 Light Field Battery ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 9 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| 4th Company, 6th Battalion Field Artillery ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Detachment, Artillery Recruits ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ***Cavalry Brigade.(a)*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ***1st Infantry Brigade.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 75th Regiment ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1st European Bengal Fusiliers ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 10 | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 3 | 26 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ***2nd Infantry Brigade.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 60th Royal Rifles ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 15 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | 6 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 16 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Sirmoor Battalion ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 27 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ***Engineers' Park.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sappers and Miners ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ***Guide Corps.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cavalry ... ... ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Infantry ... ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 3 | ... | ... | | | (b)1 | 2 | 15 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Total ... | ... | ... | 1 | 4 | 33 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 10 | 105 | 2 | 11 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Grand Total ... | 39 | | | | | | 4 | 121 | | | | | | 11 | | | | | | | 1 |

(*a*) No casualties occurred on the 23rd instant. | (*b*) Jemadar.

Examined.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP, DELHI; *The 24th June 1857.*

(Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj., Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.*

(Sd.) H. W. BARNARD, *Maj.-Genl., Comdg. the Field Force.*

407

NOMINAL ROLL* OF OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

*2nd European Bengal Fusiliers.*

Lieutenant Jackson, killed.

*1st European Bengal Fusiliers.*

Colonel J. Welchman, wounded.

*Her Majesty's 60th Royal Rifles.*

Captain C. Jones, wounded severely.

*Guide Corps.*

Lieutenant Murray, wounded.

Examined.

(Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj.*, *Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.*

(Sd.) H. W. BARNARD, *Maj.-Genl.*, *Comdg. the Field Force.*

---

*From Major-General Sir* H. W. BARNARD, K.C.B., *Commanding the Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Head-Quarters Camp,—dated Camp Delhi, 28th June 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, that the force under my command was attacked yesterday morning by the enemy; the attack commenced in the usual manner by an advance on the picquet at Metcalfe House at about 5 A.M., and subsequently, on being repulsed, they lodged themselves in the gardens of the Subzee Mundee, with a view of turning the right flank of our position. Failing in this the enemy retired to the city by about noon.

I enclose a casualty return.†

---

*From Major-General Sir* H. W. BARNARD, K.C.B., *Commanding the Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Head-Quarters Camp,—dated Camp Delhi, 1st July 1857.*

Casualty returns— 30th June 1857. 2nd July 1857.

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, that the forces under my command were attacked on the right flank by the enemy yesterday morning. At daybreak the enemy established themselves in the Subzee Mundee Gardens and enclosures; but

* "In this action we had one officer (Lieutenant Jackson, 2nd Bengal Fusiliers), 38 men and four horses killed; three officers (Colonel Welchman, 1st Bengal European Fusiliers; Captain Jones, 60th Rifles, severely; and Lieutenant Murray, Guide Corps, severely); 118 men and eleven horses wounded, and one horse missing."—*Lieutenant Norman's Narrative*, page 147.

† See Appendix F.

failing in their object of turning the flank of the position, they retired to the city, after keeping up an irregular engagement with the Subzee Mundee picquet till about 1 P.M. I enclose a casualty report.

Hearing the same afternoon that the enemy was trying to establish their batteries near the *eedgah*, I caused the troops mentioned in the margin, under command of Brigadier Showers, to make a reconnaissance up to the *serai*. This was found empty, but in an outhouse adjoining a number of sand bags and entrenching tools and a quantity of saltpetre were found by the troops. The force returned to their quarters by 7-30 P.M.

Wing, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment.
1st Bengal European Fusiliers.
One troop, Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.
One troop, 6th Dragoon Guards.
Six guns, Horse Artillery.

---

*Numerical return of the killed, wounded and missing of the Field Force under the command of Major-General Sir* H. BARNARD, K.C.B., *during the operations of the 30th June 1857.*

| Corps. | KILLED. | | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | | MISSING. | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Natives. | Horses. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Natives. | Horses. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Natives. | Horses. |
| Artillery Force ... ... | No casualties occurred on the 30th instant. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cavalry Brigade ... ... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st Infantry " ... ... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2nd Infantry Brigade— | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 60th Rifles ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 12 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Sirmoor Battalion ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | 1* | ... | 1 | ... | 9 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 3rd Infantry Brigade— | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 8th Regiment ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4th Regiment Sikh Infantry ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | ... | ... | ... | 4† | ... | ... | 6 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... |
| Guides Corps ... ... | No casualties occurred on the 30th instant. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Engineer Brigade ... ... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | 1 | 7 | ... | ... | 1 | 4 | 2 | 15 | 15 | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Grand Total ... | 8 | | | | | | | 37 | | | | | | | ... | | | | | | |

* A Subadar.

† Two of these were Jemadars.

Examined.

(Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj.*,
*Dy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.*

(Sd.) H. BARNARD, *Maj.-Genl.*,
*Comdg. the Field Force.*

469

## Nominal Roll of Officers Wounded.

### *4th Sikh Infantry.*

Lieutenant Pake, (4th Native Infantry), severely wounded.
Lieutenant Yorke, (3rd Native Infantry), dangerously wounded.

Examined.

(Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj.*, *Dy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.*

(Sd.) H. W. BARNARD, *Maj.-Genl.*, *Comdg. the Field Force.*

---

*Numerical Return of the killed, wounded and missing of the Field Force under the command of Major-General Sir* H. W. Barnard, K.C.B., *during the operations of 2nd July 1857.*

| Corps. | Killed. | | | | | | | Wounded. | | | | | | | Missing. | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Non-commissioned Officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Natives. | Horses. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Non-commissioned Officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Natives. | Horses. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Non-commissioned Officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Natives. | Horses. |
| Artillery Force ... ... } Cavalry Brigade ... ... } 1st Infantry Brigade ... ... } | | | | None | | | | | | | None | | | | | | | None | | | |
| 2nd Infantry Brigade— | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st Battalion Her Majesty's 60th Rifles ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Sirmoor Battalion ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 3rd Infantry Brigade ... ... } Engineer Park ... ... } | | | | None | | | | | | | None | | | | | | | None | | | |
| Total ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Grand Total ... | ... | | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | | ... | | | | | | |

Examined.

Camp Delhi, July 1857. (Sd.) R. S. EWART *Maj.*, *Dy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.* (Sd.) H. W. BARNARD, *Maj.-Genl.*, *Comdg. the Field Force.*

*From Captain and Brevet-Major* JOHN COKE, *Commanding Detachment, to Major* R. S. EWART, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Field Force,—(No. 89, dated Camp before Delhi, 5th July 1857).*

Two guns of 5th Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery.
Four guns of 2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery.
3rd Company, 3rd Battalion, Artillery, and No. 14 Light Field Battery.
Squadron, Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards.
Squadron, Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.
The Guide Cavalry.
Head-Quarters and Wing, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment.
1st Regiment, Punjab Infantry.

I have the honor to report, for the information of Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, Commanding the Force before Delhi, that, in accordance with instructions received, I marched with the force as per margin, at 2-30 A. M. yesterday, to attack the body of mutineers who had left Delhi on the previous evening.

On arriving at the junction of the roads from the city and cantonments, it seemed very doubtful whether the rebels would return by the right or left bank of the canal from Alipur. I therefore sent on Lieutenant Roberts by the main road to feel for the enemy, and Captain Hodson of the Guides, to the right bank of the canal.

I found the enemy were retiring by the Rhotuck road to Delhi, but spread all over the country. On crossing the canal, a considerable body with guns were seen at a village about a mile from the bridge, when I at once proceeded to attack them. After a few rounds from their guns, they carried them off in the direction of the city before we could get up to them, which they were enabled to do as they were on a road, whereas we had to advance over the open country, which was in many places a swamp, through which the guns and troops could only make their way with much difficulty.

A number of the enemy were killed who had thrown themselves into the village on our front; the rest fled in every direction. The cavalry of the Guides followed them with the greatest spirit, and succeeded in cutting up some more of the enemy. It was useless to attempt any further pursuit, for the heat was great and the European soldiers exhausted. I therefore returned to the banks of the canal and allowed the men to rest under the shade of the trees.

While I was bringing the infantry back, the artillery by some misconception returned to camp.

During the time we were resting under the trees on the canal, the enemy had collected their forces, and coming up under cover of the canal, made an attack on the infantry. We beat them back, and pursued them for a considerable distance; but seeing that there was a larger force collecting behind them, I withdrew the infantry and took

up a position that commanded the bridge, and as I expected they were bringing up guns, I sent into camp for artillery.

Before the guns arrived, however, the enemy made a second attack, and were beaten back with considerable loss.

Soon after the artillery and cavalry came up and followed the enemy, who again dispersed and fled in all directions.

I left the guns and cavalry at the canal bridge and brought back the infantry to camp, where we arrived about four o'clock.

There were about a hundred of the enemy killed in these attacks.

Enclosed is a return of our loss, which was very small.

---

*Return of killed and wounded of the detachments employed against the enemy, under command of Major* JOHN COKE, *on the 4th July 1857.*

| Corps. | Killed. | | | Wounded. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Non-Commissioned officers. | Rank and file. | Horses. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drivers. | Rank and file. | Horses. |
| 2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery ... ... | ... | 1 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 3rd Company, 3rd Battalion, Artillery, and No. 14, Light Field Battery ... ... ... ... | ... | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 2 |
| Detachment, 6th Dragoon Guards, (Carabineers) ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | 2 | ... |
| Detachment, Her Majesty's 9th Lancers ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Head-Quarters and Wing, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... |
| Guide Cavalry ... ... ... ... | ... | ... | 2 | 1 | ... | 7 | 4 |
| 1st Punjab Infantry ... ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 7 | ... |
| Total ... ... | ... | 2 | 7 | 2 | ... | 17 | 7 |
| Grand Total ... ... | 2 | | | 19 | | | |

(Sd.) JOHN COKE, *Brev.-Maj.,*
*Comdg. Detachment.*

---

*From Brigadier-General* NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, *Acting Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department—No. 10-A, dated Head-Quarters Camp before Delhi, 9th July 1857.*

I have the honor by desire of the Provincial Commander-in-Chief to request you will inform the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council that it has become Major-General Reed's painful task to report the death of Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, K.C.B., which event took place after a few hours illness at 3 P.M. on the 5th instant.

2. The Major-General deeply regrets this occurrence, which deprives the service of an officer whose distinguished success in the operations

hitherto carried on against the mutineers in and around Delhi has realised the prestige of his former brilliant services.

3. The Provincial Commander-in-Chief considers that the devotion of Sir Henry Barnard to the execution of the arduous duty with which he was entrusted was unremitting; and that to the fearless exposure of his person, not only to the bullets of the enemy, but to the more insidious power of the sun, may be attributed the premature termination of his valuable life.

4. Under these melancholy circumstances Major-General Reed has felt it his duty to assume the direction of operations against Delhi, pending instructions from His Lordship in Council.

---

*From Major-General* T. Reed, *Provincial Commander-in-Chief, to Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—(No. 12-A, dated Camp before Delhi, 14th July 1857).*

I have the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, that on the morning of the 9th instant, the right of our position was attacked by the mutineers in great force, with nine guns and cavalry in support.

2. The usual reinforcements having been despatched to the picquets on the flanks (at Hindu Rao's house), the troops which in the meantime had been held in readiness were turned out on the irruption of some mutineer horse on our right rear, estimated at from 150 to 200 in number, which had driven in a small picquet of the 9th Regiment, Irregular Cavalry, posted on that flank. The uniform of the mutineers being precisely similar to that of the 9th Regiment, Irregular Cavalry, great confusion was created by the circumstance, and led to the idea afterwards that the portion of that corps in camp had mutinied. A party of these sowars having penetrated to some guns preparing to move out of camp, called upon the Native gunners to join them; but they instead, true to their allegiance, called out to Major Olpherts' troop, which was unlimbered, to fire through them at the insurgents.

3. A party of foot artillery now advanced, led by Captain Fagan, who had been writing in his tent close by and had only time to relinquish his pen for a *tulwar*, and supported by a company of 1st Fusiliers, drove one portion of the sowars out of camp, having killed some fifteen of them and the guns at the mound battery on our right being brought round to bear, opened on them. In the meantime the remainder of the sowars on being discovered were driven out at the rear by a squadron 9th Lancers, Captain

413

Hodson's Guide Cavalry, and a party of the 2nd Regiment, Punjab Cavalry, under Lieutenant Nicholson, under the direction of Brigadier Grant.

4. It having been reported to me that the gardens and enclosures on our right were full of the enemy, I directed a column, composed as per margin, to be formed to drive them out, and soon after, having received a message from Brigadier-General Chamberlain, who was detached to the rear, that all was quiet in that quarter, and requesting permission to bring a force to the right for the purpose of performing the above service, I directed the column referred to to be placed under his orders, by which the Brigadier-General was enabled to leave Her Majesty's 75th Regiment in reserve in camp.

Available men of the wings of Her Majesty's 8th and 61st Regiments.
4th Regiment, Sikh Infantry.
Major Scott's Battery.

5. At the same time I directed Major Reid of the Sirmoor Battalion, in charge of the picquets on our right front (Hindu Rao's house), to advance on the approach of Brigadier-General Chamberlain.

6. The result of this combined movement was that the mutineers were driven with great loss under the cover of the grape and musketry from the walls of Delhi.

7. This success was not achieved without serious loss (I am sorry to say), as will appear by the accompanying return, while from all reliable sources, that of the enemy must have been at least triple in amount.

8. It is with the highest gratification I have the honor of forwarding the enclosed report of the heroic conduct of two officers—Major Tombs and Second-Lieutenant Hills of the 2nd Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery. It is unnecessary for me to make any further comment on Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie's report than to observe that the conduct of these officers has always been conspicuous for distinguished gallantry, for the display of which, owing to his standing in the service, Major Tombs has had more opportunities; and that in recommending them to the most favorable consideration of the Governor-General in Council, I consider them to be worthy of the highest distinction that can be awarded to valour and heroism.

9. I take this opportunity of recording the meritorious and efficient services afforded to me upon this occasion, and on every former one, to my lamented predecessor in the command of this force, not only by my own personal and divisional staff, but also by the officers of the head-quarters staff of the army, who, with my concurrence, placed themselves at the disposal of Major-General Sir Henry Barnard; and I feel assured I am acting in accordance with his intentions and wishes in

bringing to the favorable notice of His Lordship in Council, the valuable services of Brigadier-General Chamberlain, Acting Adjutant-General; Captain Norman, Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, who from the death of Colonel Chester, until the arrival of Brigadier-General Chamberlain, on the 24th ultimo, acted as Adjutant-General; Colonel Congreve, Acting Adjutant-General, Her Majesty's Forces; Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon'ble R. W. P. Curzon, Acting Quartermaster-General, Her Majesty's Forces; Lieutenant-Colonel Young, Judge-Advocate-General; and Captain Garstin, Officiating Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General. Colonel Becher, I regret to say, has been prevented by the severe wound received on the 19th ultimo from accompanying myself or Sir Henry Barnard into the field; but his exertions in the performance of his official duties have been unceasing.

---

*From Brigadier* A. WILSON, *Commandant of Artillery, to Brigadier-General* N. B. CHAMBERLAIN, *Acting Adjutant-General of the Army,—(No. 37-A, dated Head-Quarters of Artillery, Camp before Delhi, 10th July 1857).*

I have much pleasure in forwarding, for submission to the Commander of the Forces, the accompanying copy of a report, No. 83, of this day's date, I have received from Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie, Commanding the 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery, of the gallant conduct of Major Tombs and Second-Lieutenant Hills of the Second Troop of his Brigade, when surprised by the enemy's cavalry yesterday morning; and to state that I shall feel gratified by any mark of approbation or reward the Commander of the Forces may deem fit to award or recommend them for.

---

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* M. MACKENZIE, *Commanding the 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery, to Brigadier* A. WILSON, *Commandant of Artillery,—(No. 83, dated Camp near Delhi, 10th July 1857).*

It is with great pleasure I submit, for the information of the Brigadier Commandant, the following account of the very gallant conduct of Second-Lieutenant James Hills of the 2nd Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery, and the noble behaviour of his commanding officer, Major H. Tombs, in twice coming to his subaltern's rescue, and on each occasion killing his man.

Yesterday the 9th instant, Second-Lieutenant J. Hills was on picquet duty with two guns at the mound to the right of camp. About 11 A.M. there was a rumour that the enemy's cavalry were coming

down on this post. Lieutenant Hills proceeded to take up the position assigned in case of alarm; but before he reached the spot, he saw the enemy close upon his guns before they had time to form up. To enable them to do this, Lieutenant Hills boldly charged single-handed the head of the enemy's column, cut down the first man, struck the second, and was then ridden down horse and all. On getting up and searching for his sword, three more men came at him (two mounted); the first man he wounded with his pistol; he caught the lance of the second in his left hand, and wounded him with his sword; the first man then came on again and was cut down; the third man (on foot) then came up and wrenched the sword from the hand of Lieutenant Hills (who fell in the struggle), and the enemy was about to cut him down, when Major Tombs (who had gone up to visit his two guns) saw what was going on, rushed in and shot the man, and saved Lieutenant Hills.

By this time the enemy's cavalry had passed by, and Major Tombs and Lieutenant Hills went to look after the wounded men, when Lieutenant Hills observed one of the enemy passing with his (Lieutenant Hills') pistol. They walked towards him, and the man began flourishing his sword and dancing about. He first cut at Lieutenant Hills, who parried the blow, and he then turned on Major Tombs, who received the blow in the same manner. His second attack on Lieutenant Hills was (I regret to say) more successful, as he was cut down with a bad sword-cut on the head, and would have been no doubt killed, had not Major Tombs rushed in and put his sword through the man. I feel convinced that such gallant conduct on the part of these two officers has only to be brought properly forward to meet with an appropriate reward.*

Major Tombs was saved from a severe sword-cut on the head by the wadded head-dress he wore.

I have to apologize for the writing of this letter, as it is written from a sick bed.

* Major Tombs and Lieutenant Hills received the Victoria Cross.

416

*NUMERICAL RETURN of casualties in the Field Force under the command of Major-General* T. REED, C.B., *during the operations of the 9th July 1857.*

| Corps. | KILLED. | | | | | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | | | | | MISSING. | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Veterinary surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Veterinary surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Veterinary surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. |
| Staff ... ... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| *Artillery Force.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 6 | 6 | | | | | | | | | 2 | 8 |
| 3rd Company, 3rd Battalion, Artillery, and No. 14 Light Field Battery ... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 9 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Detachment, 4th Battalion Artillery ... ... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Detachment, Artillery Recruits ... ... | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sikh Company of Artillery | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 3 | |
| *Engineer Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pioneers ... ... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Cavalry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9th Irregular Cavalry ... | | | | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 5 | 9 |
| *1st Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st European Bengal Fusiliers ... ... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *2nd Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st Battalion, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles ... ... | | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | 2 | 16 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers ... ... | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | | 15 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Sirmoor Battalion ... | | | | | | | | | 7 | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | 23 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *3rd Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 8th Regiment | | | | | | | | 2 | 9 | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | 4 | 14 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 61st Regiment | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 2 | | | | | 1 | 8 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4th Regiment, Sikh Local Infantry ... ... | | | | | | 1 | | | 6 | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | 16 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Corps of Guides.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cavalry ... ... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Infantry ... ... | | | | | | | | | 6 | | | | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 26 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total ... | | | | | | 1 | | 4 | 35 | | | 3 | 6 | | | 2 | 3 | 14 | 144 | 8 | | | | | | | | | 11 | 18 |
| Grand Total ... | 40 | | | | | | | | | | 172 | | | | | | | | | 8 | 11 | | | | | | | | | 18 |

(Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Major,*
*Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl., Field Force.*

417

*List of Officers killed and wounded during the operations of the 9th July 1857.*

| No. | Rank and Names. | Regiment. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Artillery.* | | |
| 1 | Second-Lieutenant J. Hills ... | 2nd Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery. | Severely wounded. |
| | *2nd Infantry Brigade.* | | |
| 1 | Captain D. Kemp ... ... | 5th Native Infantry, doing duty with 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers. | Severely wounded. |
| 1 | Lieutenant A. H. Eckford ... | 69th Native Infantry, doing duty with Sirmoor Battalion. | Slightly wounded. |
| | *3rd Infantry Brigade.* | | |
| 1 | Captain E. G. Daniell ... ... | Her Majesty's 8th Regiment ... | Severely wounded. |
| 1 | Ensign W. H. Mountsteven ... | Her Majesty's 8th Regiment ... | Dangerously wounded. (since dead). |
| 6 | Captain Burnside ... ... | Her Majesty's 61st Rgiment ... | Slightly wounded. |
| 6 | Lieutenant C. J. Griffiths ... | Her Majesty's 61st Rgiment ... | Severely wounded. |
| 6 | Ensign E. B. Andros ... ... | Her Majesty's 61st Rgiment ... | Slightly wounded. |
| 9 | Lieutenant A. Pullan ... ... | 4th Sikh Infantry ... ... | Severely wounded. |

(Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Major,*
*Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl., Field Force.*

---

*From Major-General* T. REED, *Commanding the Field Force and Provincial Commander-in-Chief, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department.—(No. 13-A, dated Camp before Delhi, 16th July 1857).*

On the morning of the 14th, the mutineers moved out of the city and attacked our batteries at Hindu Rao's house* and the picquet in the Subzee Mundee suburb, all under the command of Major Reid of the Sirmoor Battalion. Our troops remained on the defensive until 3 P.M., maintaining their position against a force believed to consist of twenty regiments of infantry, a large body of cavalry, and several field pieces, and supported by a fire of heavy artillery from the walls.

* *Picquets at the batteries.*
Detachments Her Majesty's 60th Rifles and 75th Regiment.
Sirmoor Battalion.
Guide Infantry.
*Subzee Mundee picquet.*
180 of Her Majesty's 8th and 61st Regiments.

2. At three o'clock a column was formed, as per margin, under command of Brigadier Showers, to drive the enemy out of the suburbs; Major Reid with the troops from Hindu Rao's picquet co-operating on the left.

Six horse artillery guns of Major Turner's and Captain Money's troops, with both these officers.
1st Fusiliers, under Major Jacobs.
1st Regiment Punjab Infantry, under Major Coke.

418

3. This service was effectually and gallantly performed, and the enemy driven in confusion and with much loss, under the cover of a very heavy fire of grape and musketry from the walls of Delhi, and very nearly losing some of the field guns they had brought outside.

4. Our own loss I am sorry to say was severe, as will be seen by the accompanying return, and I extremely regret to report that Brigadier-General Chamberlain, the Acting Adjutant-General of the Army, who accompanied Brigadier Showers' column, was severely wounded. The duties of the Adjutant-General's Department have therefore again devolved on Captain Norman.

5. Yesterday and to-day the enemy have remained perfectly quiet, with the exception of a fire of artillery at intervals from the walls, to which our heavy batteries have replied.

---

*Numerical Return of the killed, wounded, and missing in the Field Force under the command of Major-General* T. REED, C.B., *during the operations of the 14th July 1857.*

| Corps. | KILLED. | | | | | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | | | | | MISSING. | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Veterinary surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Veterinary surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Veterinary surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. |
| Staff ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *Artillery Force.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2nd and 3rd Troops, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | .. | ... | 1 | 5 | 4* | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4th Company, 6th Battalion | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *Engineer Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Engineers ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Pioneers ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *1st Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 75th Regiment ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | .. | .. | 6 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1st European Bengal Fusiliers ... ... | ... | .. | .. | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | 2 | .. | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | .. | ... | 8 | 54 | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | 2 | ... |

* One of these horses is missing.

*Numerical Return of the killed, wounded, and missing in the Field Force under the command of Major-General* T. REED, C.B., *during the operations of the 14th July 1857.*—(Concld.)

| Corps. | Killed. | | | | | | | | | | Wounded. | | | | | | | | | | Missing. | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Veterinary surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Veterinary surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Veterinary surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. |
| *2nd Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st Battalion, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Sirmoor Battalion ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 30 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *3rd Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 8th Regiment | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Her Majesty's 61st Regiment | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4th Sikh Regiment, Local Infantry ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *Corps of Guides.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cavalry ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Infantry ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 2 | 19 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1st Regiment, Punjab Infantry ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 4 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 4 | 23 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Major Coke's cavalry troop | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Lieutenant W. S. R. Hodson's Sikh Irregular Horse ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Total ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 13 | 2 | 1 | ... | 15 | ... | ... | 1 | 2 | 18 | 156 | 7 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... |
| Grand Total ... | 15 | | | | | | | | | 2 | 193 | | | | | | | | | 7 | 2 | | | | | | | | | |

Examined.

CAMP DELHI, The 15th July 1857. (Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj.*, *Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.* (Sd.) T. REED, *Maj.-Genl.*, *Comdg. the Field Force.*

*Nominal Roll of Officers killed, wounded, and missing in the Field Force under the command of Major-General* T. REED, C.B., *during the operations of the 14th July 1857.*

| No. | Rank and Names. | Corps or Department. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Brigadier-General Chamberlain ... | Acting Adjutant-General of Army ... | Severely wounded. |
| | Lieutenant F. S. Roberts, Bl. Arty. | Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General. | Slightly wounded. |
| | 2nd-Lieutenant P. Thompson ... | 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery ... | Severely wounded. |
| | Lieutenant J. T. Walker ... | Bombay Engineers ... | |
| | Lieutenant M. G. Geneste ... | Bengal Engineers ... | Slightly wounded. |
| | 2nd-Lieutenant H. L. Carnegie ... | | |
| | Lieutenant C. R. Rivers ... | Her Majesty's 75th Regiment ... | |
| | Lieutenant G. C. N. Faithful ... | | |
| | Lieutenant J. W. Daniell ... | 1st European Bengal Fusiliers ... | Severely wounded. |
| | Lieutenant S. Ross ... | (9th N. I.) Sirmoor Battalion ... | Slightly wounded. |
| | Lieutenant A. Tulloch ... | (20th N. I.) Sirmoor Battalion ... | Severely wounded. |
| | Lieutenant Chester ... | (36th N. I.) Sirmoor Battalion ... | Slightly wounded. |
| | Lieutenant Shebbeare ... | (60th N. I.) Guides Infantry ... | |
| | Lieutenant Hawes ... | (38th N. I.) ditto ... | |
| | Lieutenant DeBrett ... | (57th N. I.) ditto ... | |
| | Lieutenant Pollock ... | (35th N. I.) 1st Punjab Infantry ... | Severely wounded. |

Examined.

CAMP DELHI, *The 15th July 1857.* (Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj., Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.* (Sd.) T. REED, *Maj.-Genl., Comdg. the Field Force.*

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to the Acting Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 652, dated Fort William, 15th July 1857.*

I am directed to acknowledge the letter from the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, No. 3-A, dated 13th June 1857, and received on the 9th instant.

This is the only communication from the head-quarters of the army before Delhi which has been received by the Governor-General of India in Council since the army took up its position; and it appears that none has been addressed by your department to the Supreme Government between the 27th of May and the date of your letter now replied to.

I am to observe upon this that it is necessary that the Governor-General of India in Council should receive more frequent reports of the

proceedings of the force under Major-General Sir Henry Barnard's command, and that there should be no omission in sending these reports, though the ordinary and direct channels of communication should be closed.

The Governor-General of India in Council is glad to know that on the 9th ultimo Major-General Reed trusted ere long to be able to strike a decisive blow against Delhi. But His Lordship fears, judging by accounts which have reached him from other quarters, that no such blow had been struck up to the 19th of June, and he awaits with anxiety the reports from your department of further operations.

It is not to be understood as conveying any judgment upon the conduct of the operations which have already taken place, with the details and reasons of which the Government of India is still unacquainted, if the Governor-General of India in Council observes that it would be difficult to estimate the gravity of the consequences which have followed from Delhi being so long in the hands of the insurgents. A great part of India has passed from our rule; the sufferings and loss of life have been lamentable; disaffection and resistance to authority are still spreading, and unless the fact that the decisive blow has been struck and that the power of the British Government has been re-established in Delhi shall soon become known, it is too probable that the contagion of rebellion will be carried to the remotest boundary of the Empire. Time, always most valuable in military operations, has had in the present instance a political value which can scarcely be exaggerated; and the knowledge that Delhi, the traditional seat of the Mahomedan sovereignty, has been so long successfully held against the Government by its own rebellious soldiers and subjects, is shaking the British power in India to its foundations.

For these reasons, the Governor-General of India in Council feels it to be his duty to impress upon the Major-General Commanding the Forces at Delhi the paramount importance of speedily recovering possession of that city.

The Governor-General of India in Council hopes that when this shall have been accomplished, Sir Henry Barnard will find little difficulty in opening communication with Agra, Cawnpore, and Allahabad, and thereby placing himself in co-operation with the force which has been collected at Allahabad, and which is now moving from that place on Cawnpore and Lucknow.

---

422

EXTRACT FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL IN THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT,—No. 227-A, UNDER DATE THE 14TH JULY 1857.

*Extract from a letter from the Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.—No. 22, dated 19th June 1857.*

* * * * * *

PARA. 2. The Jullundur mutineers have for the most part made their way to Delhi. They divided into two parties. The main portion moving through the Patiala country in a tolerably direct line; the other making a long detour under the hills. The police and some *jaghirdari* horse frequently came up with the mutineers, but as the latter kept in a compact body, could do them little harm.

* * * * * *

4. Throughout the Punjab, peace and order are still maintained. The good conduct of the people of all classes has been mostly praiseworthy. In the Peshawar Valley the position of our troops have considerably improved. Captain Wilde, of the 4th Regiment, Punjab Rifles, has crossed the Indus and reached Nowshera. With three regiments of European infantry, twenty-four guns manned by Europeans, the mountain train, and two corps of Punjab infantry, and a good body of Mooltanee and police horse, Peshawar may be considered safe. There is indeed a large body of Native troops to watch, but they can do little mischief, and with the Indus well guarded between them and Hindustan cannot easily escape.

5. On the 15th* another sortie from Delhi took place, in which the insurgents again suffered considerably. But the call for reinforcements has been repeated. The Chief Commissioner has despatched every available soldier towards Delhi, and by this time some portion must have arrived. Many of the furlough men will soon rejoin, and it may be estimated that the whole of the reinforcements will be equal to 3,250 men, *viz.* :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seven companies of Her Majesty's 8th | ... | 600 |
| Five companies of Her Majesty's 61st | ... | 450 |
| European artillerymen ... | ... | 200 |
| 1st Regiment, Punjab Rifles ... | ... | 800 |
| 4th Regiment, Sikhs ... | ... | 800 |
| Punjab Cavalry ... ... | ... | 400 |
| Total | ... | 3,250 |

* The 14th.

423

In addition to these troops, some 600 mounted levies under chiefs of approved fidelity are being sent on, who will be very useful in maintaining order between Umballa and Kurnaul and the adjacent districts, which have been somewhat disturbed. If necessary, two more Punjabi regiments will soon be available.

6. The Punjab troops have hitherto displayed the greatest zeal. All are eager for employment, and many have volunteered. The 1st Regiment, Punjab Rifles alone, in this season of the year, will prove as useful as a regiment of Europeans. They are rivals in fame with the Guides, and are eager to distinguish themselves as those gallant soldiers have done.

If the Punjab troops prove faithful, and there is much reason to believe that they will continue to do so, within the next three months there will be an army of nearly 40,000 disciplined soldiers, half of which might be employed in Hindustan. The Punjab cavalry is the least reliable portion of the force, upwards of half of it being composed of Hindustanis.

| | |
|---|---|
| Eighteen regiments of the Punjab Sikh and Police Force, 950 each ... ... | 17,100 |
| Four companies additional ... | 8,500 |
| Five new battalions already reported ... ... | 4,700 |
| Punjab cavalry ... ... | 6,000 |
| Three new Sikh regiments ... | 2,850 |
| Total ... | 39,150 |

7. General Reed has lately made two excellent appointments, *viz.*, Brigadier-General Neville Chamberlain to act as Adjutant-General and Lieutenant-Colonel J. Nicholson to command the Movable Column. The services of two such soldiers in prominent posts at this crisis will prove invaluable to the public interests.

8. Twelve regiments of Bengal Native Infantry are still in the Punjab, who retain their arms, besides regular and irregular cavalry, all of whom are more or less doubtful; and sixteen corps of infantry and three of regular cavalry have mutinied or have been disarmed as a precautionary measure. Of the latter, nine have gone off, and ten are under surveillance. With a border therefore of eight hundred miles to guard, the country to hold, and those troops to watch, it is with some difficulty that a sufficient force to reinforce the army before Delhi can be provided. A European regiment and a Beluch battalion are now on their way from Sind to Mooltan, which will afford very material assistance.

---

*Extract from a letter from* G. F. EDMONSTONE, ESQ., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, —No. 227, dated 14th July 1857.*

* * * * * *

PARA. 3. With reference to the fourth paragraph of the despatch under notice, the Governor-General of India in Council desires me to say

that you must be prepared to detach one European regiment from the Peshawar force if it should be called for, supplying its place, as you best can, with local levies. It will be better, in His Lordship's judgment, to reduce our European strength there, and turn some of it to account elsewhere than to leave it to be reduced unprofitably by sickness in autumn.

4. The Governor-General of India in Council entirely approves of your having forwarded to Delhi the reinforcements alluded to in the fifth paragraph, consisting of 1,250 European infantry and artillery, and of 2,000 local infantry and cavalry, as well as of your having sent on mounted levies, under chiefs of approved fidelity, for the purpose of restoring and maintaining order in the disturbed districts. Your unceasing exertions to support and strengthen the army before Delhi are fully appreciated by the Governor-General.

5. On the subject of the sixth paragraph you will receive instructions from the Military Department.

Ordered, that copies of paras. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 of Captain James' letter, and of paras. 3, 4, 5 of the above letter, be sent to the Military Department for consideration and orders.

(True Extract.)

(Sd.) G. F. EDMONSTONE,

*Secy. to the Govt. of India, Foreign Dept.*

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab,—No. 645, dated Fort William, 15th July 1857.*

With reference to the seventh paragraph of your Officiating Secretary's letter No. 22 of the 19th ultimo, to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, notifying the appointment by Major-General Reed of Brigadier-General N. Chamberlain to act as Adjutant-General of the Army, and of Lieutenant-Colonel J. Nicholson to command the Movable Column, I am desired to acquaint you that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council cordially concurs in your expressed approval of these appointments.

Nos. 646 and 647.

Copy of the above forwarded to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, with extract Foreign Department No. 227-A, dated 14th July

1857, in original, the return of which is requested, and to the Officiating Military Auditor-General for information.

By order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council.

(Sd.) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.*,
*Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.*

---

*From Major* W. A. J. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—No. 659, dated Calcutta, 16th July 1857.*

Recommending that Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel N. B. Chamberlain may be appointed Adjutant-General of the Army, *vice* Chester, killed in action.

I have the honor, by desire of the Commander-in-Chief, to forward a memorandum appointing Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel N. B. Chamberlain, of the 16th Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, Adjutant-General of the Army, *vice* Brevet-Colonel C. Chester, killed in action before Delhi on the 8th ultimo, which I am to request you will be good enough to submit to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council with His Excellency's recommendation of that officer to fill this very responsible post.

2. Lieutenant-Colonel Chamberlain being employed in the Punjab Irregular Force, it will be necessary to place his services at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief.

---

MEMORANDUM.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council is pleased to make the following appointment to the General staff of the army:—

Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel N. B. Chamberlain, of the 16th Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, to be Adjutant-General of the Army, *vice* Brevet-Colonel Charles Chester, killed in action.

(Sd.) W. A. J. MAYHEW, *Maj.*,
*Depy. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.*

---

*From Major-General* T. REED, C.B., *Commanding the Field Force before Delhi, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—No. 14-A, dated Camp before Delhi, 17th July 1857.*

I regret to have to request you will inform the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council that my shattered state of health has compelled my medical officers to urge my immediate removal to the hills, and that I accordingly leave camp for Simla to-night.

426

2. I have made over command of the field force to Brigadier A. Wilson, on whom I have, in anticipation of sanction, conferred the rank of Brigadier-General, an officer in whose ability and discretion I have the most perfect reliance, and who has already gained the confidence of those who have served with him.

---

*General Orders by Major-General* T. REED, C.B., *Provincial Commander-in-Chief, dated Head-Quarters, Camp before Delhi, 17th July 1857.*

Lieutenant-General Sir Patrick Grant, K.C.B., having, in G. O. dated the 17th June at Calcutta, announced his having assumed command of the Bengal Army from that date, Major-General Reed has ceased to exercise the duties of Provincial Commander-in-Chief.

Major-General Reed having been recommended by his medical advisers to avail himself of a sick certificate to repair to the hills as the only chance of recovering his shattered health, which has latterly prevented him from taking an active part in the field operations, has made over the command and charge of this force to Brigadier-General A. Wilson.

It is with the greatest reluctance the Major-General has come to the determination to take this step, but his duty to his country must be paramount to any selfish consideration, and being incapacitated himself for the post by disease and weakness, he has no alternative than to devolve his arduous duties upon another.

Of Brigadier-General Wilson's merits it is unnecessary for Major-General Reed to speak; his judgment, gallantry, and conduct have been conspicuous since he led his small, but victorious, band from Meerut, up to this day.

It only remains for the Major-General to congratulate the forces before Delhi on being placed under so able a commander as Brigadier-General Wilson.

Major-General Reed takes this opportunity of requesting the head-quarters and divisional staff to accept his thanks for the great assistance received by him and by his lamented predecessor, Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, K.C.B., not only in the exercise of their departmental duties, but also in the operations in the field.

To Brigadier-General Chamberlain, Acting Adjutant-General of the Army; Colonel Congreve, Acting Adjutant-General, Her Majesty's Forces; Colonel Becher, Quartermaster-General of the Army; Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon'ble R. W. P. Curzon, Acting Quartermaster-General,

Her Majesty's Forces; Lieutenant-Colonel Young, Judge Advocate-General; Captain Norman, Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army; Captains Garstin and Hodson, Officiating Deputy Assistant Quartermasters-General of the Army; Major Ewart, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain Stewart, Officiating Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain Maisey, Deputy Judge Advocate-General, and Captain Shute, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General of Division, his acknowledgments are eminently due.

The Major-General's warmest thanks are due to the whole artillery of the force, who have on all occasions behaved with conspicuous gallantry, and have ever maintained the reputation of their distinguished corps.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Baird Smith and the Engineer Department, Major-General Reed offers his most sincere acknowledgments for the valuable services they have rendered.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Thomson, Deputy Commissary-General, and his Assistants; to Superintending Surgeon Tritton, and all the officers of the Medical Department—the Major-General's best thanks are due for their indefatigable and successful exertions.

To Brigadiers Grant, Longfield, Jones, and Showers, and to the gallant officers and troops, European and Native, under their orders the Major-General begs to award his tribute of admiration for their brilliant and distinguished conduct in a succession of attacks in which the enemy have on every occasion been repulsed. The behaviour of the troops has been beyond all praise.

Major-General Reed cannot forbear from recording the name of Major Reid as having commanded this post which has been subject to the most frequent and constant attacks of the enemy, from which they have always been driven with great loss by the able dispositions of that officer, so admirably seconded by the troops under his command, comprising parties of Her Majesty's 60th Royal Rifles and other corps, with the gallant Sirmoor Battalion and Corps of Guides.

In conclusion, the Major-General desires to express his thanks to the officers of his personal staff for the uniform assistance he has received from them upon every occasion, and he only regrets he has not had more frequent opportunities of witnessing their distinguished conduct in the field—to Captains Lowe, Reed, and Turnbull, Aides-de-Camp; to Assistant Surgeon W. F. Mactier, and to Lieutenant R. C. Low, Orderly Officer; as well as to Lieutenant W. W. H. Greathed, of Engineers, who acted as Aide-de-Camp to the General Commanding

from the 7th ultimo, besides performing the duty of field engineer when his services were needed in that capacity.

---

*Demi-official from Hon'ble* J. R. COLVIN, *to Brigadier-General* G. St. P. LAWRENCE, *Commanding the Forces in Rajputana,—dated Fort Agra, 24th July 1857.*

Pray send on this express to the Governor-General. All right for the present here. Very little signs of decided advance at Delhi. Brigadier Wilson of the Artillery now commands there.

---

*Extract of a letter from Brigadier-General* A. WILSON, *Commanding the Forces before Delhi, to the address of Sir* JOHN LAWRENCE,*—dated 18th July 1857.*

General Reed has left us, sick. Myself in command of the force. The Chief Engineer agrees with me in opinion that an assault would be dangerous and disastrous. Our force comprises 2,200 Europeans and 1,500 Punjabis. The enemy is without number, having been reinforced from all points, well equipped and strongly entrenched. The siege is on their part, not on ours. They attack us day after day, and are always repulsed, but not without considerable loss to us. I shall hold my position to the last, for it is of the utmost consequence that the enemy should be confined within Delhi, to prevent their ravaging the country about. To effect this object it is absolutely necessary that I should be strongly reinforced as quickly as possible. I understand that reinforcements cannot arrive immediately, and consequently beg to urge upon you to send me from the Punjab a regiment of Europeans and two of Sikhs or Punjabis complete. If this is not done, I shall be compelled to fall back upon Kurnaul; the consequences of such a movement will be disastrous.

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to the Officer Commanding at Allahabad,—No. 1115, dated 29th July 1857.*

I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council to request that you will have the goodness to transmit as speedily as possible to General Neill at Cawnpore the subjoined order, to be forwarded by him by *kossid* with all practicable despatch to the camp before Delhi.

Government having received a report of the decease of Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, Commanding the Field Force before Delhi,

the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council is pleased to appoint Brigadier-General A. Wilson of the Artillery to command the force, and to confer upon that officer the rank of Major-General for special service.

2. A telegram to the above effect was this day transmitted to you.

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General* T. Reed, c.b., *Commanding the Field Force before Delhi, and to the Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces,—Nos. 1118-1119, dated Fort William, 29th July 1857.*

I am directed to transmit $\frac{\text{for your information}}{\text{to you, for information of Hon. the Lieut.-Govr.}}$ a copy of the following telegraph message, from the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta, to the Officer Commanding at Allahabad dated 26th July 1857, *viz.*:—

"Urgent. Let the Agra messenger take back the following message to Mr. Thornhill at Agra:—

*Begins:* 'The local Government at Agra must continue to lay in stores largely.

'The column which will move from Bengal to Agra and Delhi cannot be collected at Allahabad in much less than a month from this time.

'The main body will consist of two regiments of the China Expedition.

'Mr. Thornhill will send this information to General Sir Henry Barnard at Delhi.

'He will add that as General Sir Henry Barnard's force now consists of 3,400 Europeans and 1,900 trustworthy Native troops, with twenty-eight field guns and a small siege-train, the Governor-General of India in Council looks confidently to something more being effected than the repulse of the enemy's attacks.

'It is desired that the Governor of Agra will keep up daily communication with the army at Delhi, and with the officer in command at Cawnpore.

'It is now certain that communication in both directions is possible.

'It is further ordered by the Governor-General of India in Council that upon receipt of this message the command at Agra be assumed by Lieutenant-Colonel Cotton of the 67th Regiment, Native Infantry, in place of Brigadier Polwhele, superseded.'—*Ends.*"

430

*From Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major* W. A. J. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 1120, dated Fort William, 29th July 1857.*

I am directed to forward to you, for the information of His Excellency the Acting Commander-in-Chief, the following extract of a telegraph message, dated 26th July 1857, from the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council to the Officer Commanding Allahabad, for transmission to Mr. Thornhill at Agra:—

No. 358.

"It is further ordered by the Governor-General of India in Council that upon receipt of this message the command at Agra be assumed by Lieutenant-Colonel Cotton of the 67th Regiment, Native Infantry, in place of Brigadier Polwhele, superseded."

*Telegram from Brigadier-General* J. G. S. NEILL, *Cawnpore, to the Commander-in Chief and Governor-General, Calcutta,—No. 191-50, dated Cawnpore, 18th August 1857.*

News from Agra of 11th and Delhi of 8th. Gwalior troops reported likely to move Cawnpore way. The powder manufactory in Begum Sumroo's house, Delhi, was blown up by our shells. Five hundred artificers killed, and a very large quantity of sulphur and saltpetre completely destroyed. Nicholson had arrived in camp, and Punjab reinforcements were to arrive by the 15th. No serious fighting since 2nd.

*Telegram from* C. CHESTER, Esq., *Allahabad, to* CECIL BEADON, Esq., *Calcutta,—No. 241, dated Allahabad, 20th August 1857.*

On 8th instant the rebels' powder factory in Delhi was blown up by a shell; five hundred artificers said to have been killed. The Gwalior insurgents are said to be meditating a junction with the Oudh rebels by crossing Jumna at Calpee, and moving towards Cawnpore. Captain Nixon requests me to beg Supreme Government to push on two squadrons of dragoons, and one European battery from Mhow to Agra *viâ* Neemuch and Nasirabad, that side being quite open.

No. 1552.

Copy forwarded to the Military Department for information.

HOME DEPARTMENT, *The 21st August 1857.*

(Sd.) R. B. CHAPMAN.
*Offg. Under Secy. to the Govt. of India.*

431

*From Brigadier-General* A. WILSON, *Commanding the Field Force, to the Acting Adjutant-General of the Army,—(No. 1424, dated Camp before Delhi, 12th August 1857.)*

I have the honor to transmit a return of the casualties (killed and wounded) of the field force under my command, which occurred during the attack on our outposts by the mutineers on the 18th, 20th, and 23rd of last month, and to attach the reports of the officers commanding the columns which I directed to be formed to dislodge the mutineers from the position taken up by them in front of the Subzee Mundee and main picquets.

On the 18th this service was gallantly and efficiently performed by the troops under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Jones of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles. From the numerous enclosures and broken ground occupied by the insurgents, they were enabled to offer a continued and determined resistance; but which, from the disposition of the troops under his command made by Lieutenant-Colonel Jones, was successfully overcome and the mutineers driven with severe loss into the town.

The column under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton of the 35th Regiment, Native Infantry employed on the 20th, had for its object the dislodgment of the mutineers from nearly the same position they occupied on the 18th instant.

The attack made on the 20th having commenced about 9 A.M. and being maintained for several hours, a movement towards their flank and rear became necessary to relieve the posts attacked, and which the advance of the column under Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton completely effected.

On the morning of the 23rd the mutineers having moved out in force from the Cashmere Gate of the city and attacked the centre and left front of our position, when perceiving, as they moved to our right, that by a flank movement from our left the insurgents would be compelled to retire and possibly with the loss of some of their guns, I directed Brigadier Showers to take command of the troops marginally noted in his report, and engage the mutineers from the points and in the manner detailed by him.

Brigadier Showers ably performed the service entrusted to him and the result was as anticipated, the speedy retirement of the insurgents into the city.

Each of these columns of attack against the mutineers was most ably led and my orders fully carried out by the officers commanding them; and I beg to record my thanks to Brigadier Showers, Lieutenant-Colonels Jones and Seaton individually, and to the officers and men

collectively who acted under them, for the zeal and gallantry displayed by all on each occasion.

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* J. JONES, *Her Majesty's 60th Royal Rifles, to the Adjutant-General of the Field Force before Delhi—(Dated Camp before Delhi, 31st July 1857).*

I have the honor to report for the information of the Brigadier-General Commanding the Field Force, that about 1 P.M. on the 18th instant, I received orders to take command of a movable column consisting of the troops named in the margin, and to proceed to the Subzee Mundee and ground in front of it, and drive the enemy back who were there in position. On arriving at the *pucca* road leading to the Subzee Mundee, I ordered the Sikhs into the wood on the right of the road, and to advance in skirmishing order, their left resting on the road and their right on the canal, the remainder of the column advancing along the road, the head of it being in line with the skirmishers in cover. On arriving at the Subzee Mundee, I ordered Her Majesty's 75th Regiment to enter the village, and to advance through it and clear it, which duty they performed; but were detained some time at a *serai* before they could drive the enemy from it, but eventually they succeeded. During this time the remainder of the column was on the road on the Subzee Mundee, with the exception of two guns supported by cavalry and infantry which I advanced. On Her Majesty's 75th Regiment moving on, I advanced the whole of the column to the gate leading up to Hindu Rao's house, and then took the road to the right and crossed the canal, placing two guns in position on the first road leading to the city, and advancing the other two to a road parallel to the first. On arriving there, the enemy were stationed behind the crest of a hill to our right, when I opened fire on them with round shot and the infantry with musketry. Before being able to get the second two guns up, I was obliged to clear that part of the Subzee Mundee of the enemy. Having driven the enemy from the ground I was ordered to clear, I remained in position, until I received orders to retire, which I did by alternate half batteries, each supported by cavalry and infantry, and keeping up a heavy fire of artillery and infantry as the enemy attempted to show themselves, which entirely prevented their advancing. On arriving at the gateway leading to Hindu Rao's house, I left two guns and a troop of cavalry with Major Reid, who was in position there with his regiment of Gurkhas. I then retired the remainder of the force into camp.

Four field guns.
Part of Her Majesty's 8th Regiment.
Part of Her Majesty's 61st Regiment.
Part of Her Majesty's 75th Regiment.
Some Sikh Infantry and Captain Hodson's Punjab Cavalry.

433

*Numerical Return of the killed, wounded, and missing in the Field Force under the command of Brigadier-General* A. WILSON *during the operations of 18th July 1857.*

| Corps. | KILLED. | | | | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | | | | MISSING. | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. |
| *Artillery Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Head-Quarters and 1st, 2nd and 3rd Troops, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... |
| Head-Quarters and 2nd and 3rd Troops, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Detachment. 4th Battalion, Artillery ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Detachment, Artillery Recruits ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *Engineer Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Engineers ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Sappers and Miners ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *Cavalry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 6th Carabineers ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *1st Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 75th Regiment ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | | ... | ... | ... | 13 | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *2nd Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st Brigade, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles ... | ... | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Sirmoor Battalion ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 13 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *3rd Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 8th Regiment ... | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Her Majesty's 61st Regiment ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4th Sikh Infantry ... | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Guides Infantry ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 3 | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Guides Cavalry ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1st Punjab Infantry ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | | ... | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | 1 | .. | | ... | 2 | 10 | ... | | .. | [illegible] | .. | ... | ... | 3 | 63 | 7 | . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... |
| | 13 | | | | | | | | | 69 | | | | | | | | 7 | 2 | | | | | | | | |

Examined.

(Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj.*,
*Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.*

(Sd.) A. WILSON, *Brigr.-Genl.*,
*Comdg. the Field Force.*

434

*Nominal Roll of European Commissioned Officers killed, wounded, and missing in the Field Force under the command of Brigadier-General* A. WILSON *during the operations of 18th July 1857.*

| No. | Rank and Names. | Corps. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2nd-Lieutenant Chichester ... | Artillery ... | Slightly wounded. |
| 1 | 2nd-Lieutenant Jones ... | Engineers ... | Severely wounded (leg amputated). |
| 1 | Lieutenant W. Crozier ... | Her Majesty's 75th Regiment. | Killed. |
| 1 | Lieutenant W. H. W. Pattoun ... | Her Majesty's 61st Regiment. | Severely wounded. |

Examined.

CAMP BEFORE DELHI, *The 19th July 1857.* (Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj., Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.* (Sd.) A. WILSON, *Brigr.-Genl., Comdg. the Field Force.*

---

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* T. SEATON, C.B., *Commanding Detachment, to Major* R. S. EWART, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Field Force,—(Dated Camp Delhi, 21st July 1857).*

| | |
|---|---|
| Her Majesty's 75th Regiment .. | 150 |
| 1st European Bengal Fusiliers... | 400 |
| Guides ... ... | 200 |
| Total ... | 750 |

Horse artillery guns.
Party of Sappers and Miners.

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Brigadier-General Commanding the Field Force, that having assumed command yesterday afternoon of the party named in the margin, I proceeded to carry out the instructions given to me in person by the Brigadier-General. I moved off at half-past three, and on reaching the Trunk Road leading through the Subzee Mundee, I threw the infantry of the Guides into the mass of gardens to the south of the road, and supported them by a party from the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers. I directed Lieutenant W. S. R. Hodson to sweep through the gardens in skirmishing order, feeling on to the banks of the canal to drive before him any enemy he might find, and to halt when he came in a line with the picquet in the *serai*.

Whilst this operation was going on, I moved the column slowly down the road, halting at intervals. I rode on to the *serai* to make observations on the Subzee Mundee village, and enquiries as to any enemy it might contain.

The skirmishers shortly emerged from the gardens, not having met with any of the enemy or traces of any earthworks or entrenchments of any kind; I then took the column into the Subzee Mundee village, and found it utterly deserted.

There now only remained for me to search the upper part of the gardens between the canal and the new escape cut; therefore sending the guns with a suitable guard up the road to the point from whence I started, I proceeded with the column up to the banks of the canal to

within a short distance of the Phool Chudder aqueduct. Then directing the column into a cross road leading towards camp and instructing the senior officer to march slowly along, I formed a rear guard of the Guides (those with Lieutenant Hodson), rode up to the aqueduct, and examined that small corner of ground. Finding neither traces of any enemy or of entrenchments, we rejoined the column.

In the meantime a small body of the enemy had come out of Trevelyangunge and followed our retiring steps, firing at a considerable distance but gradually creeping up.

As we came to an open space in the midst of the mass of gardens, they got to within a hundred yards of us, and some of them exposed themselves on the garden walls as if about to make a rush at the rear-guard; but the Guides, admirably posted by that excellent officer Lieutenant Hodson, gave them a volley with a cheer, which drove them off precipitately, and I returned to camp without further molestation. The casualties were only two men slightly wounded.

---

*Return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Field Force under the command of Brigadier-General* A. WILSON *during the operations of 20th July 1857.*

| Corps. | Killed. | | | | | | | | | Wounded. | | | | | | | | | Missing. | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. |
| Artillery Brigade—Head-Quarters Reserve Artillery ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Engineer Brigade—Engineers ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Cavalry Brigade—Guide Cavalry ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 2nd Infantry Brigade Sirmoor Battalion ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 3rd Infantry Brigade Her Majesty's 8th Regiment ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Corps of Guides, Infantry | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1st Regiment, Punjab Infantry ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | | ... | 1 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 7 | | | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | 1 | | | | | | | | | 11 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Examined.

CAMP BEFORE DELHI, The 21st July 1857. (Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj., Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.* (Sd.) A. WILSON, *Brigr.-Genl., Comdg. the Field Force.*

*Nominal Roll of the Officers killed, wounded, and missing in the Field Force under the command of Brigadier* A. WILSON *during the operations of the 20th July 1857.*

| No. | Rank and Names. | Corps. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1st-Lieutenant T. E. Dickins ... | Artillery ... ... | Very dangerously wounded (since dead). |
| 1 | Captain Greensill ... ... | Her Majesty's 24th Regiment.* | Severely wounded (has since died). |
| 1 | Lieutenant E. Travers ... ... | 1st Regiment Punjab Infantry. | Slightly wounded. |

Examined.

CAMP BEFORE DELHI, *The 21st July 1857.* (Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj., Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.* (Sd.) A. WILSON, *Brigr.-Genl., Comdg. the Field Force.*

---

*From Brigadier* ST. G. D. SHOWERS, *Commanding the 1st Infantry Brigade, to Major* R. S. EWART, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Delhi Field Force,—(Dated Camp before Delhi, 3rd August 1857.)*

Six guns under Major F. Turner.

| | |
|---|---|
| Her Majesty's 8th Foot ... | 130 |
| Her Majesty's 61st Foot ... | 78 |
| 1st Bengal European Fusiliers | 200 |
| Coke's Punjab Corps ... | 360 |
| Metcalfe House Picquet ... | 280 |
| Total rank and file | 1,048 |

I have the honor to report, for the information of Brigadier-General Wilson, Commanding the Field Force, that in conformity with his instructions I took command of the troops noted in the margin at about 10 A.M. of the 23rd ultimo, destined to attack the enemy's force in front of the Cashmere Gate. In order to conceal the movement of my force from the view of the enemy, I moved off some distance to the left, so as to cross the ridge without being seen from the fort and town.

2. Before moving with the column, I sent instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel R. Drought, the field officer of the day, to collect all the Metcalfe House Picquet at the stables, and then to advance at once to his front, and after clearing the grounds of the enemy's skirmishers, to endeavour to take their guns in flank and to capture them.

3. Allowing a lapse of twenty minutes, so as to enable the picquets to get well to the front, I advanced the main column, a division of guns under Captain E. K. Money leading. On crossing the bridge in advance of the mound picquet, the detachments of Her Majesty's 8th Foot, under Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed, and of the 61st Foot, under Lieutenant-Colonel Deacon, were directed to move to the

* Also acting as Assistant Field Engineer,—see page 458.

437

right and deploy, the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers and Coke's Rifles being held in reserve.

4. On this being effected, the guns moved forward on the road in a line with the infantry on the right. We now soon came up with the enemy, who had their guns in position on the road. These were immediately opened upon us, upon which our own guns unlimbered and fired. The infantry on the right in the meantime continued their advance, and the enemy fearing to be out-flanked retired after having fired but two rounds.

5. I then advanced with the guns at a gallop, and again came up with those of the enemy. They were now not more than a hundred and twenty yards from us. It was here that the Metcalfe House Picquet, after having driven back the enemy into an orange garden with a walled enclosure, rushed forward into the road.

6. As the enemy were firing from the enclosure, I directed three companies of the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers under Lieutenant-Colonel T. Seaton, to move to the left and drive the enemy from the orange garden. These were supported by Major Coke with his Punjab Rifles; and while our guns continued firing, the Metcalfe House Picquet, composed of Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, that had formed up on the road, were thrown rapidly forward in the hope of coming at once upon the enemy's guns. Their progress was, however, intercepted by the wall of a range of out-offices. A short delay took place in moving round this, and when the men came again to the front, the enemy with their guns had disappeared.

7. I was now in position opposite Ludlow Castle, beyond which I was directed not to advance; and the enemy having escaped with their guns and retired, I returned to camp with the force, having been engaged with the enemy about two hours.

8. I have to record my satisfaction with the conduct of the troops engaged and to offer my thanks to the officers commanding the different corps and detachments for the manner they conducted their men during this short and rapid skirmish. To Major F. Turner, Commanding the Artillery; to Lieutenant-Colonels Greathed and Deacon, Commanding Her Majesty's 8th and 61st Regiments; to Major G. O. Jacob, Commanding the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers; Major J. Coke, Commanding 1st Regiment Punjab Rifles, and to Lieutenant-Colonel R. Drought, Commanding the Metcalfe House Picquet. To Lieutenant-Colonel T. Seaton also I must record my thanks, who, with his usual zeal and gallantry, accompanied the brigade to which he is attached.

438

9. My thanks are also due to my Major of Brigade, Captain C. F. Simpson, and my Orderly Officer, Lieutenant F. C. Innes, of the late 60th Native Infantry, who accompanied me during the operations.

10. I beg to forward a return of the killed and wounded.

---

*Numerical Return of the killed, wounded, and missing in the Field Force under the command of Brigadier-General* A. WILSON *during the operations of the 23rd July 1857.*

| Corps. | KILLED. | | | | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | | | | MISSING. | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | N.-C. Officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | N.-C. Officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | N.-C. Officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. |
| *Artillery Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Head-Quarters and 2nd and 3rd Troops, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Engineer Brigade ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Cavalry Brigade ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *1st Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 75th Regiment ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1st European Bengal Fusiliers ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Attached to Brigade ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *2nd Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sirmoor Battalion ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 1* | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *3rd Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 8th Regiment | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Her Majesty's 61st Regiment ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... |
| 4th Regiment, Sikh Local Infantry ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *Corps of Guides.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Guides Infantry ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1st Regiment, Punjab Infantry ... ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Total ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 1 | | 1 | 9 | ... | 2 | 1 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 34 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | |
| Grand Total ... | 12 | | | | | | | | | 39 | | | | | | | | 2 | 1 | | | | | | | | |

* Lieutenant-Colonel Drought, 60th Regiment, Native Infantry, attached to the 2nd Brigade.

CAMP BEFORE DELHI, }
*The 24th July 1857.* }

(Sd.) A. WILSON, *Brigr.-Genl.,*
*Comdg. the Delhi Field Force.*

NOMINAL ROLL OF THE OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

*Horse Artillery.*

Captain E. K. Money, severely wounded.
Captain A. Burney,* slightly wounded.

*Her Majesty's 8th Regiment.*

Lieutenant W. W. Pogson, slightly wounded.

*10th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

Brevet-Captain W. G. Law, attached to the 1st Punjab Infantry, killed.

*35th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant-Colonel T. Seaton, attached to the 1st Brigade severely wounded.

*60th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant-Colonel R. Drought, attached to the 2nd Brigade, severely wounded.

CAMP BEFORE DELHI, *The 24th July 1857.* } (Sd.) A. WILSON, *Brigr.-Genl., Comdg. the Delhi Field Force.*

---

*From Brigadier-General* A. WILSON, *Commanding the Field Force, to Lieutenant* H. W. NORMAN, *Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army,—(No. 1423, dated Camp before Delhi, 13th August 1857).*

I have the honor to forward, for the information of Major-General Gowan, C.B., Commanding the Forces in the Upper Provinces, a report by Major Reid, Commanding the Sirmoor Battalion, of the result of repeated attacks made by a large force of the insurgents upon his post during the night of the 1st, and continued during the greater part of the 2nd instant.

The report speaks for itself, but I cannot refrain from bringing to the notice of Major-General Gowan, with a view to the same being submitted to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and through him to the Supreme Government, the admiration with which I, as well as the whole force, have viewed the gallantry with which this noble officer, with the gallant band under him, has held the important post entrusted to his command.

With the aid of Her Majesty's 60th Royal Rifles, his own regiment the Sirmoor Battalion, assisted by reliefs from the Guide Corps of Infantry, the 4th Sikh Regiment, and the 1st Regiment, Punjab Infantry this officer has, from the 8th June—the date of the arrival of this force at

* Lieutenant A. Bunney,—see page 487.

Delhi—sustained and defeated twenty-four separate attacks upon his position up to the 6th instant, and from that date to the present, a constant, worrying attack, day and night, by both infantry and artillery.

I have no words to express my admiration of the endurance and gallantry displayed throughout this long period by Major Reid and the officers and men who have served under him; but I now thus briefly record my opinion of their merits, in the certain hope that Major-General Gowan will recommend them to higher authority for the greatest honors that can be bestowed upon them.

Appended to Major Reid's report is a letter from him of yesterday's date, bringing to favorable notice the names of officers who have served under him since the 8th June last.

---

*From Major* C. REID, *Commanding the Sirmoor Battalion, to Major* R. S. EWART, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General,—(Dated Main Picquet, Hindu Rao's House, 4th August 1857).*

I have the honor to report for the information of the Brigadier-General Commanding the Forces, that about 4-30 P.M. on the 1st instant, I observed from my look-out on the top of this house that the mutineers were turning out of the Ajmere and Turcoman Gates in considerable force. They assembled on the open plain in front of the above-mentioned gates; but as they did not move off, I took but little notice of them beyond directing my look-out men to watch their movements. About a quarter of an hour after, on looking to my right rear, I perceived the whole of the force which had moved out of the city on the 31st ultimo returning over the Ridge (Kala Pahar) and by the Rhotuck Road, with all the guns they had taken out, *viz.*, six horse artillery guns, four 9-pounder guns, and three heavy mortars, and with the whole of their camp equipage on elephants and camels. This force halted about a mile from the *eedgah serai,* and a little before sunset was joined by the mutineers from the city. For some little time I was doubtful as to their intentions; but as the sun went down, about five or six thousand infantry came down with six light guns through the Kissengunge and Paharipore buildings, taking advantage of the cover as they advanced. The "Sammy House" was attacked, and here I had a hundred of Major Coke's regiment and fifty Guides, the picquet under command of Captain Travers* (who, I much regret to say, was mortally wounded during the night, and is since dead). I sent orders to him to

* Lieutenant E. J. Travers, 2nd-in-command, 1st Coke's Rifles, pages 315 and 485.

encourage the enemy to approach, and not to fire until his men were sure of their aim. Shortly after this I heard a rattle of musketry from the breast-work on the right of the "Sammy House," as also from the enclosure, and the enemy then opened with their light guns on the "Crow's Nest," the breast-work, and our right flank batteries.

It became necessary, about seven o'clock, to send reinforcements to the "Sammy House," so I accordingly directed Lieutenant M'Gill, with his company of the 60th Rifles, which had come up in support, to proceed to the breast-work on the right, whilst I sent Captain Dely, with fifty men of the 61st Foot, to the enclosure.

Repeated attacks were made throughout the night; and at one time the enemy came up within twenty paces of the "Sammy House" in very considerable force; but as on all former occasions, were driven back with, I should say, very great loss; but owing to the cover they had, they were able to remove their dead without being seen. A hundred and twenty-seven bodies have, however, been since counted between the breast-work and the Taleewalah Bazaar.

A little before daybreak on the 2nd, fresh troops were brought up, and another attack was made on the "Sammy House" and breast-work, on which I directed a company of the 60th Rifles, under the command of Captain Sir Edward FitzGerald Campbell, *Bart.*, to aid in driving the enemy back. A large force attempted to turn the right and get round to the Subzee Mundee; but in order to do this, they had to cross the road and the ground which has now been cleared of all jungle. As soon as they had got on to the road with a body of cavalry, which came up from the *eedgah*, I ordered the officer commanding the light gun battery to give them three rounds of grape, whilst our light mortars played on them from the "Crow's Nest." They flew back to their cover on the left of the road immediately, and did not again show in any force.

About 10 A.M. the enemy commenced moving off in the direction of the city; but it was not until 4 P.M. that I had the satisfaction of seeing them in full retreat with their guns.

I cannot speak too highly of the coolness of the troops under my command throughout the night. There was no noise whatever, no hurry or confusion, and my warmest thanks are due to all for their gallantry and daring.

This report would have been furnished before, but my duties at this picquet would not admit of it.

A return of our loss has already been furnished. I am happy to say it was slight in comparison with that of the enemy.

442

*Numerical Return of the killed, wounded, and missing in the Field Force under the command of Brigadier-General* A. WILSON, *during the operations of the 1st and 2nd August 1857.*

| Corps. | Killed. | | | | | | | | | Wounded. | | | | | | | | | Missing. | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | N.-C. Officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | N.-C. Officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | N.-C. Officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. |
| *Artillery Force.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Detachment, 4th Battalion, Artillery (Europeans) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1st, 2nd and 3rd Company, Sikh Artillery (Natives) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *1st Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st European Bengal Fusiliers ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Kumaon Battalion ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *2nd Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 60th Rifles... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Sirmoor Battalion ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *3rd Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 61st Regiment ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4th Regiment, Sikh Local Infantry ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Guide Infantry ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 8 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1st Regiment, Punjab Infantry ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Total ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 9 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 31 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Grand Total ... | 10 | | | | | | | | | 36 | | | | | | | | | ... | | | | | | | | |

Examined.

CAMP BEFORE DELHI, *The 3rd August 1857.* (Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj., Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.* (Sd.) A. WILSON, *Brigr.-Genl., Comdg. the Field Force*

*Nominal Roll of Commissioned Officers killed, wounded, and missing in the Field Force under the command of Brigadier-General* A. WILSON, *during the operations.*

| No. | Rank and name. | Corps. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Lieutenant E. Travers ... | 2nd-in-Command, 1st Regiment, Punjab Infantry. | Mortally wounded, since dead. |

CAMP BEFORE DELHI, *The 3rd August 1857.* Examined. (Sd.) A. WILSON, *Brigr.-Genl., Comdg. the Field Force,*

(Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj., Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.*

*From Major* C. Reid, *Commanding the Sirmoor Battalion, to Brigadier-General* A. Wilson, *Commanding the Field Force before Delhi, dated Main Picquet, Hindu Rao's House, the 12th August 1857.*

My report of the attack on my position on the night of the 1st and morning of the 2nd instant was a hurried affair; but I am indeed glad you have given me an opportunity of bringing to notice the names of officers and men who have served under me since the 8th of June last.

I cannot speak too highly of the conduct of the detachments of the 60th Royal Rifles, who have on all occasions behaved admirably and ever maintained the reputation of their distinguished corps. I would wish to bring to your notice the names of two officers of this regiment, *viz.*, Captain Sir Edward FitzGerald Campbell and Captain J. R. Wilton, who have at different times commanded the parties on duty at this post, and from whom I have always received the greatest assistance. Both are most excellent officers and I beg to recommend them to notice.

My acknowledgments are due to Lieutenant R. H. Shebbeare, now commanding the distinguished Corps of Guides, who has been three times slightly wounded whilst on duty with me here; also to Lieutenant C. W. Hawes, Adjutant (likewise wounded); and other officers doing duty with the corps.

Detachments of the 1st Punjab Infantry and 4th Sikh Infantry have since their arrival in camp been constantly on duty at this picquet, and have always behaved, on all occasions of attack, with gallantry.

To Lieutenant Fisher, the 2nd-in-Command of my regiment, and the officers doing duty, my warmest thanks are due,—the conduct of the men you have already been pleased to make honourable mention of. It only remains for me to say that they have done their duty most cheerfully.

My thanks are also due to the officers and men of the 8th and 61st Foot, who have at different times taken the duties of the Subzee Mundee picquet, which is under my orders.

---

*From Brigadier-General* A. Wilson, *Commanding the Delhi Field Force, to Lieutenant* H. W. Norman, *Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army,—(No. 1428, dated Camp before Delhi, the 21st August 1857).*

I have the honor to report, for the information of Major-General Gowan, C.B., Commanding the Forces in the Upper Provinces, that finding the Metcalfe Picquet much annoyed by a large party of the insurgents, who, supported by several guns, had established themselves in Ludlow Castle and the gardens in front of the Cashmere Gate, I resolved to

make an attempt this morning to surprise them and to capture their guns. I am happy to say the surprise was complete. The column of attack, joined by a portion of the Metcalfe Picquet, under the able lead of Brigadier Showers, commanding the 1st Brigade, moved down unperceived just before dawn to within a short distance of the insurgents' picquet, when a rush was made, and four of their guns immediately captured.

I forward herewith Brigadier Showers' report, with a return of the killed and wounded. The latter, I regret to say, is rather heavy.

My thanks are greatly due to Brigadier Showers, Major Coke, commanding the left attack, and to Major Jacob, commanding the right attack, and I beg to recommend them for favorable notice. The two former officers, I much regret, were severely wounded—Major Coke while in the act of capturing a gun with his own hand; but I trust I shall not be long deprived of their services.

---

*From Brigadier* St. G. D. Showers, *Commanding the 1st Infantry Brigade, to Major* R. S. Ewart, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Delhi Field Force,—(Dated Camp before Delhi, 12th August 1857).*

I have the honor to report, for the information of Brigadier-General Wilson, Commanding the Field Force, that in compliance with the instructions received, I moved with a column, noted in the margin, at 3-30 A.M. this morning. I directed the Metcalfe House stables' picquet to move forward and sweep the gardens in advance of their position as far as the Koodsea Bagh, and to capture any guns of the rebels which they might find in that direction; the attack under Major Jacob advancing simultaneously towards Ludlow Castle, with similar instructions as to any advance they might find there. I myself took a position on the road leading towards Ludlow Castle with the horse artillery guns, supported by a squadron of Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, with a force in reserve as noted in the margin.

| | Men. |
|---|---|
| *Left attack under Major Coke.* | |
| Her Majesty's 75th Regiment of the Metcalfe House Picquet as skirmishers ... ... ... | 100 |
| 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers, in support ... ... ... | 100 |
| 1st Punjab Infantry (Rifles), in support ... ... ... | 250 |
| *Right attack under Major Jacob.* | |
| 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, as skirmishers ... ... | 150 |
| In support in line, the Guide Cavalry moving rear ... ... | 200 |
| *Centre attack.* | |
| Horse artillery guns ... ... | 2 |
| Squadron, Her Majesty's 9th Lancers ... ... ... | 1 |
| *Reserve.* | |
| Horse artillery guns .. ... | 4 |
| Her Majesty's 8th Regiment ... | 100 |
| Kumaon Battalion ... ... | 100 |
| 4th Sikh Infantry ... ... | 100 |

The arrangements having been made, the different detachments advanced, as ordered, with the greatest steadiness and in profound silence towards the enemy's position, which they actually reached without

the alarm being given, until at length a sentry challenged, which was the signal for rapid attack, commenced by a volley of musketry on both sides, succeeded immediately by a charge with the bayonet on our part, from which the rebels recoiled and fled in confusion, leaving in our possession four field guns as noted in the margin, ammunition, horses, &c.

Two 9-pr. guns. | One 6-pr. gun. One 24-pr. howitzer.

After capturing the guns, I directed the detachment of the Kumaon Battalion in reserve, under the command of Lieutenant G. C. Thomson, (51st Native Infantry), to move into the orange garden on the left, and sweep down as far as the building called Koodsea Bagh, on the banks of the river. This was energetically done. It was here that I expected to find other guns of the rebels in position; but in this I was disappointed. The party retired.

I beg to bring to the particular notice of the Brigadier-General the steadiness, silence, and order with which the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers advanced to the attack on the enemy's guns, which was well conceived and gallantly executed by Major Jacob and the officers and men of the regiment under his command, and Captain S. Greville, of that regiment, commanded the skirmishers who made the first attack on the guns.

The horse artillery (two guns) and squadron of Her Majesty's 9th Lancers which accompanied me along the road had no opportunity of coming into actual contact with the rebels; but were at times under a heavy fire and displayed the greatest steadiness.

My thanks are due to Major Coke, commanding the left attack; to Major G. O. Jacob, commanding the right attack; to Captain F. F. Remmington, commanding the artillery; to Captain O. H. St. G. Anson, commanding the squadron of Her Majesty's 9th Lancers; to Captain W. D. Harris, commanding the detachment of the 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers; to Captain R. Freer (Her Majesty's 27th Regiment), commanding the Metcalfe House stables' picquet; and to Captain A. C. Robertson, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, Brevet-Captain Chambers, 2nd-in-Command, 4th Sikh Infantry, and Lieutenant G. C. Thomson, 51st Native Infantry, Kumaon Battalion, commanding respectively the detachments composing the reserve; also to Captain C. A. Sanford, 3rd Light Cavalry, commanding the Guide Cavalry.

My thanks are also due to Captain C. F. Simpson, my Major of Brigade, and Lieutenant F. C. Innes, 60th Regiment, Native Infantry, my orderly officer, for the energetic assistance rendered me throughout these operations.

446

I regret to state that, as will be seen from the accompanying casualty list, our loss has not been slight; but I have reason to believe that about two hundred and fifty of the rebels (several of whom were artillerymen) were left dead on the field in the neighbourhood of Ludlow Castle.

After having held the ground for some time, to allow of the captured guns, &c., being removed, I was compelled by a severe wound to retire from the scene of action, leaving the retirement of the troops to be conducted by Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment.

---

*Numerical Return of the killed, wounded, and missing in the Field Force under the command of Brigadier-General* A. WILSON, *during the operations of the 12th August 1857.*

| Corps. | KILLED. | | | | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | | | | MISSING. | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | N.-C. Officers. | Divns., rank & file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | N.-C. Officers. | Divns., rank & file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | N.-C Officers. | Divns., rank & file. | Horses. |
| *Artillery Force.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Sikh Artillery ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *Engineer Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Engineers ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *Cavalry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 9th Lancers ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Guide Cavalry ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *1st Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Staff ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Her Majesty's 75th Regiment | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 11 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... |
| 1st European Bengal Fusiliers | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 3 | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 24 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Kumaon Battalion ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | ... |
| *2nd Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *3rd Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 8th Regiment... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1st Regiment, Punjab Infantry | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 2 | 20 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Total ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 16 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | ... | ... | 1 | 6 | 78 | 8 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | ... |
| Grand Total ... | 19 | | | | | | | | 1 | 93 | | | | | | | | 8 | 5 | | | | | | | | |

Examined.

CAMP BEFORE DELHI, *The 12th August 1857.* (Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj.*, *Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.* (Sd.) A. WILSON, *Brigr.-Genl.*, *Comdg. the Field Force*

*Nominal Roll of the Officers killed, wounded, and missing in the Field Force under the command of Brigadier-General* A. WILSON, *during the operations of the 12th August 1857.*

| No. | Rank and names. | Corps. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Brigade Staff.* | | |
| 1 | Brigadier St. G. D. Showers. ... | Commanding 1st Infantry Brigade | Severely wounded. |
| | Lieutenant F. C. Innes ... | Orderly Officer of Brigadier St. G. D. Showers ... ... | Slightly wounded. |
| | Lieutenant A. H. Lindsay ... | 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery ... | Slightly wounded. |
| | Lieutenant F. R. Maunsell ... | Engineers ... ... ... | Slightly wounded. |
| 5 | Captain S. Greville ... ... | 1st European Bengal Fusiliers ... | Slightly wounded. |
| | Lieutenant A. G. Owen ... | 1st European Bengal Fusiliers ... | Slightly wounded. |
| | Lieutenant D. F. Sherriff ... | 2nd ditto ditto ... | Mortally wounded. |
| 8 | Major J. Coke ... ... | 1st Punjab Infantry ... ... | Severely wounded. |

Examined.

CAMP BEFORE DELHI, *The 12th August 1857.* (Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj., Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.* (Sd.) A. WILSON, *Brigr.-Genl., Comdg. the Field Force.*

---

*From Major-General* G. E. GOWAN, C.B., *Commanding in the Upper Provinces, to Major* W. A. J. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, Calcutta,—No. 176-A, dated Lahore, 26th August 1857.*

I have the honor to enclose, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in Bengal and of Government, copy of a despatch, dated 21st instant, No. 1462, with its several enclosures, from Major-General A. Wilson, Commanding the Field Force before Delhi.

---

*From Major-General* A. WILSON, *Commanding Field Force, to Captain* NORMAN, *Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 1462, dated Camp Delhi, 21st August 1857.*

Since the date of my last report (13th instant), enclosing a casualty return, and Major Reid's report of the continued attacks of the insurgents on his post, the mutineers have kept up desultory attacks on different points of our position almost daily, harassing our troops, but not causing any serious loss.

2. The column under Brigadier-General Nicholson joined the camp on the 14th instant. This accession of force, though materially aiding in maintaining our position and relieving the troops from the pressure of

448

the severe duties imposed on them by the constant attacks of the insurgents, does not admit of more active operations being commenced on till the arrival of the siege-train which left Ferozepore on the 10th instant.

3. I enclose herewith numerical returns of killed and wounded from the 7th to the 17th instant. A report of operations accompanied by casualty returns will be forwarded to you every fourth day and intermediate ones when circumstances require it.

4. With reference to the second and third paragraphs of the Military Secretary's letter attached to your communication of yesterday's date, I have the honor to state that reports have been, as marginally noted, forwarded for submission to Major-General Gowan.

No. 1423, dated 13th August 1857.
No. 1424, dated 12th August 1857.
No. 1428, dated 21st August 1857.

---

*From Major-General* A. WILSON, *Commanding the Field Force, to Lieutenant* H. W. NORMAN, *Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, Camp, Field Force Staff Office,—(No. 1489, dated Camp before Delhi, 27th August 1857).*

I have the honor to forward for transmission to Major-General Gowan, Commanding in the Upper Provinces, and through him to Government, the accompanying report of the operations of a detachment of irregular cavalry I sent out under the command of Lieutenant Hodson on the 14th instant to watch a party of the enemy who had moved out from Delhi on the Rhotuck Road, and to afford support, if necessary, either to Soneput, or our ally the Jhind Rajah.

Lieutenant Hodson most fully carried out my instructions to my entire satisfaction, and his report will show that the whole of his detachment, both officers and men, behaved throughout in the most gallant and effectual manner.

It must have been most gratifying to Lieutenant Hodson to find his new regiment so steady and staunch in their first engagement with the enemy.

I particularly request that Major-General Gowan will bring to the notice of Government the ready and loyal conduct on this occasion of the Jhind Rajah and the good service performed by his troops. I have already, through Lieutenant-Colonel Dunsford, Commanding the Rajah's troops, expressed my acknowledgments to the Rajah for the ready assistance he afforded on this occasion, and from the commencement of our operations before Delhi; and also my satisfaction at the favorable report made by Lieutenant Hodson of the gallantry of his men.

449

*From Lieutenant* W. S. R. Hodson, *Commanding the Irregular Horse, to Lieutenant* H. W. Norman, *Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army Field Force,—(Dated Camp Delhi, 24th August 1857).*

I have the honor to report the proceedings of the cavalry detachment* which left camp under my command on the night of the 14th and 15th instant, under verbal instructions from Major-General Wilson, Commanding the Field Force.

| *Six European officers | | Sabres. |
|---|---|---|
| Guide Cavalry ... | ... | 103 |
| Hodson's Irregular Horse | ... | 233 |
| Jhind Horse ... | ... | 25 |
| Total | ... | 361 |

2. My instructions were to watch a party of the enemy who had moved out from Delhi by the Najafgarh road with the avowed purpose of threatening our communications with Sonepat and the Grand Trunk Road, or of marching to attack Hansi and the Rajah of Jhind, to ascertain their precise object and direction, and to afford support to either Sonepat or the Jhind Rajah, as might be necessary. I was also to examine the state of the roads and country, with a view to the probable necessity of a larger force taking the field.

3. On reaching Boanuh by way of Azadpore and the canal bank, I ascertained that the enemy had passed the 14th at Samplah, and were said to be moving towards Rhotuck. I therefore pushed on to Khurkowdeh on the road from Boanuh to that town, reaching it about noon on the 15th.

4. Having been informed that a number of irregular cavalry men, whose homes were in the village, had arrived the day before from Delhi at Khurkowdeh, I took measures for securing the several entrances to it and attempting their capture, sending a small party of the Guide Corps to surprise and arrest the leading man, named Basharat Ali, a risaldar of the 1st Regiment, Irregular Cavalry. Both objects were accomplished, only two sowars having had time to effect their escape before the village was surrounded. I then entered the village with a party of dismounted sowars. From information received from the villagers, I was able to seize several of the mutineer sowars before they had time to arm. A large party, however, took refuge in the upper storey of a house belonging to one of the *lambardars* of the village, and defended themselves desperately. They were eventually overpowered and destroyed, but not without considerable difficulty and several casualties on our side, Lieutenant H. Gough and seven men being wounded. I subsequently caused those of the captured who were proved, on enquiry, to have been in the service of Government and to have joined the rebels, to be executed.

5. During the afternoon of the 15th, the enemy broke up from Samplah and marched to Rhotuck, where they gave out that they were going to remain for two or three days. I marched after them on the morning of the 16th towards Rhotuck, by Sussaineh, Hamaioonpoor, and Balout. On reaching Bohur, five miles short of Rhotuck, I ascertained that the rebels had suddenly marched early in the morning towards Medinha on hearing of our movements. I therefore halted for the day, the rain being very heavy.

6. On the morning of the 17th we moved on Rhotuck. On approaching the town and riding on to reconnoitre with a small party, I found a large body of armed men drawn up at the old fort, in front of the place, accompanied by a few sowars. They immediately opened fire on us, and as we withdrew to bring up the detachment, followed us up the road, firing and yelling in derision.

The instant the head of the column arrived, they were charged, dispersed, and driven into the town, leaving thirteen of their number dead. They subsequently turned out to be Rangurs, Kusais, and other turbulent inhabitants of the town, headed by Babur Khan, the Chief of the Rangurs.

7. After riding round Rhotuck and reconnoitring the surrounding country and the approaches to it, I encamped in the open space in rear of the *kutcherry* buildings at the junction of the road by which we had marched from Bohur with the main road to Delhi. Some of the *zemindars* and Hindus of Rhotuck came out to me immediately afterwards, and through their instrumentality, the detachment was amply provided with all necessary supplies. No further attempt was made to annoy us.

8. At about seven o'clock the next morning, I received information that Babur Khan had gone during the night to the camp of the rebels on the Hansi road, and brought back 300 Rangur horsemen belonging to different irregular cavalry regiments, to assist him in an attack upon us. Three or four minutes afterwards a large body of horsemen dashed up the roads from the town at speed, followed by a mass of footmen, armed with swords and matchlocks—certainly not less than 900 or 1,000 in number. At the moment of the attack, a party of twenty-five Jhind horsemen, who had come from Gohana on hearing from me of our approach, were crossing the road toward our camp, and found themselves suddenly charged by and intermixed with the enemy's horse.

They defended themselves with their carbines, and thus checked the attacking party, two of their number being wounded. The whole

of the horses of the detachment having been kept saddled, no time was lost in turning out, and the instant the twenty leading men were on their horses, the enemy was charged and driven back in confusion towards the town, their flight being covered by the matchlock-men, who had occupied some buildings and compounds between the *kutcherry* and the town. Directly the whole of the detachment was ready and formed up, I sent what little baggage and followers we had to the rear under a sufficient escort, and prepared for a further attack. I formed the main body on the road in three lines, the Guides in front, sending a troop out to the right front under Lieutenant Wise, and one to the left under Lieutenant McDowell, ready to take the enemy in flank, should they again charge up the roads (of which there are three leading from the town to our position). These movements were covered by skirmishers, and by the excellent fire of the Jhind horsemen armed with matchlocks, whom I desired to dismount and drive back by their fire any party of the enemy who might come from under shelter of the buildings. This service they performed exceedingly well and most cheerfully.

9. Finding that our ammunition was nearly exhausted after some time had elapsed, and that there appeared little chance of the enemy coming from their cover to attack us again, I determined to draw them out into the open country behind our position, and endeavour to bring on a fight there. Everything turned out as I had anticipated. My men withdrew slowly and deliberately by alternate troops (the troop nearest the enemy by alternate ranks) along the line of the Bohur road, by which we had reached Rhotuck, our left extending towards the main road to Delhi. The Jhind horsemen protected our right, and a troop of my own regiment the left. The enemy moved out the instant we withdrew, following us in great numbers, yelling and shouting and keeping up a heavy fire of matchlocks.

Their horsemen were principally on their right, and a party galloping up the main road threatened our left flank. I continued to retire until we got into open and comparatively dry ground, and then turned and charged the mass who had come to within from one hundred and fifty to two hundred yards of us.

The Guides, who were nearest to them, were upon them in an instant, closely followed by and soon intermixed with my own men.

The enemy stood for a few seconds, turned, and then were driven back in utter confusion to the very walls of the town, it being with some difficulty that the officers could prevent their men entering the

452

town with the fugitives. Fifty of the enemy, all horsemen, were killed on the ground, and many must have been wounded.

10. Nothing could be better than the conduct of all concerned. The Guide Cavalry behaved with their usual dashing gallantry, and their example was well emulated by the men of my new regiment, now for the first time engaged with an enemy. They not only remained under fire unflinchingly, but retired before the enemy steadily and deliberately, and when ordered, turned and charged home boldly. It would have been hopeless to expect this but for the magnificent leading and admirable management of the officers in command of the several troops—Captain Ward and Lieutenants McDowell, Wise, C. J. Gough, and H. Gough. The difficulty of their task will be appreciated when it is remembered that, with the exception of the Guides, none of the party had been drilled or formed or knew anything of field movements.

11. After their defeat, as I subsequently ascertained, the Rangur horsemen evacuated the place the same evening, carrying away their wounded with them. The whole of the Rangurs and Kusais of the town also fled during the night for refuge to the neighbouring villages. As soon as I had re-assembled the detachment on our original ground, and ascertained personally that no parties of the enemy remained outside Rhotuck, I moved round by our right to the northern side of the town on to the Gohana road, and encamped at Dusseea—the first village sufficiently large to furnish us with supplies. I was in direct communication with Jhind, twenty-two *kos* distant, and with Gohana, where a body of the Rajah's troops are stationed, and by way of Khylore my communication with camp by way of Khurkowdeh and with Soneput was perfectly secure. I was also prepared to move off to the right towards Hansi to General Cortlandt, should he attack the rebel force moving in that direction. This force had moved off from Medinha to Mehum on our reaching Rhotuck, and thence to Moondahab, and on the 18th evacuated the Rhotuck District and marched to Barsi, five *kos* from Hansi, in considerably diminished numbers.

12. On the 19th I halted at Dusseea, receiving, at daybreak, a valuable reinforcement in the shape of eighty well-equipped horsemen from Jhind, with the promise of infantry and a gun if I required them. They had already been sent off by the Rajah with his usual ever-ready zeal, and would have been available in a few hours. On the evening of the 19th, I received the Major-General's orders to return towards camp, and marched the next day to Khurkowdeh, and on the 21st, by a circuitous route, to Soneput.

13. I cannot close this without testifying to the excellent conduct of the Jhind horsemen throughout the whole of our proceedings. Nothing could have been better than their behaviour from first to last, both in keeping up our communications, in enduring fatigue and bad weather, and in gallantry in action. This is not the first time I have had experience of the good service they have rendered. At the action of Badli-ki-Serai on the 8th of June, they particularly distinguished themselves, and they did no less well on the present occasion. I trust the Major-General will be pleased to convey his acknowledgments of their conduct to the Rajah.

14. A list of casualties is enclosed.

LIST OF CASUALTIES FROM 15TH TO 19TH AUGUST 1857.

*At Khurkowdeh, 15th August 1857.*

*Guide Cavalry.*

Duffadar Goojur, wounded. | Daroga Jairam Singh, wounded.
Sowar Sooltan, slightly wounded.

*Hodson's Horse.*

Lieutenant Gough, slightly wounded.
Naib Ressaldar Hookum Singh, severely wounded.
Jemadar Ahmed Beg, slightly wounded.
Sowar Sooltan Singh, severely wounded.

*At Rhotuck, 17th August 1857.*

*Guide Cavalry.*

Sowar Shere Mahomed, wounded.

*Hodson's Horse.*

Sowar Bahun Sing, severely wounded.

*At Rhotuck, 18th August 1857.*

*Guide Cavalry.*

Sowar Futteh Dogen, severely wounded.
Sowar Zuman Shah, severely wounded.
Sowar Issur Singh, wounded.
Sowar Sheo Doss, slightly wounded.

*Hodson's Horse.*

Sowar Doola Singh, severely wounded.

*Jhind Horse.*

Two sowars wounded.

454

LIST OF CASUALTIES FROM 15TH TO 19TH AUGUST 1857—(Concld.)

TOTAL WOUNDED.

*Guide Cavalry.*

1 Non-commissioned officer, 7 sowars.

*Hodson's Horse.*

1 European officer, 2 Native officers, 3 sowars.

HORSES.*

*Guide Cavalry.*

Wounded 2, missing 1, total 3.

*Hodson's Horse.*

Wounded, 1 European officer (Lieutenant Gough), 5 sowars, missing 1 sowar, total 7.

---

*Telegram from Brigadier-General* HAVELOCK, *Cawnpore, to the Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta,—No. 303, dated Cawnpore, 24th August 1857.*

I beg to send Your Excellency a translated copy of a letter I yesterday received by *kossid* from General Wilson, Commanding front of Delhi. *Copy* :—"My dear General,—The troops under the command of General Nicholson will join us to-morrow. The siege artillery which have been sent from Ferozepore are expected in the beginning of next month, but it is doubtful whether it will be possible to form a breach and assault the place before the Agra troops arrive on other side with their siege-trains, so that the city may be besieged at the time on the opposite side. I beg of you to inform me of the march of troops from Cawnpore, and the assistance I may expect in that direction. The mutinous sepoys muster very strong in the city and attack my position night and day, but they do not advance very close."

---

*Telegram from* C. CHESTER, Esq., *Allahabad, to* CECIL BEADON, Esq., *Calcutta,—No. 341, dated Allahabad, 28th August 1857.*

The following is extract from a letter from Mr. Greathed to Mr. Colvin, dated Delhi, the 14th August 1857. *Extract begins* : "General Nicholson's column marched in here this morning; it consisted of the 52nd Regiment, Light Infantry, wing 61st Regiment, and 200 cavalry. These troops are in excellent order, and form an important reinforcement. The enemy were more quiet yesterday; they must see that their new system of tactics makes no impression. The Teelewallah Battery is not

* Three horses died on the 20th from over-exposure to the sun, and two on the 21st.

allowed to speak, being always shut up by our fire, and the skirmishing with light guns is of course ineffective against an entrenched position. The picquets on our left in advance of Metcalfe's house, which for a long time were unmolested, are now kept more on the alert, but they hold an impregnable position, and the fire of the enemy has ceased to command attention."—*Extract ends.*

---

*Post copy of a letter from* C. CHESTER, Esq., *Allahabad, to* C. BEADON, Esq., *Calcutta,—dated 31st August 1857.*

The following is an extract from a letter from Mr. Greathed, dated Delhi, the 16th August.—"There has been a lull since the 12th, and the enemy has ceased firing round shot at the stables in Metcalfe's ground occupied by a picquet. They knocked down a corner of the building but they would not have been nearer their object if the whole had been demolished, for an attack would still have had to be made on the breast-work, and that is the rub they do not relish. They have mortars in Kissengunge; their mortar is not so good as their howitzer practice. The aim is true enough, but the shells do not burst. Under the new disposition of the army, Nicholson has the command of a movable column, consisting of the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, 1st and 2nd Regiments, Punjab Infantry. As he is not a full colonel, he could not be appointed brigadier in supersession of his seniors, and he was too good a man to lose. The arrangement affords satisfaction. Captain Hodson is out with his cavalry watching the movements of a detachment sent to levy contributions in Ghawzur and Rhotuck. They got one hundred and sixty thousand from the Nawab. A party of their cavalry went to Patoodee and Truez a few thousands of Nujeebs. They then set to plundering the town, but were beaten off with loss by the citizens, and the King has disavowed their acts. It was intended to send out more columns to loot the country on both sides of the river, but some one suggested it was a device of the *hakims* to betray the place after weakening the garrison. The Sikhs of the several regiments are formed now into two battalions. The real object is not yet known, but the Sikhs obtain the arrangements as a pledge to show the others the way in attack."

---

No. 1722.

Copy forwarded to the Military Department for information.

HOME DEPARTMENT, *The 4th September 1857.*

(Sd.) R. B. CHAPMAN, *Offg. Under Secy. to the Govt. of India.*

456

*From Major-General* A. WILSON, *Commanding the Field Force, to Lieutenant* H. W. NORMAN, *Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army,—(No. 1495, dated Camp before Delhi, 30th August 1857).*

I have the honor to report for the information of Major-General Gowan, C.B., Commanding the Force in Upper India, and for submission to Government, that learning that a large force of rebels had moved out from the city in the direction of Najafgarh for the purpose of attacking us in the rear, cutting off our supplies, and capturing the siege-train now *en route* from Ferozepore, I detached a column, under Brigadier-General Nicholson, on the morning of the 25th instant, to intercept them.

I enclose herewith the Brigadier-General's report of his operations, with plans of the route pursued by the column, and of the action of Najafgarh, with returns of the killed and wounded and ammunition expended, as well as of the captured ordnance and ammunition. I also enclose copy of a Field Force Order I have issued on the occasion.

To Brigadier-General Nicholson's judgment, energy, and determination I attribute mainly the glorious result of the expedition, and next to the steadiness and gallantry in action, and the cheerfulness under great privation and fatigue, exhibited by the officers and men placed under his command.

They all most richly deserve my highest praise, and in forwarding this report for submission to Government, I beg that Major-General Gowan will bring to the favorable notice of Government the name of Brigadier-General J. Nicholson, as well as all those officers mentioned in his report as those to whom he was most indebted for their services on this occasion.

---

*Extract Field Force Orders by Major-General* A. WILSON, *Commanding.*

No. 1088.—Major-General Wilson, Commanding the Force, begs to offer his most hearty thanks and congratulations to Brigadier-General Nicholson and the force which moved from camp, under his command, on the morning of the 25th instant, on the very successful issue of the operations they were engaged in. This force made a march of eighteen miles over a country intersected with swamps, at the end of which they fought an action with the enemy, variously estimated at 4,000 to 6,000 men; gained a complete victory, capturing all the enemy's guns (thirteen

in number); and owing to the difficulty in getting up the baggage and provisions, had to bivouac on the ground, without food or covering of any kind. The next day the troops marched back, arriving in camp that same evening.

2. The Major-General considers he is indebted for the glorious result of these operations to the judgment and energy displayed by Brigadier-General Nicholson; the steadiness and gallantry of the troops in action, and the cheerfulness with which they bore the fatigue and hardships they were called upon to undergo.

3. The Major-General has much pleasure in publishing the following extract (*a*) from Brigadier-General Nicholson's report, and in assuring all therein mentioned that he will bring them to favorable notice in his report to the Commander of the Forces in the Upper Provinces for submission to Government.

(True Extract)

(Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj.*,
*Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.*

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP,
DELHI;
*The 30th August 1857.*

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Lieut.*,
*Asst. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.*

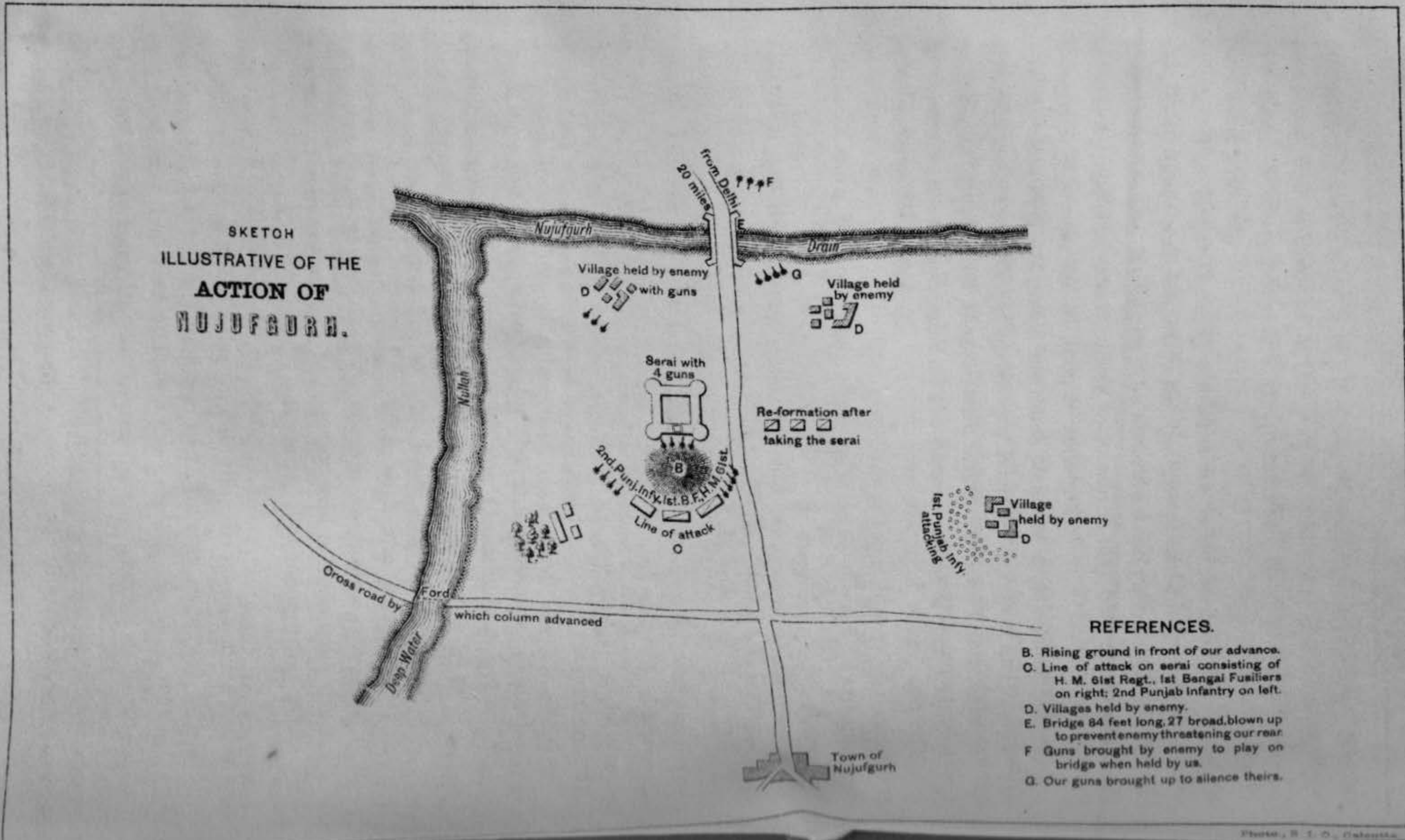
*From Brigadier-General* J. NICHOLSON, *Commanding the 4th Infantry Brigade, to Major* R. S. EWART, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Field Force,—(Dated Camp before Delhi, 28th August 1857.)*

I have the honor to report, for the information of Major-General Wilson, Commanding before Delhi, that agreeably to his orders, I marched from this at daybreak on the 25th, with the troops noted in the margin, to intercept a force of the enemy said to be moving from Delhi towards Bahadoorgurh, with the intention of attacking us in rear.

| | |
|---|---|
| Squadron, Her Majesty's 9th Lancers | 1 |
| Horse Artillery guns ... ... | 16 |
| Guide Cavalry ... ... | 120 |
| 2nd Regiment, Punjab Cavalry ... | 80 |
| Wing Her Majesty's 61st Regiment | 420 |
| 1st European Bengal Fusiliers ... | 380 |
| 1st Regiment, Punjab Infantry ... | 400 |
| 2nd Regiment, Punjab Infantry ... | 400 |
| Detachments, Sappers and Miners... | 30 |
| Mooltanee Horse ... ... | 200 |

On my arrival at the village of Nanglói, about nine miles from this (and to reach which I had to cross two difficult swamps), I learned that the enemy had been at Palum the previous day, and would probably reach Najafgarh in the course of the afternoon; I therefore

(*a*) *N.B.*—Extract not here given as a copy of the whole of Brigadier-General Nicholson's despatches is forwarded. (Note in original).


SKETCH
ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE
ACTION OF
NUJUFGURH.
from Delhi
20 miles
F
Nujufgurh
Drain
E
G
Village held by enemy
D
with guns
Village held
by enemy
D
Nullah
Serai with
4 guns
Re-formation after
taking the serai
B
2nd Punj. Infy. 1st. B. F. H. M. 61st.
Line of attack
C
1st. Punjab Infy. attacking
Village
held by enemy
D
Cross road by
Ford
which column advanced
Deep Water
Town of
Nujufgurh
REFERENCES.
B. Rising ground in front of our advance.
C. Line of attack on serai consisting of H. M. 61st Regt., 1st Bengal Fusiliers on right; 2nd Punjab Infantry on left.
D. Villages held by enemy.
E. Bridge 84 feet long, 27 broad, blown up to prevent enemy threatening our rear.
F. Guns brought by enemy to play on bridge when held by us.
G. Our guns brought up to silence theirs.

decided on leaving the Bahadoorgurh road, and if possible coming up with and routing the enemy at Najafgarh before nightfall.

I crossed a tolerably deep and broad ford over a branch of the Najafgarh *jheel*, near the village of Basrowla, at about 4 P.M., and found the enemy in position on my left and front, extending from the bridge over the Najafgarh canal to the town of Najafgarh itself, a distance of a mile and three-quarters or two miles. Their strongest point was an old *serai* on their left centre, in which they had four guns: nine more guns were between this and the bridge.

It was five o'clock before the troops were across the ford and parallel with the position. As the evening was so far advanced, and I had no guides, I laboured under the disadvantage of being compelled to make a very hasty reconnaissance.

The plan which I determined on was to force the left centre (which, as I have said, was the strongest part of the position), and then changing front to the left, to sweep down their line of guns towards the bridge.

I accordingly formed up Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, the 1st Fusiliers, and the 2nd Punjab Infantry (with the exception of a hundred men of each corps, whom I had told off on the march as a rear guard and reserve), with four guns on the right and ten on the left flank, supported by the squadron of the 9th Lancers and the Guide Cavalry; and after the artillery had fired a few rounds, I advanced and charged with the infantry.

The enemy was driven out with scarcely any numerical loss to us (though Her Majesty's 61st had a most gallant and promising officer, Lieutenant Gabbett, mortally wounded), and I then changed front to the left, and so turned the whole position in which their guns were. The enemy made little resistance as we advanced, and were soon in full retreat across the bridge, with our guns playing upon them, thirteen of their field pieces having fallen into our hands.

At the same time that I attacked the *serai*, I directed Lieutenant Lumsden, Officiating Commandant of Major Coke's corps (the 1st Regiment, Punjab Infantry), to advance and clear the town of Najafgarh on our right. This service was well performed by Lieutenant Lumsden, who after passing through the town brought his right shoulder forward, and followed in rear of the main line.

The enemy's guns were now all in our possession, and I supposed the conflict at an end, when it was reported to me that a few men had concealed themselves in the little village of Nagli, which was at this

time a few hundred yards in rear of our line. I immediately sent orders to Lieutenant Lumsden, who was then nearly abreast of the village, to drive them out; but though few in number, they had remained so long that our troops were on all sides of them; and seeing no line of retreat open, they fought with extreme desperation.

Lieutenant Lumsden was, I regret to say, killed, with eleven of his men; twenty-six more were wounded, and I was obliged to send back the 61st Regiment to reinforce the 1st Regiment, Punjab Infantry. This corps also suffered a loss of another gallant officer, Lieutenant Elkington, dangerously wounded, and five men killed and several more were wounded, before the village was in our possession.

The enemy's cavalry, apparently not less than 1,000 strong, more than once made a show of charging during the action, but were on each occasion driven back by the fire of our artillery. Our own cavalry I regretted much my inability to employ against them, but I had been obliged to leave the squadron of the 2nd Regiment, Punjab Cavalry, under Lieutenant Nicholson, and a hundred and twenty of the Mooltanees to look after the baggage, and I had of Lancers, Guides and Mooltanees not more than three hundred left to escort the guns and form a reserve.

I passed the night at the bridge, with the 1st Fusiliers and 2nd Regiment, Punjab Infantry, and a detachment of artillery and Lancers. I had the bridge mined and blown up by the Sappers, and all the waggons and tumbrils which I had not the means of bringing away were also blown up by Major Tombs. Shortly after daybreak, I started on my return to camp, and fearing lest more rain should render the ground (already sufficiently difficult) quite impracticable, I brought the column in the same evening.

It only now remains for me to fulfil the pleasing duty of expressing my extreme satisfaction with the conduct of the troops in these operations. No soldiers ever advanced to the attack of a position with greater gallantry and steadiness than Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, the 1st Fusiliers, and the 2nd Regiment, Punjab Infantry. No infantry was ever more ably assisted by artillery. Major Coke's regiment, under its gallant and lamented officiating commandant, Lieutenant Lumsden, sustained its high reputation.

The troops are likewise entitled to great credit for the cheerfulness with which they bore the hardships they were exposed to; they marched at daybreak, and had to cross two difficult swamps before their arrival at Nanglúi, and as it would not have been prudent to take the baggage across the ford at Basrowla, they were obliged, after

fourteen hours' marching and fighting, to bivouac on the field without food or covering of any kind.

The officers to whom I am most indebted for their services on this occasion, and whom I would beg to bring prominently to the favorable notice of the Major-General, are Major Tombs, commanding the Artillery (this officer's merits are so well known to the Major-General that it is unnecessary for me to dwell upon them); Major Jacob, commanding the 1st Fusiliers; Captain Green, commanding the 2nd Regiment, Punjab Infantry, and Captains Remmington and Blunt, and Lieutenants Wilson and Sankey of the Artillery. I also received every assistance from my staff and orderly officers, Captain Blane, Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, my Brigade-Major; Captain Shute, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General; Captain Trench, 35th Native Infantry, and Lieutenant Dixon, late 9th Light Cavalry, my orderly officers, and Lieutenant R. C. Low, on the staff of the Major-General Commanding.

Lieutenant Sarel, Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, to whom I entrusted the command of the cavalry with the guns during the action, and of the rear guard on the 26th, performed these duties very much to my satisfaction. The same remarks apply to Captain Gordon, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, who commanded the reserve during the action and night of the 25th.

Sir Theophilus Metcalfe was good enough to accompany and give me the benefit of his local knowledge; he was also present and very forward in the attack on the serai.

Lieutenant Geneste, of the Engineers, deserves credit for the very complete and successful manner in which he blew up the bridge.

I enclose a return of captured guns and ordnance stores, a casualty roll, and a sketch of the ground prepared by Captain Shute of the Quartermaster-General's Department.

*Numerical Return of the killed and wounded of Brigadier-General* NICHOLSON'S *force in the action with the mutineers at Najafgarh on 25th August 1857.*

| Corps. | Killed. | | | | | | | | | Wounded. | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons and assistant surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | N.-C. Officers. | Drummers, rank and file, troopers. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons and assistant sugeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | N.-C. Officers. | Drummers, rank and file, troopers. | Horses. | |
| Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabineers) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Doing duty as an artilleryman. |
| Her Majesty's 9th Lancers ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| Horse Artillery ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 10 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 2 | 2 | 4 | |
| Guide Cavalry ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | ... | Captain Trench's horse was shot under him in the *serai*. |
| 2nd Punjab Cavalry ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | |
| Her Majesty's 61st Regiment... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | .. | .. | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 15 | ... | |
| 1st European Bengal Fusiliers | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | 3 | .. | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 11 | ... | |
| 1st Punjab Infantry ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 8 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 22 | ... | |
| 2nd ditto ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 5 | ... | |
| Total ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 18 | 16 | 1 | ... | 1 | 1 | ... | .. | 11 | 56 | 4 | |
| Grand Total ... | 25 | | | | | | | | 16 | 70 | | | | | | | | 4 | |

(Sd.) S. BLANE, *Captain*,
*Major of Brigade.*

(Sd.) J. NICHOLSON, *Brigdr.-Genl.*

---

NOMINAL ROLL OF THE OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE ACTION OF THE 25TH AUGUST 1857.

*Officiating Commandant, 1st Punjab Infantry.*

Lieutenant W. Lumsden, killed.

*Her Majesty's 61st Regiment.*

Lieutenant Gabbett, killed.

Lieutenant Elkington, dangerously wounded.

*Horse Artillery.*

Assistant Surgeon Ireland, dangerously wounded.

*1st Bengal Fusiliers.*

Major Jacob, slight contusion.

(Sd.) S. BLANE, *Capt.*,
*Major of Brigade.*

---

By order of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief,

(Sd.) W. A. J. MAYHEW, *Major*,
*Depy. Adjt.-Genl. of Army.*

*Telegram from Brigadier-General* NEILL, *Cawnpore, to the Governor-General of India, Calcutta,—No. 82, dated Cawnpore, the 4th September 1857.*

Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, sends message, dated Agra, 27th August:—"Telegraphic order of 20th instant received. There was a hollow pretence of negociation entered into by the King of Delhi. It was noticed in the Lieutenant-Governor's letter to the Governor-General of July 20th in these words:—The overtures to which Mr. Greathed alludes was one that the old King made no doubt in fraud. Your orders against any terms with the family have been sent on, and accommodation of any sort is now out of the question. Nothing further has been heard of any overtures from the palace, until a letter of the 22nd came from Mr. Greathed this morning. In it he says yesterday an emissary came in from the chief lady of the palace, offering her good offices. He was told we were anxious for her person's safety and for that of all women and children, but that no communication could be received from inmates of the palace. Copy of this order and the present message will now be sent on at once in continuation of former orders." Delhi news to 22nd all well. Mr. Colvin writes that he has a small party out towards Hattras and Aligarh, just to show that they are not helpless in the fort. The same sort of practice here would be beneficial.

---

*Telegram from Lieutenant-Colonel* O'BRIEN, *Allahabad, to the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta,—No. 341, dated Allahabad, 23rd September 1857.*

The following received by post from Cawnpore from Sir James Outram:—

"The assault on Delhi took place on the 14th. Troops entered breach near Cashmere Gate, without serious opposition, advanced along ramparts to Moree Bastion, Cabul Gate, where resistance was very obstinate.

"We are advancing gradually within the city. Enemy seen retrograding over bridge. Their guns are turned on them. Our loss severe, One P.M. 14th."

---

*Telegram from Colonel* N. WILSON, *Cawnpore, to the Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta, No. 347, dated Cawnpore, 24th September 1857.*

Delhi, 14th. We secured the line of defences we had taken from Water Bastion to Cabul Gate, the English Church, Skinner's house, college, &c., and grounds about. Our chief loss was in attempting to reach Jumma Musjid and penetrate beyond Cabul Gate. Fall of remainder at once expected. Bradshaw, 52nd Regiment, and FitzGerald, 75th

Regiment, killed; wounded numerous including General Nicholson, Colonel Campbell, 52nd Regiment, and Reid, Sirmoor Battalion.

---

*Telegram from General Sir* JAMES OUTRAM, *Cawnpore, to the Governor-General, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 26th September 1857.*

Delhi 16th. Magazine carried this morning with loss of only three wounded. A dash and cheer struck such terror, that the rebels dropped their lighted portfires, leaving their loaded guns an easy prey to us. One hundred and twenty-five pieces of ordnance and vast supplies of shot and shells found in the magazine alone. Our guns and ten mortars are now bearing on palace. We hold everything on our side of the canal, except the palace. All look to the complete occupation of the city in a couple of days as a certainty. 1st Bengal European Fusiliers suffered most. General Nicholson rallied a little, though nearly dead when taken off. Between forty and fifty wounded. Casualties amongst officers:—Engineers, nine; Her Majesty's 8th Foot, eight; 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, nine. Thirty-nine officers wounded.

---

*Telegram from Major* R. STRACHEY, *Benares, to Colonel* W. E. BAKER, *Secretary to the Government of India, Public Works Department, Calcutta,—No. 403, dated Benares, 27th September 1857.*

Engineers wounded at Delhi—Greathed, slightly; Salkeld, Maunsell, Home, Pemberton, Medley; Baird-Smith hurt badly by a fall from his horse. Taylor now directs the operations. A party of three applied powder bags to Cashmere Gate. The officer, not named, alone escaped, badly wounded. The sergeant, having said "I have lighted it," was shot dead. On 18th all city believed to be in our hands, excepting palace. Batteries erected on all sides. No news from Lucknow. Telegraph from Cawnpore says, it is reported in *bazar* to be in our hands. No letter from column since Tuesday. Firing heard yesterday at Cawnpore.

---

*Telegram from the Lieutenant-Governor, Benares, to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta,—No. 422, dated Benares, 29th September 1857.*

News from Colonel Becher at Delhi, 17th September, through Captain Nixon. The Rifles occupy the bank house. Some further forward movement will be made to-morrow, but we hear the main body are leaving the city, and intend to go towards Gwalior through Muttra. The King is in the palace, with some two or three thousand men, who declare they will fight to the last. The palace is being well shelled to-day. Nixon adds—"Mhow mutineers still on the Chumbal at Dholepore. The Gwalior troops have quieted down it is said."

466

*Telegram from Colonel* WILSON, *Commanding at Cawnpore, to General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—No. 27, dated Cawnpore, 1st October 1857.*

Extract of a letter from W. Muir, Esq., to G. F. Edmonstone, Esq., dated Agra, 27th September, 2 P.M.—"An extra just issued to this effect. On 22nd instant, the palace of the King of Delhi was occupied by British troops, and the capture of the city is complete. God save the Queen! A Royal salute was about to be fired from the ramparts of the fort. A pursuit column was about to start this morning. King and chief queen are close prisoners. Three of principal princes shot."

---

*General Order by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Fort William, 2nd October 1857.*

No. 1227 of 1857.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council has received by a telegraphic message the gratifying announcement that Delhi is entirely in the hands of Major-General Wilson's army.

Delhi, the focus of the treason and revolt which for four months have harassed Hindustan, and the stronghold in which the mutinous army of Bengal has sought to concentrate its power, has been wrested from the rebels.

The King is a close prisoner in the palace. The head-quarters of Major-General Wilson are established in the Dewan-i-Khas. A strong column is in pursuit of the fugitives.

Whatever may be the motives and passions by which the mutinous soldiery and those who are leagued with them have been instigated to faithlessness, rebellion, and crimes at which the heart sickens, it is certain that they have found encouragement in the delusive belief that India was weakly guarded by England, and that before the Government could gather together its strength against them, their ends would be gained. They are now undeceived.

Before a single soldier of the many thousands who are hastening from England to uphold the supremacy of the British power has set foot on these shores, the rebel force, where it was strongest and most united, and where it had the command of unbounded military appliances, has been destroyed or scattered by an army collected within the limits of the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab alone.

The work has been done before the support of those battalions which have been collected in Bengal from the forces of the Queen in China and Her Majesty's Eastern colonies could reach Major-General

Wilson's army; and it is by the courage and endurance of that gallant army alone, by the skill, sound judgment, and steady resolution of its brave commander, and by the aid of some Native Chiefs true to their allegiance, that, under the blessing of God, the head of rebellion has been crushed, and the cause of loyalty, humanity, and rightful authority vindicated.

The Governor-General in Council hopes that the receipt of despatches from Major-General Wilson will soon place it in his power to make known the details of the operations against Delhi, and to record fully and publicly the thanks and commendation which are due to the officers and men by whose guidance, courage, and exertions those operations have been brought to a successful issue.

But the Governor-General in Council will not postpone till then his grateful acknowledgment of the services which have been rendered to the Empire at this juncture by the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab.

To Sir John Lawrence it is owing that the army before Delhi, long ago cut off from all direct support from the Lower Provinces, has been constantly recruited and strengthened so effectually as to enable its commander not only to hold his position unshaken, but to achieve complete success.

To Sir John Lawrence's unceasing vigilance, and to his energetic and judicious employment of the trustworthy forces at his own disposal, it is due that Major-General Wilson's army has not been harassed or threatened on the side of the Punjab, and that the authority of the Government in the Punjab itself has been sustained and generally respected.

The Governor-General in Council seizes with pleasure the earliest opportunity of testifying his high appreciation of these great and timely services.

MILITARY DEPARTMENT,
FORT WILLIAM;
*The 2nd October 1857.*

(Sd.) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.*,
*Secy. to the Govt. of India.*

---

*Demi-official from* W. MUIR, Esq., *to* J. W. SHERER, Esq., *dated Agra, the 27th September 1857.*

At last the joyful news; on the 22nd instant the British flag waved over the palace of the King of Delhi. Send this and the telegraphic message on quick to the Governor-General. His Lordship is greatly to be congratulated on this grand event.

I give Becher's letter to Nixon *verbatim*:—"22nd. All is going on wonderfully well here. The King, the Begum Zeenut Mehal, are close

prisoners, and to-day the Princes Mirza Moghal, Abulbakr and Khair Sultan were brought in by Hodson from Humayon's tomb, and shot at the Delhi Gate. Their bodies are now lying at the *kotwali*, where so many of our poor countrymen were murdered and exposed. A pursuing column under Colonel Greathed, of Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, leaves this to-morrow morning to go in your direction. It consists of 1,600 infantry, eighteen guns in three troops, and 600 cavalry. They will soon join you, I trust, and render complete the effects of the fall of this city. The city is a perfect picture of desolation, completely abandoned, a vast amount of property left behind which our Native troops are possessing themselves of with great gusto, but with demoralising effect. There are a great number of city *badmashes* and others collected near Humayon's tomb, but it is to be hoped our column will meet them.

"Last night 'Her Majesty the Queen,' proposed by the conqueror of Delhi, was drunk with all honor in the Dewan-i-Khas by the head-quarters staff; never has the old building re-echoed with any sound half so fine. The cheer was taken up by the gallant Gurkhas of the Sirmoor Battalion, who form the General's personal guard.

"All is well in the Punjab and elsewhere.

"'God be blessed' for this glorious termination of this arduous struggle."

---

*Telegram from Captain* H. BRUCE, *for General Sir* JAMES OUTRAM, *Cawnpore, to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General,—No. 662, dated 28th October 1857.*

Military Department No. 567.
Electric telegraph message from Captain H. Bruce, for General Outram, Cawnpore, to the Governor-General, dated 28th October 1857.

Communicates the following message from Sir John Lawrence, in reply to the communication of Delhi, dated Lahore, 21st October:—"The King's life has been guaranteed. There can be no objection in sending down the three officers named by Government, as their services can be ill-spared at present; stating that he should be glad if General Penny would delay the destruction of the fortification of the town until Government can receive and give orders on his (Sir John Lawrence's) despatches of the 9th and 15th October, as no danger by delay could arise; suggesting that the dismantlement of the fortifications be done as was the case at Lahore, leaving a wall of 12 feet high, as very useful for police purposes; and observing that Delhi without any walls would be exposed to constant depredations from the Menas and Goojars and other predatory races, and that even such a partial demolition will cost several lakhs of rupees and take a long time."

*General Order by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Fort William, 8th October 1857.*

No. 1257 of 1857.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council has the great satisfaction of publishing the subjoined letter, of this day's date, from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by letters from the General in command and from the Adjutant-General of the Army at Delhi.

It will be seen that further and more complete reports from Major-General Wilson are yet to follow.

Most cordially does the Governor-General join in the high encomium passed upon Major-General Wilson and his brave troops by General Sir Colin Campbell, from whom praise so hearty and so just will not fail to be appreciated by every soldier, British or native, in the Army of the North-West.

The noble qualities which that Army has evinced during the arduous and wearing struggle of the last three months are indeed worthy of the highest admiration and praise. Its steady perseverance and eager, resistless courage have gloriously upheld the authority, and will not disappoint the expectations, of England.

By order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council.

MILITARY DEPARTMENT,
FORT WILLIAM;
*The 8th October 1857.*

(Sd.) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.*,
*Secy. to the Govt. of India.*

---

*From General Sir* COLIN CAMPBELL, *Commander-in-Chief, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—dated Government House, Calcutta, 8th October 1857.*

I have the honor to forward, for submission to His Lordship the Governor-General in Council, two despatches which have arrived from Major-General Wilson, commanding the field force before Delhi, and the Adjutant-General of the Army.

I beg very particularly to call the attention of His Lordship to the matter contained in these two communications, and to give expression to the very cordial feeling I experience towards Major-General Wilson and the force under his command.

It is impossible to be too lavish of praise for the untiring energy, invincible fortitude, and splendid gallantry by which this force has been distinguished, from the General in command to the private soldier in the ranks.

All have done their duty most nobly; and the steadfast courage of the men has enabled the General to carry out his enterprise, in spite of scanty means and a deadly season.

---

*From Major-General* A. WILSON, *Commanding the Delhi Field Force, to Captain* H. W. NORMAN, *Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Head-Quarters, Field Force, Delhi, the 16th September 1857.*

I have the high satisfaction of reporting, for the information of the Major-General commanding in the Upper Provinces, and through him of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and of Government, that on the morning of the 14th instant the force under my command successfully assaulted the city of Delhi.

Under present circumstances, Major-General Gowan will, I trust, allow me to withhold for a time a full and complete detail of the operations from their commencement to their close, and to limit myself to a summary of events.

After six days of open trenches, during which the artillery and engineers, under their respective commanding officers, Major Gaitskell and Lieutenant-Colonel R. Baird Smith, vied with each other in pressing forward the work, two excellent and most practicable breaches were formed in the walls of the place, one in the curtain to the right of the Cashmere Bastion, the other to the left of the Water Bastion; the defences of those bastions and the parapets, giving musketry cover to the enemy commanding the breaches, having also been destroyed by the artillery.

The assault was delivered on four points. The 1st Column, under Brigadier-General J. Nicholson, consisting of Her Majesty's 75th Regiment (300 men), the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers (200 men), and the 2nd Regiment, Punjab Infantry (450 men), assaulted the main breach; their advance being admirably covered by the 1st Battalion of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, under Colonel J. Jones. The operation was crowned with brilliant success,—the enemy, after severe resistance, being driven from the Cashmere Bastion, the main guard, and its vicinity, in complete rout.

The 2nd Column, under Brigadier Jones, of Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, consisting of Her Majesty's 8th Regiment (250 men), the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers (250 men), and the 4th Regiment of Sikhs (350 men), similarly covered by the 60th Rifles, advanced on the Water Bastion, carried the breach, and drove the enemy from his guns and position with a determination and spirit which gave me the highest satisfaction.

The 3rd Column, under Colonel Campbell, of Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment (Light Infantry), consisting of 200 of his own regiment, the Kumaon Battalion (250 men), and the 1st Regiment, Punjab Infantry (500 men), was directed against the Cashmere Gateway. This column was preceded by an explosion party under Lieutenants Home and Salkeld of the Engineers, covered by the 60th Rifles. The demolition of the gate having been accomplished, the column forced an entrance, overcoming a strenuous opposition from the enemy's infantry and heavy artillery, which had been brought to bear on the position. I cannot express too warmly my admiration of the gallantry of all concerned in this difficult operation.

The Reserve, under Brigadier Longfield, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, composed of Her Majesty's 61st Regiment (250 men), the 4th Punjab Rifles (450 men), the Belúch Battalion (300 men), the Jhind Rajah's auxiliaries (300 men), and 200 of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles who joined after the assault had been made, awaited the result of the attack, and on the columns entering the place took possession of the posts I had previously assigned to it. This duty was ultimately performed to my entire satisfaction.

The firm establishment of the Reserve rendering the assaulting columns free to act in advance, Brigadier-General Nicholson, supported by Brigadier Jones, swept the ramparts of the place from the Cashmere to the Cabul Gates, occupying the bastions and defences, capturing the guns, and driving the enemy before him.

During the advance, Brigadier-General Nicholson was, to the grief of myself and the whole army, dangerously wounded. The command consequently devolved on Brigadier Jones, who, finding the enemy in great force, occupying and pouring a destructive fire from the roofs of strong and commanding houses in the city on all sides, the ramparts themselves being enfiladed by guns, prudently resolved on retaining possession of the Cabul Gate, which his troops had so gallantly won, in which he firmly established himself, awaiting the result of the operations of the other columns of occupation.

Colonel Campbell, with the column under his command, advanced successfully from the Cashmere Gate by one of the main streets beyond the Chandney Chowk, the central and principal street of the city, towards the Jumma Musjid, with the intention of occupying that important post. The opposition, however, which he met from the great concentration of the enemy at the Jumma Musjid and the houses in the neighbourhood, he himself, I regret to state, being wounded,

satisfied him that his most prudent course was not to maintain so advanced a position with the comparatively limited force at his disposal, and he accordingly withdrew the head of his column and placed himself in communication with the Reserve, a measure which had my entire approval,—I having previously determined that, in the event of serious opposition being encountered in the town itself, it would be most inexpedient to commit my small force to a succession of street fights, in which their gallantry, discipline and organisation could avail them so little.

My present position, therefore, is that which under such a contingency I had resolved to occupy and establish myself in firmly, as the base of my systematic operations for the complete possession of the city. This embraces the magazine on one side and the Cabul Gate on the other, with the Moree, Cashmere, and Water Bastions, and strong intermediate posts, with secure communication along the front and to the rear.

From this base I am now cautiously pressing the enemy on all points, with a view to establishing myself in a second advanced position, and I trust before many days to have it in my power to announce to the Supreme Government that the enemy have been driven from their last stronghold in the palace, fort and streets of the city of Delhi.

Simultaneously with the operations above detailed, an attack was made on the enemy's strong position outside the city, in the suburbs of Kissengunge and Paharipore, with a view of driving in the rebels and supporting the main attack by effecting an entrance at the Cabul Gate after it should be taken.

The force employed on this difficult duty I entrusted to that admirable officer, Major C. Reid, Commanding the Sirmoor Battalion, whose distinguished conduct I have already had occasion to bring prominently to the notice of superior authority, and who was, I much regret, severely wounded on this occasion. His column consisted of his own battalion, the Guides, and the men on duty at Hindoo Rao's (the main picquet), numbering in all about 1,000, supported by the auxiliary troops of His Highness the Maharajah Runbir Singh, under Captain R. Lawrence.

The strength of the positions, however, and the desperate resistance offered by the enemy, withstood for a time the efforts of our troops, gallant though they were, and the combination was unable to be effected. The delay, I am happy to say, has been only temporary, for the enemy have subsequently abandoned their positions, leaving their guns in our hands.

In this attack I found it necessary to support Major Reid with cavalry and horse artillery, both of which arms were admirably handled, respectively, by Brigadier J. Hope Grant, of Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, commanding the Cavalry Brigade, and Major H. Tombs, of the Horse Artillery, who inflicted severe punishment on the enemy, though I regret their own loss was very heavy.

The resistance of the rebels up to this time has been that of desperate men, and to this must be attributed the severe loss we have sustained, amounting, proximately, so far as I am able to judge, in the absence of casualty returns, to forty-six officers killed and wounded, and about 800 men. Amongst those of whose services the State has been deprived are many officers of distinction and merit, holding superior commands, whose places cannot be supplied; and I have specially to lament the loss which has been sustained by that splendid corps, the Engineers, nine officers of that arm having fallen in the gallant performance of their duty.

Until I am in possession of reports from Brigadiers and other commanding officers, I shall be unable to enter more fully into the details of these operations, and I trust the circumstances under which I write will excuse any slight inaccuracies or imperfections which my despatch may exhibit.

The absence of such reports also prevents my bringing to notice the names of those officers and men who have specially distinguished themselves. This will be my grateful duty hereafter. But I cannot defer the expression of my admiration for the intrepidity, coolness and determination of all engaged, Europeans and natives, of all arms of the service.

---

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* N. B. CHAMBERLAIN, *Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Officer Commanding at Cawnpore,—dated City of Delhi, 18th September 1857.*

On the afternoon of the 14th I despatched a messenger to you, intimating the success of the assault on Delhi, which took place that morning, and that we held from the Cabul Gate to the College. Since then we have pushed on, and now occupy from the Cabul Gate along the line of the canal, with our left holding the Bank, which opens on the Chandney Chowk. The magazine was breached during the 15th, and taken by assault at daybreak on the 16th. You will understand from this that the mutineers occupy the Burn Bastion and all that portion of the city to its south, excepting the Bank; they also still occupy the

palace and Selimgurh, and have a camp pitched outside near the Ajmere Gate. The palace wall will be breached as soon as we attain a suitable site for our battery, which we have not yet acquired. Our mortars have been brought into the town and are shelling the palace. The guns taken on the works have also been turned upon the portions of the town which are in possession of the mutineers, and we are gradually pressing forward. The usual license which invariably accompanies an assault of a large city has somewhat retarded our advance, but order is fast being restored. At first the mutineers offered obstinate resistance, but they have become less active. The townspeople are flying the city in crowds, and the mutineers themselves are deserting in large bodies; their cavalry it is reported having almost entirely disappeared. We can get no good information as to the mutineers' line of retreat, but some say Gwalior. Few pass over the bridge. Their positions at Kissengunge were abandoned on the day after the assault, seven guns being left behind in position. Our casualties on the day of the assault were,—Europeans killed, eight officers, 162 rank and file; wounded, 52 officers, 510 rank and file. Natives killed, 103; wounded, 310. Missing, 10 Europeans. Total,—Europeans and Natives—killed and wounded, 1,145. The following officers *killed*:—Engineers, Lieutenant Tandy; Her Majesty's 75th, Lieutenant FitzGerald; Her Majesty's 52nd, Lieutenant Bradshaw; Her Majesty's 8th, Lieutenant W. R. Webb; 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, Major Jacob, Captain McBarnet (55th Native Infantry, doing duty); Ensign Davidson, 26th Native Infantry, doing duty with the 2nd Punjab Infantry; Lieutenant Murray, 42nd Native Infantry, doing duty with the Guides. *Wounded*:—Artillery, Major Tombs, Lieutenant Lindsay; Engineers, Lieutenants Greathed, Maunsell, Medley, Salkeld (dangerously), Chesney, Brownlow (dangerously), Hovenden, and Pemberton, and local Ensign Gustavinski; 6th Dragoons, Captain Rosser (mortally*); 84th Foot (doing duty with the 9th Lancers), Captain the Hon'ble A. H. A. Anson; Lieutenant B. Cuppage, 6th Light Cavalry, doing duty with the 9th Lancers; Her Majesty's 75th Foot, Colonel Herbert; Lieutenant Armstrong, Ensigns Wadeson and Dayrell (58th Native Infantry, doing duty); 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers, Captain Hay (60th Native Infantry, doing duty), dangerously; Lieutenant Elderton, Lieutenant Gambier (38th Native Infantry, doing duty), dangerously; Lieutenant Walker (60th Native Infantry, doing duty); Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, Colonel Campbell, Captain Bayley, Lieutenant Atkinson; Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, Captain

* Captain Rosser was dangerously but not mortally wounded.

Waters, Lieutenant Curtis; Sirmoor Battalion, Major C. Reid; Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Brooke, Major R. S. Baynes (dangerously), Captain Beere, Captain Sandilands, Lieutenant Pogson (since dead), Lieutenant Walker, Lieutenant Metge; Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, Captain Deacon, Lieutenant Moore, Lieutenant A. C. Young; Lieutenant Jenkins, 57th Native Infantry, attached to the 4th Sikhs; Brigadier-General Nicholson, dangerously; 1st Fusiliers, Captain Greville, Captain Caulfeild (3rd Native Infantry, doing duty), Captain Graydon (16th Native Infantry, doing duty), Lieutenants Wemyss, Owen, Lambert, Woodcock (55th Native Infantry, doing duty), Lieutenant Speke (65th Native Infantry, doing duty); 1st Punjab Infantry, Lieutenant Nicholson, 31st Native Infantry, 2nd Punjab Cavalry, doing duty), Lieutenant Shelley (11th Native Infantry, doing duty), Ensign Prior, (local officer, doing duty); 2nd Punjab Infantry, Captain Green, Lieutenant Frankland, Madras Infantry; 4th Punjab Infantry, Lieutenant Homfray, (since dead); Guide Infantry, Lieutenant Bond (57th Native Infantry, doing duty).

The following ordnance has been captured:—In position and in the streets, thirty-five pieces of sorts; in the magazine, 171; total, 206. The amount of shot and shell is unlimited. I have communicated the contents of this to Government.

*P.S. 19th*—During the night we advanced our left up to Abbott's house and also Khan Mahomed's house. This gives us a strong position up to within a hundred and fifty yards of the palace walls. All our mortars are bearing upon the Jumma Musjid and the southern part of the town, which is being fast evacuated, the resistance becoming much less on our right: we are also progressing by working through the houses. The King and royal family are said to have evacuated the palace, and gone to the old fort outside the city to the south. Our very small number makes it necessary to be cautious in taking possession of so large a city, for the great number we have of sick and wounded, and our loss on the day of the assault, have reduced us very much. This was too late to be sent yesterday.

---

*From Major-General* A. Wilson, *Commanding the Delhi Field Force, to the Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Delhi, 22nd September 1857.*

In continuation of my despatch of the 16th instant, I now have the honor to forward a report for the information of the Major-General Commanding in the Upper Provinces, His Excellency the Commander-

476

in-Chief, and the Government, of the further operations of the force under my command since that date.

During the 17th and 18th, we continued to take up advanced posts in the face of considerable opposition on the part of the rebels, and not without loss to ourselves, three officers being killed, and a number of men killed and wounded. On the evening of the 19th, the Burn Bastion, which had given us considerable annoyance, was surprised and captured.

On the morning of the 20th, our troops pushed on and occupied the Lahore Gate, from which an unopposed advance was made on the other bastions and gateways, until the whole of the defences of the city were in our hands.

From the time of our first entering the city, an uninterrupted and vigorous fire from our guns and mortars was kept up on the Palace, Jumma Musjid, and other important posts in possession of the rebels; and as we took up our various positions in advance, our light guns and mortars were brought forward and used with effect on the streets and houses in their neighbourhood.

The result of this heavy and unceasing bombardment, and of the steady and persevering advance of our troops, has been the evacuation of the palace by the king, the entire desertion of the city by the inhabitants, and the precipitate flight of the rebel troops, who, abandoning their camp, property, many of their sick and wounded, and the greater part of their field artillery, have fled in utter disorganization,—some four or five thousand across the bridge of boats into the Doab, and the remainder down the right bank of the Jumna.

The gates of the palace having been blown in, it was occupied by our troops at about noon on the 20th, and my head-quarters established in it on the same day.

The great diminution of our strength by losses in action during the last few days, added to the severe sickness prevailing among the troops, has prevented my immediately organizing and sending a column in pursuit, but a force as per margin, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed, will march to-morrow morning towards Bolundshahur and Aligarh, to intercept the rebels, whose intentions are said to be to cross the Jumna at Muttra. My intelligence, however, I regret to say, is very defective.

1st Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery.
2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery.
No. 17 Light Field Battery.
9th Lancers.
1st, 2nd and 5th Regiments of Punjab Cavalry.
Hodson's Horse (200).
Two companies of Punjab Sappers.
Her Majesty's 8th Regiment.
Her Majesty's 75th Regiment.
2nd and 4th Regiments of Punjab Infantry.

The King, who accompanied the troops, it is believed, for some short distance, last night gave himself up to a party of irregular cavalry, whom I had sent out in the direction of the fugitives, and he is now a prisoner under a guard of European soldiers.

Three of the Shahzadas,* who are known to have taken a prominent part in the atrocities attending the insurrection, have been this day captured by Captain Hodson and shot on the spot.

Thus has the important duty committed to this force been accomplished, and its object attained,—Delhi, the focus of rebellion and insurrection, and the scene of so much horrible cruelty, taken and made desolate; the King, a prisoner in our hands; and the mutineers, notwithstanding their great numerical superiority and their vast resources in ordnance and all the munitions and appliances of war, defeated on every occasion of engagement with our troops, are now driven with slaughter, in confusion and dismay, from their boasted stronghold.

The details of the operations have been so fully entered into in my previous despatch and the annexed reports and returns from the various commanding officers, that little remains for me to say but to again express my unqualified approbation of the conduct and spirit of the whole of the troops, not only on this occasion, but during the entire period they have been in the field.

For four months of the most trying season of the year, this force, originally very weak in number, has been exposed to the repeated and determined attacks of an enemy far out-numbering it, and supported by a numerous and powerful artillery. The duties imposed upon all have been laborious, harassing, and incessant, and notwithstanding heavy losses, both in action and from disease, have been at all times zealously and cheerfully performed.

I beg to add my most cordial concurrence in the commendations bestowed by officers commanding brigades, columns, and detachments on the officers and men named in their several reports, and I have to express my own deep obligations to those officers themselves for the valuable assistance I have at all times received from them.

To Major F. Gaitskell, who recently assumed command of the artillery in the field consequent on Brigadier Garbett having been disabled by a wound, and to the officers and men of that distinguished arm, to whose energy and untiring zeal the successful issue of the operations is so largely attributable, I have to offer my hearty thanks. And

* Mirza Moghal } Sons of the king.
Mirza Khair Sultan }
Mirza Abulbakr, grandson of the king.

particularly am I indebted to that excellent officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Hogge, Director of the Artillery Depot, who volunteered his services as Commissary of Ordnance with the siege train, through whose able superintendence of the park and arrangements for the supply of ammunition to the batteries our artillery was enabled to deal out the destruction which was effected; as also to Captain J. Young, Deputy Commissary, and Mr. J. Stotesbury, Assistant Commissary of Ordnance, for their exertions during the whole siege.

To Lieutenant-Colonel R. Baird Smith, Chief Engineer, who, in ill health and whilst suffering from the effects of a painful wound, devoted himself with the greatest ability and assiduity to the conduct of the difficult and important operations of the siege,—to his gallant and eminently talented second, Captain A. Taylor,—and to the whole of the officers and men of the Engineer Brigade, my thanks and acknowledgments are especially due, for having planned and successfully carried out, in the face of extreme and unusual difficulties, an attack almost without parallel in the annals of siege operations.

To that most brilliant officer, Brigadier-General J. Nicholson, whose professional character and qualifications are so well known and appreciated, I am under the greatest obligations for the daring manner in which he led his column to the assault; and I deeply deplore that his services are for the present lost to the State.

To Brigadier J. Hope Grant, commanding the Cavalry Brigade, and Brigadiers J. Longfield and W. Jones, commanding Infantry Brigades, I am deeply indebted; and I have to offer my best thanks to Colonel G. Campbell, Commanding Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment (Light Infantry), and to that intrepid and excellent officer, Major C. Reid, of the Sirmoor Battalion, both wounded whilst gallantly leading columns of attack; as also to Colonel J. Jones, commanding the 1st Battalion, 60th Royal Rifles,—a regiment which has shown a glorious example, both in its daring gallantry and its perfect discipline, to the whole force,—for the ability with which he covered the advance of the assaulting columns.

I have pleasure also in bringing favourably to notice the services rendered by Lieutenant-Colonel H. P. Burn, attached as Field Officer to the 1st Brigade of Infantry, and by Captain Seymour J. Blane, Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment (Light Infantry), Major of Brigade to Brigadier-General Nicholson.

Colonel J. L. Dennis, of Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, whom I placed in charge of the camp during the operations, is entitled to

my thanks and acknowledgments for the able dispositions he made with the troops under his command for the due protection of his important charge.

To the officers of the general staff of the army, and to those of the staff of the field force, my cordial acknowledgments are due for the admirable manner in which they have performed their responsible duties.

To that very distinguished officer, Brigadier-General N. B. Chamberlain, Adjutant-General of the Army, who though still incapacitated by a severe wound previously received, proceeded to the ridge at Hindoo Rao's and performed essential service after Major Reid had been wounded, and it became necessary to resume that position.

To Captain H. W. Norman, Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, who on this, as on each and every occasion, has been distinguished by his gallantry, zeal, and professional ability.

To that experienced officer, Major R. S. Ewart, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, and his gallant and energetic co-adjutor, Captain D. M. Stewart, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, who have conducted the duties of this important department with the force much to my satisfaction; and to Captain E. B. Johnson, Assistant Adjutant of Artillery, who volunteered to command the 24-pounder breaching battery, most ably and effectually carried out the duty assigned to him, and who re-joined my personal staff on the morning of the assault, and has throughout these operations given me the most zealous and efficient support,—I am greatly indebted for the assistance they have afforded me.

I beg also to bring very favourably to notice the officers of the Quartermaster-General's Department, Captain D. C. Shute, and Captain H. M. Garstin, and Captain W. S. R. Hodson, who has performed such good and gallant service with his newly-raised regiment of irregular horse, and at the same time conducted the duties of the Intelligence Department under the orders of the Quartermaster-General with rare ability and success; also that active and gallant officer, Lieutenant F. S. Roberts, attached to the Artillery Brigade in the capacity of Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General.

Lieutenant-Colonel Keith Young, Judge Advocate-General, and his deputies, Captain F. C. Maisey and Captain H. M. Wilson, also most zealously assisted me in carrying my orders.

To the officers of my personal staff—Captain C. H. Barchard, who has served with me first as my orderly officer and subsequently as aide-de-camp, and to whose zealous and untiring exertions I am

deeply indebted; to Captain J. R. Turnbull, aide-de-Camp; Captain R. H. D. Lowe and Lieutenant R. C. Low, extra aides-de-camp, I am under great obligations for the zeal and readiness with which they on this and all other occasions have performed their duties. My thanks are also due to Major H. A. Ouvry, who attended me on the day of assault.

For the valuable aid at all times rendered by the officers of the Civil Service who have been attached to the force, I have to record my warm acknowledgments. Mr. Hervey Greathed, Agent to the Deputy Governor, North-Western Provinces (whose subsequent sudden death I deeply lament), and Mr. C. B. Saunders, both of whom attended me in action, and made themselves most useful; Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, *Bart.,* whose gallantry in conducting Colonel Campbell's assaulting column through the city was conspicuous; and Mr. R. W. Clifford, who was also in attendance on me,—are all entitled to my thanks.

Whilst, however, in acknowledging the services of those officers whose good fortune it was to be present at the assault and in the action of the 14th, I have only performed a grateful duty, I should be greatly wanting if I failed to record the names of those who have previously distinguished themselves, but who, incapacitated by wounds or sickness, were unable to join in the operations of that day.

Amongst these I have specially to notice Brigadier St. G. D. Showers, whose cool gallantry on the numerous occasions on which he has been engaged has been conspicuous.

Also Colonel A. M. Becher, Quartermaster-General of the Army, who, though prevented by a severe wound received in June last from taking an active part in the field, has at all times rendered me zealous assistance.

Lieutenant-Colonel T. Seaton, of the 35th Native Infantry, attached to the force, a most valuable and experienced officer, of whose services I have been deprived owing to a wound received by him on the 23rd July.

That admirable officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Murray Mackenzie, commanding the 1st Brigade of Horse Artillery, of whose services I have also been deprived by a wound which he received when in charge of the heavy batteries at an early stage of our operations.

That officer so distinguished in our frontier warfare, Major J. Coke, commanding the 1st Regiment, Punjab Rifles, severely wounded at the head of his regiment on the 12th August, and the gallant commander of the Guides, Captain H. Daly, who was very severely wounded leading a most daring charge on the enemy's guns in the action of the 19th June.

I need not observe how largely the success and efficiency of an army depends on the regularity of its supplies. Under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, in a district the population of which has been inimical, and in which civil authority has ceased to exist, this force has, from the commencement, been kept well and sufficiently provisioned with supplies of every description, the issue of rations to the soldiers having been as regular, both in quantity and quality, as in cantonments. My warmest thanks are therefore due to Lieutenant-Colonel W. B. Thomson, Deputy Commissary-General, the admirable and indefatigable head of that department in the field; as also to Lieutenant T. H. Sibley, Principal Executive Officer, to Lieutenant W. G. Waterfield, and to the other officers serving in that department.

With the medical arrangements of Superintending Surgeon E. Tritton I have every reason to be satisfied, and he is entitled to my cordial acknowledgments. At such a trying season of the year, and in a notoriously unhealthy locality, the sickness and mortality has of course been heavy. In addition to those suffering from disease, the hospitals have received almost daily accessions of wounded men. The labours, therefore, of the Medical Department have been unceasing; notwithstanding there has not been at any time the slightest failure in the arrangements for the care and comfort of the very numerous patients.

Amongst those medical officers whose unwearied zeal and superior ability have come prominently before me are Officiating Superintending Surgeon C. McKinnon, who has been in medical charge of the 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery; Surgeon J. H. Ker Innes, 60th Royal Rifles; Surgeon J. P. Brougham, 1st Bengal European Fusiliers; Surgeon E. Hare, of the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers; Assistant-Surgeon J. J. Clifford, of the 9th Lancers; and Assistant-Surgeon W. F. Mactier, on the personal staff of the late Commander-in-Chief.

Credit is also due to Surgeon D. Scott,* Medical Store-keeper.

The duties and offices of Provost-Marshal to the force have been conducted by a very deserving old non-commissioned officer, Sergeant-Major Stroud, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery, whom I recommend to favourable consideration for a commission.

The names of other non-commissioned officers deserving of a similar reward I shall have the pleasure of submitting hereafter.

I should neither be fulfilling the repeatedly expressed wishes of the artillery officers attached to this force, nor following the dictates of my own inclination, if I failed to acknowledge the valuable assistance

* Assistant-Surgeon.

482

which has, throughout the operations before Delhi, been most cheerfully given by the non-commissioned officers and men of Her Majesty's 9th Lancers and 6th Dragoon Guards in working the batteries. Without it, owing to the comparatively small number of artillerymen, I should have been quite unable to man the batteries efficiently, or keep up the heavy fire which, aided by these men, I have happily been able to do. To these regiments, therefore, and to Brigadier Grant, who so readily placed a certain number of his men at my disposal for such purpose, I tender my best thanks.

It would be an omission on my part were I to pass over in silence the good services and loyal conduct of one who has already been rewarded by the Government for the friendly assistance he rendered to our army in Afghanistan; I allude to the Nawab Jan Fishan Khan, who, with his brave nephew, Sirdar Bahadoor Meer Khan, and their retainers, accompanied me from Meerut, was present at the actions on the Hindun, and has since taken part in nearly every action in which this force has been engaged.

Of the loyal services rendered to the State by the Rajah of Patiala, which must be so well known to the Government, it may not be considered necessary for me to speak; but it is incumbent on me, in my capacity as commander of this force, to acknowledge officially the great assistance the Rajah's troops have afforded me in enabling the numerous convoys of ammunition and stores to travel in security and safety to my camp under their escort and protection.

Equally is it my duty to bring prominently to the notice of Government the admirable service performed by the Jhind Rajah and his troops, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel H. F. Dunsford. They have not only had very harassing duties to carry out in the constant escort of convoys of sick and wounded men, ammunition, &c., but they have also aided me in the field on more than one occasion, and finally participated in the assault of the city.

Lastly, I trust I may be excused if I thus publicly acknowledge the all-important and invaluable aid for which I am indebted to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, Sir John Lawrence, to whose indefatigable exertions in reinforcing me with every available soldier in the Punjab the successful result of our operations is, I unhesitatingly pronounce, attributable; and I take this opportunity of recognizing the advantage derived from the presence of the troops of His Highness the Maharajah Runbir Singh in alliance with the British force, the moral effect of which has been great. And although

unsuccessful, I regret to say, in the actual accomplishment of that part of the operations in which the Jummoo Contingent was engaged on the 14th, I can attach no particle of blame to those troops, as I consider, under the circumstances in which they were placed, the very strong position which they had to attack, and the prolonged and determined resistance which they encountered from an enemy superior to them in number, arms, training, and experience, that they behaved under their gallant commander, Captain R. C. Lawrence, and the other British officers serving with them, to whom my best thanks are due, as well as they could have been expected to do. Captain Lawrence's report of his operations is annexed.

---

*From Major* F. Gaitskell, *Commanding the Artillery Brigade, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Field Force, Delhi,—No. 20, dated Delhi, 19th September 1857.*

I have the honor to submit, for the information of the Major-General Commanding the Field Force, my report of the operations of the artillery brigade under my command from the evening of the 6th to the morning of the 14th September.

The first guns were placed in a light battery on the evening of the 6th September to the left front of the Sammy House Picquet, and about 950 yards from the Shah Bastion. These guns, with four heavy guns in the light batteries on the ridge, and two light guns at the Crow's Nest, were placed under the command of Captain Remmington, of the 1st Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery,—the light guns for the purpose of keeping the ground clear between the Shah Bastion and Kissengunge, and the whole to aid generally in the defence of our right flank. These objects were principally attained on several occasions during the time the siege batteries were in play, from the 8th to the 14th September, in repelling the attacks of the enemy on our right (No. I) siege battery.

Six 9-pounders. | Two 24-pounders.

No. I Siege Battery was commenced on the evening of the 7th September, and although originally intended for ten guns, was subsequently divided into two portions,—the one on the right, under Major Brind, to silence the fire of the guns on the Shah Bastion, distance seven hundred yards, containing five 18-pounders and one 8-inch howitzer; that on the left, four 24-pounders, under Major Turner (until that officer was compelled to leave from severe sickness, when Major Kaye received the command), to ruin the defences and keep

484

down, as far as practicable, the fire of the Cashmere Bastion, distant 850 yards. The two portions of this battery not being sufficiently ready on the morning of the 8th September, only two guns in each were enabled to open fire; but during that day and the following night the whole were got into position, and a steady and most efficient fire was kept up from the right portion until the assault on the morning of the 14th instant, being a period of seven days and a half, at a most sickly season of the year, and there being no relief or only a partial one for officers and men. From the left portion the fire was kept up until the afternoon of the 10th, when the battery caught fire, and was destroyed, fortunately only a few hours before the guns were to have been removed to No. II Battery.

On the night of the 10th September No. II Battery, also consisting of two portions, was armed,—the right with seven 8-inch howitzers and two 18-pounder guns, under Major Kaye; and the left consisting of nine 24-pounder guns, under the command of Major J. H. Campbell, until the evening of the 11th, when, I regret to say, he was compelled, from a severe grape-shot wound, to make over the command to Captain E. B. Johnson. The right portion of this battery was placed at a distance of five hundred yards from the Cashmere Bastion, and was designed to destroy the masonry parapet of the bastion, dismount the guns, strip off the musketry parapet in the left face for two hundred yards, and destroy a small tower in the curtain. The fire from this portion of the No. II Battery was sustained during the 11th, 12th, and 13th by day and night, and with the greatest success. The left portion of this battery, nine 24-pounders, opened fire at a distance of five hundred yards, for the purpose of effecting a breach in the curtain immediately adjoining the right flank of the Cashmere Bastion, about 5-30 A.M. on the morning of the 11th September, and by nine o'clock every gun on the bastion was silenced; until the night of the 13th September an incessant fire was kept up with five guns in making the breach, the other four being directed on the defences of the Cashmere Bastion and of the parapet of the curtain.

The siege battery No. III, under Major E. W. S. Scott, was armed on the night of the 11th instant with six 18-pounder guns at a distance of one hundred and sixty yards from the left face of the Water Bastion, mounting six heavy and two light guns, and a fire was opened from four guns at 1 P.M. on the 12th; a greater number of guns could not be used at once, as the embrasures required constant repairs. There were also twelve 5½-inch mortars attached to this battery, under Captain Blunt,

which shelled the interior of the bastion and the ground to the left of the church. By 1 P.M. of the 13th instant the wall was pierced, and a practicable breach of about sixty feet wide was made by dusk the same evening. It was subsequently ascertained that in addition to effecting the breach, four of the enemy's guns were rendered unserviceable, and the carriages of the two light guns destroyed.

No. IV Siege Battery, under the command of Major Tombs, consisting of four 10-inch and six 8-inch mortars, was armed on the evening of the 9th September, but did not (pursuant to orders received) open fire until the morning of the 11th, from which date until the assault an incessant and destructive fire was kept up from the whole battery on the following points : *viz.*,—the Cashmere Gate and Bastion, the Church, Skinner's House, and the Water Gate and Bastion.

The several batteries ceased their fire on the morning of the 14th, shortly before the assault was made.

I beg to recommend to the most favorable notice of the Major-General Commanding the services of Majors Brind, Campbell, Scott, Turner, Kaye and Tombs, Captains Remmington, Johnson and Blunt, for the admirable manner in which they exercised the duties of their respective commands; and I cannot praise too highly the conduct of every officer, non-commissioned officer and soldier, who performed their duties with the greatest energy, and bore the constant exposure and hardship with the utmost cheerfulness; and I beg to recommend their services as recorded in the reports of officers commanding batteries, herewith forwarded, to the Major-General's favorable notice. I have also to acknowledge the services of Captain the Hon'ble A. H. A. Anson, Her Majesty's 84th Regiment, and the officers of other branches of Her Majesty's and the Company's services who volunteered to serve with the Artillery, and who have been reported on most favorably by commanding officers of batteries.

My best acknowledgments are also due to Lieutenant-Colonel Hogge, Commissary of Ordnance, for the arrangements he made in his department; likewise to Lieutenant J. S. Frith, my brigade-major, for his services during the operations, and the assistance he has afforded me at all times.

I desire also to report the valuable services rendered by the detachments of Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabineers) and 9th Lancers, who did duty in the several batteries, and who, by their steady conduct, gained for themselves the highest approbation from the several officers commanding batteries.

486

I have to deplore the loss of two gallant officers of the Artillery,—Lieutenant E. H. Hildebrand, who was killed in No. II Battery on the 8th September,—an officer who had performed much valuable service during the time the force has been at Delhi,—and Captain R. C. H. B. Fagan, who was killed in No. IV Battery on the evening of the 12th. This officer, whose career during the whole period that the force has been at Delhi was marked by unceasing energy and conspicuous devotion to his profession, had gained for himself the respect of officers and men in every branch of the force.

The casualties among the non-commissioned officers and men in the several batteries were not, I rejoice to state, great, and were principally caused by the light guns which the enemy brought out against the siege batteries during the period under report.

A roll of casualties, from the 6th to the 14th instant, is forwarded.*

---

*From Major* F. GAITSKELL, *Commanding the Artillery Brigade, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Field Force, Delhi,—No. 21, dated Delhi, 19th September 1857.*

In continuation of my letter No. 20, of this date, I have now the honor to report the operations of the Artillery Brigade on the 14th September, during the period of and after the assault.

The orders for the assault having been received during the night of the 13th September, immediate arrangements had to be carried out for the relief of the officers and men of the horse artillery; and three detachments of foot artillery were told off, consisting of sixty, twenty, and twenty men, each under a subaltern, to accompany the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Columns of Assault, respectively, in order to take possession of the guns on the ramparts and turn them on the city.

These arrangements were, as far as practicable, carried out; and at the same time those of the Cavalry Brigade. The left half of the 1st Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery, were unable to join Major Reid's column, as there were not sufficient foot artillerymen to relieve the men of that troop in the right batteries.

The troop of horse artillery under Major Tombs, with the Cavalry Brigade, was actively engaged with the enemy, who were in a ruined suburb near Paharipore, outside the Cabul Gate of the city, where their infantry, supported by guns, occupied the ruined mud-houses at

* The roll of casualties has not been found among the original papers.

487

a distance of about two hundred and fifty yards. There being no infantry with these guns, which were unable to dislodge the enemy from their position, and while holding their own, our guns suffered very severely, for in addition the enemy brought grape from a heavy gun at the Lahore Gate to bear on them, thereby compelling the two advanced guns of the troop to retire about twenty yards, and the enemy's infantry advancing, was only held in check by repeated rounds of grape. At this time the right half troop of Captain Remmington's troop, under Lieutenant Lindsay, joined; but still the enemy continued a very heavy fire of grape and musketry, causing many casualties among men and horses. Some of the Beluch Battalion now joined, and the enemy's fire gradually slackened, and Major Tombs' detachment retired slowly and in good order, after two heavy guns had by his orders been gallantly spiked (under a galling musketry fire) by Lieutenant G. B. Traill.

Two pieces of Captain Money's troop of horse artillery were detached under Lieutenant C. Hunter, who opened fire on the enemy's cavalry and infantry, who were making towards our rear, and directed the fire on Kissengunge until the enemy had retreated beyond the range of his guns.

The remainder of the horse artillery, consisting of the headquarters and remainder of Captain Money's troop, as also Major Turner's troop (which was to have accompanied the 1st and 2nd Columns of Assault but for the men not having been able to be relieved from the siege battery where they were stationed, in sufficient time) was left for the protection of the camp with the troops under the command of Colonel Dennis, Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment.

No. 14 Light Field Battery, under Major Scott, was attached, on the morning of the 14th September, to the Reserve Column under Brigadier Longfield, and at 10 A.M. two guns were posted at the street next the College Garden, two at the Cabul Gate, and two at the street passing Skinner's House; but they were not actively engaged.

Two guns of No. 17 Light Field Battery were attached to the 1st Column of Assault, and two to the 2nd Column; but all four were subsequently detached, under Captain Bourchier, to support the Cavalry Brigade, where they relieved Major Tombs' troop of horse artillery, which had suffered very severely in men and horses, and after opening fire on Kissengunge and checking the enemy's advance from that direction, were in the evening with their four guns posted with the Cavalry Brigade at Ludlow Castle.

488

I beg especially to bring to the notice of the Major-General Commanding the conduct of Major Tombs, his officers and men, which was in strict accordance with their past gallant services.

I also recommend to the favourable notice of the Major-General the services of Majors Scott and Turner, Captains Bourchier and Remmington, and Lieutenants Wilson, Lindsay, Traill, and C. Hunter, and all the non-commissioned officers and men under their command.

I enclose the reports of officers commanding, and trust that the services of the Artillery Brigade will be considered to have been such, during a long and arduous period, as to elicit the approbation of the Major-General Commanding the Force.

---

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* R. BAIRD SMITH, *Chief Engineer, Delhi Field Force, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Delhi Field Force,—dated Head-Quarters, Delhi, 17th September 1857.*

I have the honor to submit herewith, for the information of the Major-General Commanding, the following report of the operations carried on by the Engineer Brigade under my command during the siege and capture of Delhi.

To make these more intelligible, I may first detail very briefly the leading and characteristic features of the place.

The eastern face of the city rests on the Jumna, and during the season of the year when our operations were carried on, the stream may be described as washing the base of the walls. All access to a besieger on the river front is, therefore, impracticable. The defences here consist of an irregular wall with occasional bastions and towers, and about one-half of the length of the river face is occupied by the palace of the King of Delhi and its outwork, the old Mogul fort of Selimgurh.

The river may be described as the chord of a rough arc formed by the remaining defences of the place. These consist of a succession of bastioned fronts, the connecting curtains being very long, and the outworks limited to one crown-work at the Ajmere Gate, and Martello towers, mounting a single gun, at such points as require some additional flanking fire to that given by the bastions themselves. The bastions are small, mounting generally three guns in each face, two in each flank, and one in embrasure at the salient. They are provided with masonry parapets about twelve feet in thickness, and have a relief of about sixteen feet above the plane of site. The curtain consists of a simple masonry wall or rampart sixteen feet in height, eleven feet thick at top,

and fourteen or fifteen feet at bottom. This main wall carries a parapet, loopholed for musketry, eight feet in height and three feet in thickness. The whole of the land front is covered by a berm of variable width, ranging from sixteen to thirty feet, and having a scarp wall eight feet high; exterior to this a dry ditch of about twenty-five feet in height,* and from sixteen to twenty feet in depth. The counterscarp is simply an earthen slope, easy to descend. The glacis is a very short one, extending only fifty or sixty yards from the counterscarp; using general terms, it covers from the besieger's view from one-half to one-third of the height of the walls of the place.

These details will, I trust, be sufficient to give a general conception of the nature of the defences of Delhi; they are, in a word, modernised forms of the ancient works that existed when the city fell before Lord Lake's army in 1803. They extend about seven miles in circumference, and include an area of about three square miles.

The ground occupied by the besieging force presents some features deserving of notice here, as having exercised a most important influence on the plan and progress of the works of attack. On the western side of Delhi there appear the last outlying spurs of the Aravelli Mountains, represented here by a low ridge which disappears at its intersection with the Jumna, about two miles above the place. The drainage from the eastern slope of the ridge finds its way to the river along the northern and north-western faces of the city, and has formed there a succession of parallel or connected ravines of considerable depth. By taking advantage of these hollow ways, admirable cover was constantly obtained for the troops, and the labour of the siege most materially reduced. The whole of the exterior of the place presents an extraordinary mass of old buildings of all kinds, of thick brushwood and occasional clumps of forest trees, giving great facilities for cover, which, during the siege operations at least, proved to be, on the whole, more favorable to us than to the enemy.

In anticipation of the siege, means had been taken to store the engineer park with all the materials and tools likely to be required during the operations. The siege-train placing the artillery means in an equally satisfactory state of efficiency, ground was broken as soon after its arrival as possible, being on the night of the 7th September 1857.

The project of attack submitted by me to the Major-General Commanding, and honored with his sanction, provided for a concentrated

* Height, *sic* in original—Width?

490

rapid and vigorous attack on the front of the place included between the Water (or Moree) and Çashmere Bastions, provision being made at the same time for silencing all important flanking fire, whether of artillery or musketry, that could be brought to bear on the lines of advance to be taken by the assaulting columns. Due care was also taken to protect the exposed right flank of the trenches from sorties. The left was secured by being rested on the river, and by the occupation of the Khoodsee* Bagh, a very strong post in front.

The best information procurable indicated that, on the front of attack, the fire of from twenty-five to thirty pieces might have to be subdued.

To effect this, 54 siege guns were available, and were distributed as follows :—

Siege Battery No. I, for ten pieces, of which six were to be directed against the defences of the Shah and Moree Bastions, with the object of ruining them and preventing their flank fire from bearing on the advance of the assaulting columns. The remaining four were directed against the Cashmere Bastion, with the object of diverting its fire from the covering and working parties engaged on No. II Battery.

| | |
|---|---|
| 13-pounders ... | ... 5 |
| 8-inch howitzer ... | ... 1 |
| Total | ... 6 |

Distance 700 yards.

Four 24-pounders.

Siege Battery No. II, for 18 pieces, designed to breach the curtain to the right of the Cashmere Bastion, to destroy the defences of the bastion itself, and to strip off the parapet for about 200 yards on each side of the breach, and thus deprive infantry of all cover.

| | |
|---|---|
| 24-pounders ... | ... 8 |
| 18-pounders ... | ... 3 |
| 8-inch howitzers ... | ... 7 |
| Total | ... 18 |

Distance 600 yards.

Siege Battery No. III, for eight heavy guns and twelve Cohorn mortars, designed to destroy the defences of the Moree or Water Bastion, and to maintain a heavy fire of shells on both the Water and Cashmere Bastions. In the original project the site of this battery was about 330 yards from the Water Bastion ; but subsequent examination making it doubtful whether the position was an effective one, Captain Taylor pushed a reconnaissance in advance to the Custom House, or within

| | |
|---|---|
| 18-pounders ... | ... 8 |
| Cohorns ... ... | ... 12 |
| Total | ... 20 |

Distance 160 yards.

* Koodsea.

a hundred and sixty yards, and finding there an excellent site for a breaching battery, reported the circumstance to me. I obtained at once the Major-General's sanction to this bold advance, and it is satisfactory to be able to say that Battery No. III was constructed with remarkably few casualties, and proved one of the most efficient of the series. It was, however, limited to six breaching guns, and in the demolition of the light parapets was aided by 9-pounders.

Battery No. IV, for ten heavy mortars, to shell the whole of the ground between the Water and Cashmere Bastions, and the localities in the neighbourhood where the enemy would be likely to find shelter.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 10-inch mortars | ... | ... | 4 |
| 8-inch mortars | ... | ... | 6 |
| | Total | ... | 10 |

On the extreme right, four heavy guns were left in position, and on an advanced plateau on the ridge a battery for six field guns was constructed, by which the *only route* open to the enemy's sorties would be swept by grape. Although the enemy gave some annoyance with light guns in this direction, he was unable to make a single effective sortie.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9-pounders | ... | ... | 4 |
| 24-pounders | ... | ... | 2 |
| | Total | ... | 6 |

At different times, between the 7th and 11th, these bastions opened fire with an efficiency and vigor which excited the unqualified admiration of all who had the good fortune to witness it. Every object contemplated in the attack was accomplished with a success even beyond my expectations, and I trust I may be permitted to say that while there are many noble passages in the history of the Bengal Artillery, none will be nobler than that which will tell of its work on this occasion.

On the night of the 13th, the breaches in the curtain between the Water and Cashmere Bastions were examined personally by Lieutenants Greathed, Medley and Lang, of the Engineers, who reported both in excellent condition for assault. No. I Siege Battery had effectually disposed of the Moree Bastion; No. II had completely destroyed the musketry cover near the main breach; No. III had done the same near the Water Bastion breach, and it was evident that the place was ripe for the assault. On reporting the circumstance to the Major-General, he issued instant orders, naming the next morning, or that of the 14th, for this critical operation.

The details of the assault will be best laid before the Major-General by the brigadiers commanding the different columns. I will

therefore only state here that the following distribution of the Engineer officers was made—

1st Column

*Under Brigadier-General J. Nicholson.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Captain A. Taylor. | Lieutenant Bingham. |
| Lieutenant Medley. | Lieutenant Lang. |

Ensign Chalmers.

2nd Column

*Under Brigadier W. Jones, Commanding Her Majesty's 61st Regiment.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Lieutenant Greathed. | Lieutenant Murray. |
| Lieutenant Hovenden. | Ensign Gustavinski. |

3rd Column

*Under Brigadier G. Campbell, Commanding Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Lieutenant Home. | Lieutenant Tandy. |
| Lieutenant Salkeld. | Ensign Nuthall. |

4th Column

*Under Major C. Reid, Commanding the Sirmoor Battalion.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Lieutenant Maunsell. | Lieutenant Tennant. |

Reserve Column

*Under Brigadier J. Longfield, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Lieutenant Ward. | Lieutenant Thackeray. |

These officers accompanied the columns to which they were attached during the assault, and I grieve to say that a large proportion fell wounded, more or less dangerously, under the heavy fire of the enemy.

It only remains for me, in closing this report, to bring under the favourable notice of the Major-General Commanding the officers of the brigade whose merits have been conspicuous.

To my second-in-command, Captain Taylor, Director of the Trenches, I have been indebted for the most constant, cordial, and valuable assistance throughout the whole period of the operations. Gifted with rare soundness of professional judgment, his advice has been sought by me under all circumstances of difficulty or doubt, and I find that I cannot express too strongly to the Major-General my sense of the valuable services this officer has rendered.

To Captain Chesney (very severely wounded), Brigade-Major of Engineers, I have also hearty acknowledgments to make for the uniform efficiency, zeal, and intelligence with which he has conducted the duty of his office.

Lieutenants Greathed and Maunsell, Directing Field Engineers on the left and right attacks, respectively, have earned my warm approbation by the manner in which they performed duties involving great labour and exposure. Both guided columns of attack, and both, I grieve to add, were severely wounded while doing so.

The gallantry with which the explosion party under Lieutenants Home and Salkeld performed the desperate duty of blowing in the Cashmere Gate in broad daylight, and in the face of the enemy, will, I feel assured, be held to justify me in making special mention of it. The party was composed, in addition to the two officers named, of the following:—

*Sappers and Miners.*

Sergeant John Smith.
Sergeant Andrew Blair Carmichael.
Corporal F. Burgess *alias* Joshua Burgess Grierson.
Fourteen Native Sappers and Miners.
Ten Punjab Sappers and Miners.

*Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment.*

Bugler Robert Hawthorne.

Covered by the fire of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, this party advanced at the double towards the Cashmere Gate; Lieutenant Home, with Sergeants John Smith and Carmichael and Havildar Madhoo, all of the Sappers, leading and carrying the powder bags, followed by Lieutenant Salkeld, Corporal Burgess, and a section of the remainder of the party. The advanced party reached the gateway unhurt, and found that part of the drawbridge had been destroyed; but passing across the precarious footing supplied by the remaining beams, they proceeded to lodge their powder against the gate. The wicket was open, and through it the enemy kept up a heavy fire upon them. Sergeant Carmichael was killed while laying his powder, Havildar Madhoo being at the same time wounded. The powder being laid, the advanced party slipped down into the ditch to allow the firing party under Lieutenant Salkeld to perform its duty. While endeavouring to fire the charge, Lieutenant Salkeld was shot through the leg and arm, and handed over the slow match to Corporal Burgess, who fell mortally wounded just as he had successfully performed his duty. Havildar Tiluk Sing, of the Sappers and Miners, was wounded, and Ram Het, sepoy of the same corps, was killed during this part of the operation.

The demolition having been most successful, Lieutenant Home happily unwounded, caused the bugler to sound the regimental call o

L94

the 52nd Regiment, as the signal for the advance of the column. Fearing that amid the noise of the assault the sound might not be heard, he had the call repeated three times, when the troops advanced, and carried the gateway with entire success.

I feel assured that a simple statement of the facts of this devoted and glorious deed will suffice to stamp it as one of the noblest on record in military history. Its perfect success contributed most materially to the brilliant results of the day, and Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, with their gallant subordinates, European and native, will, I doubt not, receive the reward which valour before the enemy so distinguished as theirs has entitled them to.

Lieutenant Home mentions with special approbation the cool courage of Sergeant John Smith, and while sincerely regretting their loss, he states that the gallantry shown by Sergeant Carmichael and Corporal Burgess could not have been surpassed. Bugler Hawthorne's conduct has also been particularly commended. This brave man, after performing his own dangerous duty, humanely attached himself to Lieutenant Salkeld, bound up his wounds under a heavy musketry fire, and ultimately had him removed without further injury, and I beg to commend him most cordially to the favorable notice of the Major-General.

The following native officers and sepoys of the Sappers and Miners are reported by Lieutenant Home to have shown the most determined bravery and coolness throughout the whole operations :—Havildar Madhoo, who accompanied the advance under Lieutenant Home; Subadar Toola, Jemadar Bisram, Havildars Tiluk Singh and Ramtaroy, and Sepoy Sahib Sing, who were with the firing or reserve parties. The remarkable courage shown by the Native officers and men in assisting their wounded European comrades deserves to be mentioned as showing the excellent feeling between them.

Lieutenant Medley (wounded) was appointed to guide the 1st Division of the 1st Column to the main breach, which he had personally examined the night before, and, though shot through the arm, continued with the column till it was established in the Cabul Gate. Lieutenant Lang was appointed to similar duties with the 2nd Division, and both officers have earned my best thanks by the gallant and efficient manner in which they did their work. Lieutenant Hovenden (wounded) conducted the ladder party of the 2nd Column, and here, as on all occasions, showed the intelligence and gallantry which have made his services so valuable during the siege.

I beg also to bring under the notice of the Major-General the good service on this occasion of Lieutenant Henry Bingham, an old and most meritorious officer, whose gallantry in action on previous instances had led the Government to confer upon him the commission of Lieutenant. He commanded a party of the Corps of Sappers and Miners in the assault of the main breach with his accustomed bravery, and I respectfully recommend him for favorable consideration.

To Lieutenant H. A. Brownlow (dangerously wounded) who had charge of the Engineer Park, I have to offer my most cordial acknowledgments for his incessant exertions to expedite the works. This officer was dangerously wounded while carrying to the 3rd Column materials and tools which it was supposed to be in need of.

I have only further to bring under the notice of the Major-General Commanding the admirable conduct of the remaining officers and men of the brigade. None could have displayed a higher and better spirit than they have done, and whether in the trenches, in the assault, or during the occupation, they have been forward and zealous in every duty. I may be allowed to refer especially to the gallantry and devotion of the Sappers and Miners under their Acting Commandant, Lieutenant Maunsell,—a remnant of the corps which mutinied in May last. Throughout the whole operations these men have shown a distinguished bravery and fidelity to their salt, and it has been my agreeable duty to bring, from time to time, special instances of these qualities to the notice of the Major-General. The Punjab Sappers and Miners, under their Commandant, Lieutenant Gulliver (of whose valuable services I was deprived during the siege by his severe illness), and their Acting Commandant, Lieutenant Home, have done excellent service, and give the best possible promise of being an efficient and soldier-like corps.

The Pioneers, under Lieutenant Bingham, have proved to be a most useful and fearless body of men. Though designed for works only, and being unarmed and only rudely organised for the occasion, they have shown perfect readiness to work under fire, and have taken their turn in the most exposed and dangerous positions it has been necessary to occupy.

I take the liberty of mentioning here that since I joined this camp I have received most valuable aid in military arrangements from my Assistant (in the Civil Department) Mr. Harry Martin.

I deeply regret the heavy list of casualties which accompanies this report. In Lieutenant Tandy the corps has lost one of its most gallant and promising young officers; but I earnestly hope that the

Government will be only temporarily deprived of the services of the wounded, all of whom, I am happy to be able to report, are doing well.

---

*From Brigadier* J. HOPE GRANT, C.B., *Commanding the Cavalry Brigade, Delhi Field Force, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Head-Quarters,—dated Delhi, 17th September 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of Major-General Wilson, that, according to instructions received, I proceeded before day-light on the morning of the 14th with 200 of Her Majesty's 9th Lancers and 410 Natives from the Guides, the 1st, 2nd and 5th Punjab Cavalry, and Hodson's Horse, three guns of the 1st Troop Horse Artillery and four guns of the 2nd, to the neighbourhood of the 1st Field Battery, where I remained till the assault of the town had commenced. At about six o'clock the Major-General sent me instructions to proceed to the front. I formed up opposite the walls of the town,—the 9th Lancers forming the advanced party, the Irregular Cavalry the reserve, and proceeded till I came to the Moree Bastion, which was in our hands. We advanced on to the Cabul Gate; and at this point a most heavy fire of grape and musketry was opened upon us,—the grape coming from the Lahore Gate, and the musketry from the gardens and houses of Kissengunge, on our right, between two and three hundred yards off. Major Tombs, who was in command of the guns, as fine an officer as there is in the Company's service, drove the enemy out from our right flank and succeeded in spiking two guns in battery,—one an 18-pounder and the other a 12-pounder iron gun. We retired a short distance to get out of the severe fire that was opened upon us; but in so doing the enemy came out in great numbers through the gardens, and it was necessary to retain our position to prevent the enemy from taking our batteries and the Cashmere Gate. A party, consisting of an officer and eighty of the Infantry of the Guides, came down to our support, and though so small a number, went gallantly into the gardens and took up a position in a house close to the battery. I regret, however, to say the officer in command, a most gallant young fellow,—Lieutenant Bond,—was wounded in the head, and had to be taken away; but the Guides held out most bravely, till they got surrounded in the house and were in great danger. A detachment of the Belúch Battalion, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar, however, came to their assistance, and brought them away in safety. The fire now slackened, and we were enabled to retire a short distance, where we had little to fear.

2. I beg leave to state I have never in the whole course of my life seen so much bravery and so much noble conduct displayed by men as was the case in the brigade I had the honor to command. Major Tombs and the two officers under him in command of the two troops,—Lieutenant Wilson and Lieutenant Lindsay, as well as the Adjutant, Lieutenant M. C. Sankey,—did their duty in a manner most praiseworthy, and the enemy were completely checked by the fire from their guns. In the 1st Troop one European and one native were killed, and four horses killed and nine wounded. In the 2nd Troop, one European and one native killed, 17 Europeans and 13 Natives wounded, and 13 horses killed and nine wounded, and one officer's charger. Nothing could be finer than the conduct of the 9th Lancers,—one squadron commanded by Captain L. J. French, and the other by Captain H. A. Sarel, the whole by Captain W. Drysdale. Not a man flinched from his post though under this galling fire for two hours, and when a poor fellow got knocked over it seemed to put the men in good *spirits.* I am sorry to say, however, the 9th Lancers had 38 men wounded, 61 horses killed, wounded, and missing, and the officers lost ten horses.

3. The behaviour of the native cavalry was also admirable. Nothing could be steadier, nothing could be more soldier-like than their bearing. The Guide Cavalry, commanded by Captain Sanford,—a most excellent and useful officer on outpost duty,—lost one native officer killed, and one non-commissioned officer and fourteen privates wounded. Lieutenant Hodson commanded a corps raised by himself, and he is a first-rate officer, brave, determined, and clear-headed. Lieutenant Watson, commanding the 1st Punjab Cavalry, Lieutenant Probyn, commanding the 2nd, and Lieutenant Younghusband, the 5th Punjab Cavalry, are also most excellent officers. I was afterwards joined by Captain Bourchier's battery, which was of great service, and enabled us to hold our position.

4. I beg especially to bring to the notice of Major-General Wilson the names of the officers mentioned in this despatch, and also that of Captain Hamilton, my brigade-major, a most excellent officer in every respect, ready and willing to do his duty whenever he is called upon. His horse was shot upon this occasion.

5. Also that of the Hon'ble Captain Anson, my acting aide-de-camp, who got wounded in the hand by a musket shot. He is most useful and energetic, and promises to be a first-rate officer. Also Captain Rosser, of the Carabineers, and Captain Hall, of the 4th Irregular Cavalry, who were also extra aides-de-camp on that day.

498

The former, I am sorry to say, was struck by a musket ball in the head, and there are little hopes of his recovery. The other had his horse shot under him. I beg also to mention the name of Lieutenant Jones, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, who is most zealous and attentive to all his duties. Colonel Custance, of the Carabineers, commanded the reserve, which he did to my satisfaction. I regret I am unable to give a return of the casualties in the several regiments of native cavalry, as I have not yet received them, but the whole shall be sent as soon as practicable.

---

*From Captain* W. BROOKES, *75th Regiment, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Delhi Field Force,—dated Camp before Delhi, 17th September 1857.*

In compliance with an order received from Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert, 75th Regiment, I have the honor to forward, for the information of Major-General Wilson, Commanding the Field Force, the following report of the proceedings, so far as they are known to me, of the first column of attack, under Brigadier-General Nicholson, who was unfortunately severely wounded on the day named and obliged to relinquish the command.

The regiments composing the 1st Column,—detail of Artillery, 300 men of Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, 250 of the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, 500 of the 2nd Punjab Infantry,—which were to assault the breach in the Cashmere gate curtain,—were under arms at 3 A.M. on the morning of the 14th, and moved to the assault as follows:—The 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, led by Brigadier-General Nicholson in person, escaladed the left face of the Cashmere Bastion: Her Majesty's 75th Regiment and the 2nd Punjab Infantry, covered in splendid style by a portion of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, moved to assault the breach on our left of the Cashmere Gate. Colonel Herbert, 75th Regiment, being wounded on the glacis, the command of this portion of the assaulting column devolved on myself, and it is with great pleasure that I testify to the gallant conduct of all the troops engaged. Lieutenant FitzGerald, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, led up the breach most nobly, and I regret that this officer's death from a grape-shot immediately afterwards renders my venturing to bring his name to the notice of the General Commanding useless. The column, on being established within the city, re-formed and agreeably to orders from Brigadier-General Nicholson moved towards the right. During this movement the enemy maintained a heavy

flanking fire, and inflicted much loss on the column. Our loss was also considerable. On reaching the various batteries, Moree, &c., a party of men were left to occupy them, and the column dashed on at a rapid rate. On reaching the head of the street at the Cabul Gate, the enemy again made a resolute stand, but were speedily driven forward. A portion of the 1st Column was halted here, and proceeded to occupy the houses round the Cabul Gate; a portion of the 75th Regiment, commanded by Captain Freer, Her Majesty's 27th Regiment, attached, supported by myself, continued the pursuit accompanied by some men of other corps, 60th Rifles, 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, &c. On advancing about two hundred yards along the rampart road, which here became so narrow that scarce four men could stand abreast, the enemy opened a heavy and destructive fire from an iron gun on the wall and a small brass gun on the pathway, together with musketry from behind a barrier on the road. I regret to say that notwithstanding repeated charges up this narrow channel, the troops did not succeed in effecting a passage. The loss was so severe both in men and officers that I felt it my duty to desist, after two hours, from any further attempts. Brigadier-General Nicholson at this period joined us, and while endeavouring to induce the men to renew the attempts, was severely wounded, and finding that each effort only caused further loss without success, I finally drew off the men and retired to the Cabul Gate. Brigadier Jones' column joined us here, and I placed myself under the Brigadier's orders.

---

*From Brigadier* WILLIAM JONES, C.B., *Commanding the 2nd Column, to Major-General* A. WILSON, *Commanding Field Force, Delhi,—dated Cabul Gate, Delhi, 17th September 1857.*

Her Majesty's 8th Regiment.
2nd Bengal Fusiliers.
4th Sikh Regiment of Infantry.

I have the honor to report that the 2nd Column, consisting of the corps as per margin, paraded, agreeably to order, on the morning of the 14th instant, and immediately moved down to the attack of the Water Bastion. The column was told off into a storming party, supports and reserve. The former consisted of 75 men of Her Majesty's 8th Regiment under the command of Captain Baynes, and 75 men of the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers under the command of Captain Hay, late 60th Native Infantry; the supports of 175 men of Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, 75 men of the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers, and 50 men of the 4th Sikh Infantry.

Brigadier-General Nicholson having communicated with me, we arranged that the 1st and 2nd Columns should move forward simultaneously as soon as the skirmishers of the 60th Royal Rifles had covered our front. This having been done, the 2nd Column advanced through the breach in the most gallant manner, and took possession of the walls without the slightest check. The moment the column entered the Treasury Garden it turned to its right and proceeded along the wall under the ramparts as far as the Cabul Gate, where it established itself, having left a party in charge of the Moree Bastion and thrown out picquets in commanding positions along the right and left of the canal.

One of the enemy's guns on the Cabul Gate was immediately turned upon the Lahore Gate, from which the enemy were firing grape and round shot.

I cannot speak too highly of the conduct of the troops under my command, and my best thanks are due to Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed, commanding Her Majesty's 8th Regiment; to Captain Baynes, of the same corps, who led the assault; to Captain Boyd, Commanding the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers; and to Captain Rothney, Commanding the 4th Sikh Infantry; also to Lieutenant Greathed, of the Engineers, who gallantly conducted the party carrying the ladders until he was unfortunately wounded; and to Lieutenant Hovenden, of that corps, who was also wounded in the performance of the same dangerous duty.

I am also much indebted to my immediate staff, Captain Burnside, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, my brigade-major, and Lieutenant Sloman, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, my orderly officer, who rendered me every assistance during the operations.

---

*From Colonel G. CAMPBELL, Commanding Her Majesty's 52nd Foot, and in command of the 3rd Column of Assault, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, —dated Delhi, 16th September 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Major-General, the operations of the 3rd Column of Assault, which was under my command, on the morning of the 14th instant.

2. It consisted of 240 of Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, 500 of the 1st Punjab Infantry, and 260 of the Kumaon Battalion. On the order for the several columns to advance, the explosion party at once proceeded towards the Cashmere Gate, upon which they advanced with most fearless intrepidity. The explosion was accomplished successfully;

but I regret to say that out of the seven brave officers and men who composed it, five of them fell. Immediately upon the report of the explosion, the storming party, consisting of a company of Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, under the command of Captain Bayley, advanced with a cheer, and overcoming all resistance, speedily secured the gateway; the supports, consisting of fifty men of Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, fifty of the Kumaon Battalion, and fifty of the 1st Punjab Infantry, followed the storming party at a distance of fifty yards. The entire column having entered the main guard, and re-formed as speedily as possible, proceeded to carry out the orders issued by the Major-General, *viz.*, to advance upon the Jumma Musjid and, if possible, to occupy it as well as the *kotwálí*. Before quitting the neighbourhood of the walls, some of the enemy being still within the Water Bastion, I detached a party to clear it out, which was done at the point of the bayonet, the enemy who escaped the bayonet jumping over the parapets on to the river side, where they were destroyed. We cleared the adjoining *kacheri* compound; also the houses in its neighbourhood, the church, and the Gazette Press compound. The column carrying everything before it without much opposition, I proceeded through the Cashmere Durwaza Bazaar, marked out as our line of advance. Hearing that a gun was placed in position bearing down the street, upon arriving at the point where the gun could be seen, I detached a party to get to its rear through a bye street; but before this party arrived at its point, the gun was taken with a rush without loss, except Lieutenant Bradshaw, who, regardless of danger, received a discharge, which killed him on the spot. We proceeded without opposition through the Begum's Bagh. Upon arriving at the gate which opens on the Chandney Chowk, the gate of the Dureeba was found to be shut. This difficulty, however, was speedily overcome through the good conduct of a Native, Mohan Singh, a *chaprasi*, who, accompanied by five men of the 52nd Regiment, volunteered to endeavour to open it. The column then passed up the Dureeba without opposition, except from musketry from a few houses. Upon arriving at the turn which brings the Musjid into view, and at about a hundred yards distant, the side arches were found to be bricked up, and the gate itself closed. It was too strong to be forced open without powder bags or artillery, neither of which were with me,—the former in consequence of the engineer and his party having fallen, and the latter not having been able to enter the Cashmere Gate, as the bridge had been destroyed, and moreover, the houses on each side of the street were filled with the enemy.

3. I remained at this point about half an hour in the hopes of hearing of the successful advance of the other columns at the Lahore and Ajmere Gates. At the expiration of this period, many men having fallen by the fire from the surrounding houses, I judged it expedient to fall back upon the Begum's Garden, which we held for at least an hour-and-a-half under a heavy fire of musketry, grape and canister.

4. Captain Ramsay, of the Kumaon Battalion, who had diverged to the right from the column, and had been in possession of the *kotwali* for some time, here rejoined the column. Having communicated with the head-quarters and ascertained that the 1st and 2nd Columns had not advanced beyond the Cabul Gate, I fell back upon the church.

5. The operations of the column, I regret to say, were attended with considerable loss; but the number of those who fell I am at present unable to state.

6. It now becomes my duty to bring to the notice of the Major-General the gallantry and good conduct of the troops concerned, more especially Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment (Light Infantry), who led the column from first to last, and who, I consider, fully maintained its high reputation. The officers to whom I am more particularly indebted are Lieutenant Salkeld, of the Engineers, who personally fastened the powder bags to the gate, fixed the hose, and, although fearfully wounded, contrived to hand to a non-commissioned officer of the Sappers and Miners the light to fire the train; Lieutenant Home, of the Engineers, who also accompanied the explosion party; Captain Bayley, Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, who commanded and led the storming party, and who was unfortunately wounded approaching the gate; Captain Crosse, Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, who commanded the supports; Major Vigors, who commanded Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment; Captain Ramsay, who commanded the Kumaon Battalion; Lieutenant Nicholson, who commanded the 1st Punjab Infantry, and who, I regret to say, was wounded shortly after the entry was effected; and Captain Synge, Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, who acted as brigade-major to the column.

7. I have further the gratification of bringing to the especial notice of the Major-General the invaluable assistance I received from Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, who was at my side throughout the operations, and fearlessly guided me through many intricate streets and turnings to the Jumma Musjid, traversing at least two-thirds of the city and enabling me to avoid many dangers and difficulties.

8. It is difficult to select individuals from the ranks, where all behaved so well, who may have particularly distinguished themselves;

but I have no hesitation in specifying the following non-commissioned officers and soldiers as deserving of peculiar reward, *viz.*, the non-commissioned officers of the Sappers and Miners who formed the explosion party; Bugler Robert Hawthorne, Her Majety's 52nd Regiment, who accompanied the explosion party and sounded the signal to advance; No. 1104, Sergeant-Major Streets, Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, whose gallantry and good conduct was conspicuous up to the time he was severely wounded; No. 2764, Lance-Corporal Henry Smith, Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, who carried away a wounded comrade under a heavy fire of grape and musketry in the Chandney Chowk; No. 1836, Lance-Corporal William Taylor, Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, whose conduct was conspicuous throughout the operations.

9. I am unable to state the names of the non-commissioned officers of the Sappers and Miners who were with the explosion party.

---

*From Brigadier* J. LONGFIELD, *Commanding the Reserve Column, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Field Force, Delhi,—dated Delhi, 17th September 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Major-General Commanding the Field Force, that, in accordance to orders received, I took the command of the Reserve Column, as per margin, at half-past three o'clock on the morning of the 14th instant.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Her Majesty's 60th Rifles | ... | 200 |
| Her Majesty's 61st Regiment | | 250 |
| Belúch Battalion | ... | 200 |
| 4th Punjab Infantry | ... | 550 |
| Jhind Force | ... | 200 |
| Rank and file | ... | 1,400 |

The whole of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Jones, were detached for the purpose of covering the three attacking columns.

The Belúch Battalion, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar, was, according to orders, detached to the advanced batteries.

When about two-thirds of the way from the camp to the Cashmere Gate, I received orders to reinforce the attacking column. Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Deacon, and the right wing of the 4th Punjab Infantry, under the command of Captain Wilde, were sent forward.

The remainder of the reserve column,—namely, the left wing of the 4th Punjab Infantry, and the Jhind Force, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Dunsford,—then proceeded, the attack on the Cashmere Gate being successful.

504

The Jhind Force occupied the Cashmere Gate and the main guard.

The 4th Punjab Infantry, assembled at the church, and formed part of a column of attack on the college and grounds.

A party of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles and the 4th Punjab Infantry had already compelled the enemy to withdraw the gun they had placed at the gate of the college compound. Captain Wilde then charged up to the house with his corps, and gained the building, with a loss of three sepoys killed, and two Native officers and twenty-two sepoys wounded.

The Belúch Battalion was directed to reinforce Major Reid's column, and subsequently took post at the college.

Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, on rejoining the reserve, proceeded to Ahmed Ali Khan's house.

Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Deacon, which had been already detached to support the attacking column, proceeded to the Cabul Gate.

A return of the casualties that took place has been already forwarded.

I have a great deal of pleasure in stating that I received every assistance and support from the commanding officers, namely, Lieutenant-Colonel Jones, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles; Lieutenant-Colonel Deacon, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar, Belúch Battalion; Lieutenant-Colonel Dunsford, Jhind Force; and Captain Wilde, 4th Punjab Infantry.

Captain Nicoll, Major of Brigade, and Captain Campbell, 2nd Fusiliers, my orderly officer, rendered me every assistance in their power.

---

*From Captain* A. WILDE, *Commanding 4th Punjab Infantry, to the Brigade-Major, Reserve Column,—No. 272, dated Camp, College, Delhi, 14th September 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Brigadier commanding the Reserve Column, that agreeably to his instructions, I advanced this morning through the breach without opposition and formed up the 4th Punjab Infantry, near the church.

At Brigadier-General Nicholson's request, I sent up No. 1 Company to occupy Mr. Skinner's house; after placing that company in position I found on my return to the corps that the enemy had commenced to fire on the regiment from the walls of the college enclosures. Lieutenant

Phillipps* of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, with a few men (20), aided by Ensign McQueen of my corps also with a small party, had killed two of the horses of a field piece the enemy had placed at the gateway; and on the horses falling the gun was partially withdrawn. At that moment I stormed the house with the whole regiment and gained the building with the loss of three sepoys killed, and two native officers and 22 sepoys wounded.

There were at least 400 of the rebels in the house, who fled as the corps approached them: seven were killed and the rest escaped to the magazine.

Having gained the position I was ordered by the Brigadier to hold, I commenced to barricade it, leaving a picquet at the rear gate, which however at 12 o'clock I was obliged to withdraw, as the buildings of the magazine commanded it and the enemy brought up guns which they fired through the house.

The Belúch Battalion subsequently joined under Major Farquhar, and the command devolved upon him.

We have resisted three determined attacks, and the loss has been trifling considering the fire the regiment has been exposed to for the last 48 hours.

---

*From Captain* A. WILDE, *Commanding 4th Regiment, Punjab Infantry, to the Brigade-Major, Reserve Column,—No. 269, dated Jumma Musjid, 20th September 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Brigadier commanding the Reserve Column, the part taken to-day by the picquets of the 4th Punjab Infantry, in the operations which led to the successful occupation of the palace and fort of Selimgurh.

Ensign and Acting Adjutant McQueen, commanding a picquet of 40 men of the 4th Punjab Infantry, which subsequently formed a part of the party that stormed the palace, was among the first in the gateway after the explosion took place that blew in the gate. This young officer had previously reconnoitred the position, and finding the guns outside the palace deserted had passed them and accompanied by a single sepoy succeeded in looking through the picquet into the palace, when he observed that there were four guns pointed directly to it. This circumstance he reported to Colonel Jones

* Lieutenant Charles James Phillipps, 60th Rifles, was on sick leave to England for 18 months, G. O., 1st December 1856, Army List, July 1857, page 91. Ensign E. A. L. Phillipps was attached to Her Majesty's 60th Rifles and killed at the Bank House two days later (16th September).

506

of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles on that officer's arrival in command of the storming party. On entering the gateway a ball passed through his cap, and he subsequently had a hand to hand encounter with a rebel inside the palace, whom he knocked down with his fist, when he was despatched by the sepoys.

Lieutenant Aikman, doing duty with the regiment, was in command of 50 men of the 4th Punjab Infantry, on the extreme left; and when he heard the explosion at the palace gateway, he advanced towards the Calcutta gate, which the sepoys blew open with their rifles. Leaving a havildar and 12 men in charge of the entrance, he led the remaining 40 across the open to the small gateway of the fort of Selimgurh, which faces the river. This he found open, and entering secured the fort, dispersing the enemy, who fled in some numbers on seeing his approach, escaping across the bridge of boats and along the bank of the river. Sergeant Butler of the Horse Artillery was the only other European with this party, and he rendered the greatest assistance, spiking nine guns with bayonets found in the fort. Having driven the enemy out of the works, Lieutenant Aikman lined the wall and loopholes opposite the palace, thus effectually preventing the enemy's escape from it in that direction. At the same time he secured the inner gate, seizing with his own hands the musket in the hands of the sentry who was standing behind the revetment: the approach had been so sudden and unexpected that he was taken unawares. The sentry acknowledged to have belonged to the 54th Native Infantry and was shot on the spot. Lieutenant Aikman then returned for a reinforcement, which was readily afforded by Captain Sanctuary who came up with 50 men of the Belúch Battalion.

These officers both speak highly of the courage and conduct of their men, and Lieutenant Aikman particularly recommends Sergeant Butler to the notice of Brigadier Longfield. I trust that the conduct of both these officers may be brought to the notice of the Major-General commanding the force. Note casualties—

1 Sepoy wounded severely.
2 Do. do. slightly.

---

*From Captain* R. C. Lawrence, *in political charge Cashmere Auxiliary Force, to the Military Secretary, Lahore,—dated Delhi, 5th October 1857.*

I have the honor to forward, for submission to the Chief Commissioner, a copy of my report regarding the operations of the 4th Column of Attack on the city of Delhi on the morning of the 14th ultimo sub-

sequent to my assuming the command; and I will add what occurred previous to this period in order that the Chief Commissioner may be fully aware of the part taken by the Jummoo troops in the assault on Delhi.

The guns, cavalry, with 400 infantry, were directed to occupy an *eedgah* in the neighbourhood of the Subzee Mundee, for which purpose I was ordered to detach them at 4 A.M. of the 14th ultimo, whilst 800 infantry were directed to join the 4th Column of Assault at the Subzee Mundee picquet, half an hour later.

Both parties left camp at the hours specified: Captain Dwyer with Lieutenants Graham and Manderson proceeded with the one destined to occupy the *eedgah*; myself and Captain Mocatta with that which was directed to join the 4th Column. Captain Dwyer's proceedings are detailed in the annexed copy of his report. The 4th Column, under the command of Major Reid, remained halted at the Subzee Mundee picquet until near sunrise. On advancing it was almost immediately met by a heavy fire from the enemy, who had been lying concealed behind walls, &c.

The leading column was repulsed.

Major Reid was wounded and went to the rear. As the next senior officer, I immediately proceeded to the head of the column, leaving Captain Mocatta to bring on the Jummoo troops. As described in my report to Major-General Wilson, I found the leading detachments of the different regiments, composing the column, in the utmost confusion; a great portion of them had entirely broken away to the right, and were shut out from view in the jungle.

Such as remained chiefly were of the two Gurkha battalions; the Guides, and a very few Europeans were mingled together; and it was utterly impossible to re-form them and renew the attack on the batteries.

The Jummoo troops seeing the confusion in front, and being themselves exposed to a heavy fire, could not be prevailed on to advance. They also broke into the jungle to the right, from which they commenced a heavy fire on the enemy.

On retiring with the Gurkhas, Guides, and a few Europeans, I found them thus engaged, and they did not leave the ground until ordered by me to do so. At this time the enemy were within 50 paces of the position taken by the Jummoo men, and were beaten back by them.

I wish to bring these facts prominently to the notice of the Chief Commissioner, that he may be able to judge to what extent the failure

508

of the 4th Column of Assault may be attributed to deficiencies on the part of the Jummoo troops.

I feel confident that he will do justice to them, and to the European officers engaged with them. I may here add that I attribute the fact of the Jummoo troops keeping together as they did, and not at once retiring when they saw our Europeans beaten back, to the unremitting exertions of Captain Mocatta, the only European officer with them.

Without presuming to reflect upon the authorities by whom this attack was planned and organised, I consider myself called upon to give my opinion that its failure is mainly to be attributed to the defective organisation of the 4th Column, and to the total want of information as to the strength of the enemy likely to be opposed to it. In support of this opinion, I will merely state that the 4th Column, whose duty it was to take two if not three batteries situated within separate wall enclosures, most difficult of access, and defended by large bodies of well-trained soldiers, was composed of 800 ill-disciplined, ill-armed men and 800 of our own troops,—this latter 800 not consisting of one regiment, but being made up of detachments from seven different regiments. Three horse artillery guns were also attached to this column, but there being only sufficient men to man one gun, they could not be used.

Regarding the want of information as to the strength of the enemy, I was informed by Major-General Wilson and by Major Reid that there was little or no prospect of the party destined to occupy the *eedgah* meeting with serious opposition; on the contrary that it would be probably found empty. I was requested to caution Captain Dwyer against firing a shot, if possible to avoid it. When Captain Dwyer got near the *eedgah*, he found himself opposed to at least 2,000 men. X

Although the attack of the column of which the Jummoo troops formed a part failed in its object, it undoubtedly materially aided the successful assaulting columns, by attracting the attention of thousands of the enemy, who would have otherwise resisted their entry into the city.

---

*From Captain* R. C. LAWRENCE, *in political charge Jummoo Auxiliary Force, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Delhi Field Force,—dated Camp Delhi, 22nd September 1857.*

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Major-General Commanding the Delhi Field Force, the operations of the Kissengunj Column of Assault on the morning of the 14th instant subsequent to Major Reid being wounded.

On assuming command of the column, I found the different detachments of which it was composed so broken and disorganised by the heavy fire of the enemy, that it was impossible to form them up in broken ground and under a severe fire to renew the attack on the Kissengunj batteries. All I could effect was to keep the enemy in check, which was done for the course of an hour without losing ground in the expectation of the arrival of artillery, for which Major Reid had made a requisition previous to his being wounded. This aid did not arrive. The enemy appeared in large numbers on our right flank. I was apprehensive that they might get into our rear and endanger the safety of the line of batteries below Hindoo Rao's House and of the camp itself, I therefore directed the troops to retire which they did leisurely and in as good order as the nature of the ground would permit, keeping up a heavy fire upon the enemy. I then strengthened the Subzee Mundee picquet, and directed the occupation of the batteries above alluded to by detachments from the column.

3. The Jummoo troops detached, under the command of Captain Dwyer, for the occupation of the *eedgah*, met with unexpected opposition and were totally unsuccessful. This circumstance added much to the difficulties under which the main column laboured, enabling the enemy to advance on its right flank and endanger its rear, and more particularly the safety of the Subzee Mundee picquet, which was hotly pressed. Four six-pounder guns belonging to the Cashmere troops detached under Captain Dwyer were, I regret to say, captured by the enemy. The circumstances under which this misfortune occurred did not come under my personal observation. I therefore called upon Captain Dwyer for a report, which I herewith forward in original for submission to the Major-General. I concur with Captain Dwyer in considering that the detachment under his command was inadequate to oppose the force brought against it.

4. As blame may be attached to the Jummoo troops for the loss of their guns, I feel bound to state my opinion that the portion of them attached to the main column behaved as well as could be expected; when tried and experienced soldiers, both European and native, were unsuccessful, what could be looked for from undisciplined and ill-armed men such as composed the Jummoo Contingent.

The loss sustained by this force on the 14th instant, *viz.*, 22 killed and 67 wounded, which has been already reported to Major-General Wilson, shows that they shared in the danger and difficulties of the day.

In addition four sowars of the mounted police were killed and 17 wounded.

510

Major-General Wilson is well aware of the strength of the position which was held by the enemy at Kissengunj, and of the nature of the ground over which the attacking force had to move on the morning in question. The enemy were prepared in large numbers for an attack on their position. They had evidently received intimation that such was intended. After the attack commenced, they received considerable re-inforcements from the city. Under these circumstances, I look with confidence to the Major-General attaching no blame to the troops engaged in this unsuccessful affair.

---

*From Captain* H. A. Dwyer, *59th Native Infantry, attached to the Cashmere Force, to Captain* Lawrence, *in political charge Cashmere Force,—dated Camp Delhi, 22nd September 1857.*

I have the honor to report for your information that on the morning of the 14th instant I proceeded, in accordance with the instructions I received, with four hundred men and four guns of the Cashmere Force towards the *eedgah* for the purpose of occupying and holding it.

The road was most difficult for artillery, and to enable the guns to get into the *Rohik** *pukka* road, which leads to the *eedgah*, a portion of stone wall had to be levelled.

The noise, I believe, prepared the enemy to receive us, as on reaching the road we were attacked by about two thousand men who lined all the walls on the right-hand side of the road.

We immediately opened fire with four guns and some *zamboorahs*, and continued to fire for about three-fourths of an hour. We had not been firing long when the Kissengunj Battery fired into us from the left, and finding that we were getting out-flanked, and that the enemy did not appear to be suffering much from our fire owing to the protection of stone walls and jungle, I ordered an advance in view to effect an entrance into the *eedgah*, if possible.

This advance, I am sorry to say, was not effected, notwithstanding the utmost exertions on the part of Lieutenant Tennant of the Engineers, Lieutenants Graham and Manderson, and myself. A small body of infantry could not be collected to support the guns, as the whole of it had, almost from the commencement, proceeded to skirmish in very extended order, contrary to my repeated orders.

On the order for the guns to limber up being given, no horses could be got; for while the guns were being worked the horses had been made over to grass-cutters, who took most of them away altogether; five or six

* Rohtak ?

511

horses I saw killed; the rest were never brought back, and I was informed that they also had been killed.

The attempt to secure the *eedgah* was, I regret to say, a complete failure; but it appears to me that the force I had was quite inadequate to effect that object.

A body of one hundred mounted police, which accompanied the detachment, behaved admirably and remained to the last. The ground however rendered it impossible for cavalry to charge.

Ram Sing, one of my orderlies, killed a man by whom I was attacked, and is himself badly wounded; the other, Chundah Sing, had his horse killed.

No. 6208.

True copies forwarded for record to the Political Department.

LAHORE,
*The 10th Oct. 1857.*

(Sd.) W. WYLD, *Capt.*
*Asst. Mily. Secy.*

*From Captain* D. D. MUTER, *Her Majesty's 1st Battalion, 60th Royal Rifles, to Major* R. S. EWART, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General,—dated Camp, Delhi, 17th September 1857.*

At dawn on the 14th September, the column of attack on Kishengunge, in the order and strength as per margin, was drawn up at the Subzee Mundee Serai, under the command of Major Reid.

| | |
|---|---|
| 60th Rifles ... ... | 50 |
| Sirmoor Battalion .. ... | 200 |
| 1st Fusiliers ... ... | 160 |
| Guides Infantry ... ... | 200 |
| Coke's Corps ... ... | 25 |
| Kumaon Battalion ... ... | 65 |
| Her Majesty's 61st Regiment ... | 80 |
| Total men ... | 780 |

The Jummoo Contingent commenced the attack before our artillery had arrived, and Major Reid, wishing to support the attack, moved down the road in a column of fours, covered by twenty-five riflemen in skirmishing order.

The enemy opened fire from the bridge over the canal, and from behind walls and the loopholed *serai* of Kishengunge. Major Reid fell wounded in the head. The fall of their gallant leader checked the advance of the Gurkhas. The Fusiliers came to the front at the double, led by Captain Wriford.

The rush of the Rifles and Fusiliers placed them for a moment in possession of the breastwork at the end of the *serai*; but those men unsupported, were unable to maintain the position under the heavy flanking fire to which they were exposed.

512

The Native troops lined a garden to the right of the road, and Lieutenant R. H. Shebbeare, whose gallantry in this trying affair was the admiration of every one, with a few of the Guides and some Europeans, took possession of a mosque. Every effort was made here to re-form the troops, and charge the enemy's position, but without success though many officers sacrificed themselves in the attempt.

As I observed columns of the enemy's horse and foot taking ground to our right, and as I saw they were in great force to our front and left flank, I considered the object of the attack so far gained in having directed the attention of the enemy from the main point of attack. Fearing also that the enemy's great strength might encourage him to attack our batteries on the hill, I thought it right, as I had succeeded to the command on the fall of Major Reid, to re-occupy the position from which we had been withdrawn. This was accomplished with little further loss, under cover of the Crow's-Nest Battery, which fired shrapnel a few feet over our heads, and with the most admirable precision and fatal effect to the enemy.

This battery was commanded by Lieutenant H. J. Evans, of the Artillery.

I cannot close this report without mentioning the noble way in which two officers and one sergeant fell in the attack. Captain G. G. McBarnet, attached to the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, died at the head of his men at the first rush, and Lieutenant A. W. Murray, of the Guides, was killed while gallantly seconding his immediate superior, Lieutenant Shebbeare, who was himself struck by two balls. I am much disappointed in learning that Sergeant Dunleary, of the Fusiliers, a man whose conduct was conspicuous throughout, was killed in the field.

Annexed is a statement of our loss, which, I regret to say, has been very heavy.

---

*Numerical Return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Field Force under the command of Major-General* A. WILSON, *during the operations of 14th September 1857.*

| Corps. | Killed. | | | | | | | | | Wounded. | | | | | | | | | Missing. | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. |
| ***Bengal Artillery.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| European ... | | | | | | | | 5 | | 1 | | 1 | | | | 1 | 36 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Native ... | | | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | 9 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Engineer Brigade ... | | | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | 4 | | | | 9 | | | | 3 | 5 | | | | | | | | | | |
| ***Cavalry Brigade.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Staff ... ... ... | | | | | | | | | 1 | | 2 | | | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards ... | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 31 |
| Her Majesty's 9th Lancers ... | | | | | | | | 1 | 4 | | | 1 | | | | | 39 | 30 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st Punjab Cavalry .. ... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | | | | | | | | | |
| 2nd Punjab Cavalry ... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5th Punjab Cavalry ... | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | 3 | 4 | | | | | | | | | |
| 4th Irregular Cavalry ... | | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Guide Cavalry ... | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | | | 14 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hodson's Horse ... | | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 6 | | | | | | | | | |
| ***1st Infantry Brigade.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 75th Regiment | | | 1 | | | | 3 | 27 | | 1 | | 3 | | | | 3 | 37 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers | | | | | | | 2 | 25 | | | 1 | 3 | | | | 5 | 45 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kumaon Battalion ... | | | | | | | 1 | 9 | | | 1 | | | | 2 | 3 | 19 | | | | | | | | | | |
| ***2nd Infantry Brigade.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, Light Infantry ... | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 14 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 8 | 52 | | | | | | | | | 5 | |
| Her Majesty's 60th Rifles ... | | | | | | | | 32 | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 8 | 72 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sirmoor Battalion ... | | | | | | | 1 | 13 | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 26 | | | | | | | | | | |
| ***3rd Infantry Brigade.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 8th Regiment... | | | | | | | 1 | 4 | | 2* | 2* | 4* | | | | 3 | 72 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 61st Regiment | | | | | | | 1 | 7 | | | 1 | 2 | | | | 3 | 25 | | | | | | | | 1 | 4 | |
| 4th Sikh Infantry ... ... | | | | | | | 1 | 7 | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 5 | 37 | | | | | | | | | | |
| ***4th Infantry Brigade.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Staff ... ... ... | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st Bengal European Fusiliers | | 1 | | | | | 4 | 38 | | 1 | 3 | 5 | | | | 3 | 73 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st Punjab Infantry ... | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 | | | | 3 | | 1 | | 1 | 28 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2nd Punjab Infantry ... | | | 1 | | | 1 | 3 | 36 | | | 1 | 1 | | 3 | | 4 | 67 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4th Punjab Infantry ... | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | | | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 26 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Corps of Guides Infantry ... | | | 1 | | | 1 | | 8 | | | | 1 | | | 2 | 4 | 19 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Belúch Battalion ... | | | | | | | | 4 | | | | | | | 1 | 2 | 15 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total ... | ... | 1 | 5 | .. | 1 | 4 | 22 | 249 | 9 | 8 | 13 | 37 | .. | 10 | 9 | 59 | 742 | 47 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 9 | 31 |
| Grand Total ... | 282 | | | | | | | | 9 | 878 | | | | | | | | 47 | 10 | | | | | | | | 31 |

DELHI CITY, The 19th September 1857. } (Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj.*, *Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.* (Sd.) A. WILSON, *Maj-Genl.*, *Comdg. the Delhi Field Force.*

* The nominal roll states that two field officers, one Captain and five Subalterns of Her Majesty's 8th Regiment were wounded,—see page 416. In the column of wounded subadars one has been omitted; in the column of rank and file wounded twenty have been omitted.

*Nominal Roll of Officers killed, wounded, and missing in the Field Force under the command of Major-General* A. WILSON, *during the operations of the 14th September 1857.*

| No. | Rank and Names. | Corps or Department. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Captain (Bt. Major) H. Tombs | Bengal Artillery ... | Wounded slightly. |
| | Lieutenant A. H. Lindsay ... | | |
| | 2nd-Lieut. F. L. Tandy .. | Bengal Engineers ... | Killed. |
| | Lieutenant W. W. H. Greathed | | Wounded very severely. |
| | Lieutenant F. R. Maunsell ... | | Wounded severely. |
| | Lieutenant J. G. Medley ... | | Wounded severely. |
| | Lieutenant P. Salkeld ... | | Wounded dangerously. |
| | Lieutenant G. T. Chesney ... | | Wounded very severely. |
| | Lieutenant H. A Brownlow .. | | Wounded dangerously. |
| 10 | Lieutenant J. St. J. Hovenden. | | Wounded severely. |
| | 2nd-Lieut. R. C. B. Pemberton | | Wounded slightly. |
| | Ensign Louis Gustavinski(Local) | Punjab Sappers and Miners ... | Wounded very severely. |
| | Captain C. P. Rosser ... | Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards, extra A.D.C. to Brigadier Grant. | Wounded mortally.* |
| | Captain Hon'ble A. H. A. Anson | Her Majesty's 84th Regiment, attached to the 9th Lancers, acting A D.C. to Brigr. Grant. | Wounded slightly. |
| 15 | Lieutenant B. Cuppage ... | 6th Light Cavalry, attached to the 9th Lancers. | Wounded slightly. |
| | *1st Infantry Brigade.* | | |
| | Lieut.-Col. C. Herbert ... | Her Majesty's 75th Regiment. | Wounded slightly. |
| | Lieutenant J. R. S. FitzGerald | | Killed. |
| | Lieutenant E. Armstrong ... | | Wounded slightly. |
| | Ensign R. Wadeson ... | | Wounded severely. |
| 20 | Ensign T. Dayrell ... | 58th Native Infantry, attached to Her Majesty's 75th Regiment. | Wounded severely. |
| | Captain J. C. Hay ... | 60th Native Infantry, attached to the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers. | Wounded dangerously. |
| | Lieutenant A. Elderton ... | 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers. | Wounded severely. |
| | Lieutenant C. H. F. Gambier | 38th Native Infantry, attached to the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers. | Wounded dangerously. |
| | Lieutenant T. N. Walker ... | 60th Native Infantry, attached to the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers. | Wounded slightly. |

* Dangerously; see page 188, Appendix G.

*Nominal Roll of Officers killed, wounded, and missing in the Field Force under the command of Major-General* A. WILSON, *during the operations of the 14th September 1857.*—(Contd.)

| No. | Rank and Names. | Corps or Department. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *1st Infantry Brigade*—(Concld.) | | |
| 25 | Captain H. F. M. Boisragon ... | 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, 2nd-in-Comd., Kumaon Battalion. | Wounded severely. |
| | *2nd Infantry Brigade.* | | |
| | Colonel G. Campbell ... | Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, Light Infantry. | Wounded slightly. |
| | Captain J. A. Bayley ... | | Wounded severely. |
| | Lieutenant J. H. Bradshaw ... | | Killed. |
| | Lieutenant W. Atkinson ... | | Wounded slightly. |
| 30 | Captain G. C. H. Waters ... | Her Majesty's 60th Rifles | Wounded severely. |
| | Lieutenant P. J. Curtis ... | | Wounded slightly. |
| | Major C. Reid ... ... | Sirmoor Battalion ... | Wounded severely. |
| | *3rd Infantry Brigade.* | | |
| | Major (Bt. Lieut.-Col.) J. C. Brooke ... .. | Her Majesty's 8th Regiment | Wounded slightly. |
| | Captain (Bt. Major) R. S. Baynes | | Wounded dangerously. |
| 35 | Lieutenant (Bt. Captain) D. Beere | | Wounded severely. |
| | Lieutenant E. N. Sandilands ... | | Wounded slightly. |
| | Lieutenant W. W. Pogson .. | | Wounded dangerously (since dead). |
| | Lieutenant G. F. Walker ... | | Wounded severely. |
| | Lieutenant W. F. Metge ... | | Wounded slightly. |
| 40 | Lieutenant W. R. Webb ... | | Wounded mortally (since dead). |
| | Captain W. E. D. Deacon ... | Her Majesty's 61st Regiment | Wounded severely. |
| | Lieutenant T. M. Moore ... | | Wounded slightly. |
| | Lieutenant A. C. Young ... | | Wounded severely. |
| | Lieutenant F. H. Jenkins .. | 57th Native Infantry, attached to the 4th Regiment, Sikh Infantry. | Wounded severely. |
| | *4th Infantry Brigade.* | | |
| 45 | Brigadier-General J. Nicholson | Commanding 4th Infantry Brigade. | Wounded dangerously. |
| | Major G. O. Jacob ... | 1st Bengal European Fusiliers. | Wounded severely. (since dead). |
| | Captain S. Greville ... | | Wounded severely. |

516

*Nominal Roll of Officers killed, wounded, and missing in the Field Force under the command of Major-General* A. WILSON, *during the operations of the 14th September 1857.*—(Concld.)

| No. | Rank and Names. | Corps or Department. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *4th Infantry Brigade*—(Concld.) | | |
| | Captain G. G. McBarnet ... | 55th Native Infantry, attached to the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers. | Killed. |
| | Captain J. P. Caulfield* ... | 3rd Native Infantry, attached to the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers. | Wounded slightly. |
| 50 | Captain W. Graydon ... | 16th Native Infantry, attached to the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers. | Wounded severely. |
| | Lieutenant H. M. Wemyss ... | 1st Bengal European Fusiliers. | Wounded severely. |
| | Lieutenant E. A. C. Lambert | 1st Bengal European Fusiliers. | Wounded slightly. |
| | Lieutenant A. G. Owen ... | 1st Bengal European Fusiliers. | Wounded severely. |
| | Lieutenant E. H. Woodcock ... | 55th Native Infantry, attached to the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers. | Wounded severely. |
| 55 | Lieutenant E. Speke ... | 65th Native Infantry, attached to the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers. | Wounded severely. |
| | Lieutenant C. J. Nicholson ... | 31st Native Infantry, attached to the 1st Punjab Infantry. | Wounded severely. |
| | Lieutenant T. M. Shelley ... | 11th Native Infantry, attached to the 1st Punjab Infantry. | Wounded slightly. |
| | Ensign C. Prior (Local) ... | 1st Punjab Infantry ... | Wounded slightly. |
| | Captain G. W. G. Green ... | 2nd Punjab Infantry ... | Wounded slightly. |
| 60 | Lieutenant T. Frankland ... | 48th Madras Native Infantry, 2nd-in-Command, 2nd Punjab Infantry. | Wounded severely. |
| | Lieutenant J. T. Davidson† ... | 26th Light Infantry, attached to the 2nd Punjab Infantry. | Killed. |
| | Lieutenant R. P. Homfray ... | 4th Punjab Infantry ... | Wounded severely. |
| | Lieutenant A. W. Murray ... | 42nd Native Infantry, with Guide Corps. | Killed. |
| | Lieutenant E. E. B. Bond ... | 57th Native Infantry, with Guide Corps. | Wounded severely. |

DELHI CITY, *The 19th Sept. 1857.* (Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj., Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.* (Sd.) A. WILSON, *Maj.-Genl., Comdg. the Delhi Field Force.*

* Captain J. P. Caulfeild.

† Ensign J. T. Davidson.

*Numerical Return of casualties in the Field Force under the command of Major-General* A. WILSON, *from the 15th to the 20th September 1857.*

| Corps. | Killed. | | | | | | | | | Wounded. | | | | | | | | | Missing. | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Surgeons. | Subadars. | Jemadars. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Horses. |
| ***Bengal Artillery.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| European ... ... | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 4 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Native ... ... ... | | | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Engineer Brigade ... ... | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 2 | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | |
| ***Cavalry Brigade.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 9th Lancers ... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | |
| ***1st Infantry Brigade.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 75th Regiment ... | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | 5 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers. | | | | | | | 2 | 14 | | | | | | | | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kumaon Battalion ... ... | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | |
| ***2nd Infantry Brigade.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment ... | | | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | 5 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 60th Rifles ... | | | 1 | | | | | 6 | | | | | | | | | 9 | | | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Sirmoor Battalion ... ... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ***3rd Infantry Brigade.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 8th Regiment ... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 15 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 61st Regiment ... | | | | | | | | 5 | | | | | | | | | 16 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4th Sikh Infantry ... ... | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | | 7 | | | | | | | | | | |
| ***4th Infantry Brigade.*** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st European Bengal Fusiliers ... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st Punjab Infantry ... ... | | | | | | | | 9 | | | | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2nd Punjab Infantry ... ... | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | 6 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4th Punjab Infantry ... ... | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | 14 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Belúch Battalion ... ... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 16 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total ... | | | 3 | | | | 2 | 47 | | | | 3 | | | 1 | 8 | 111 | | | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Grand Total ... | 52 | | | | | | | | | 123 | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | |

DELHI,
The 23rd Sept. 1857.

(Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj.,*
*Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.*

(Sd.) A. WILSON, *Maj.-Genl.,*
*Comdg. the Delhi Field Force.*

518

*Nominal Roll of Officers killed, wounded, and missing in the Field Force under the command of Major-General* A. WILSON, *during the operations of the 15th to the 20th September 1857.*

| No. | Rank and name. | Corps. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Second-Lieutenant M. Elliott... | Bengal Artillery ... ... | Severely wounded. |
| | Lieutenant P. Murray ... | Bengal Engineers ... | Slightly wounded. |
| | Ensign C. Anderson (Local) ... | Punjab Sappers ... ... | Slightly wounded. |
| | Lieutenant E. V. Briscoe ... | Her Majesty's 75th Regiment. | Killed. |
| | Ensign E. A. Lisle-Phillipps... | 11th Native Infantry, attached to the 60th Rifles. | Killed. |
| | Lieutenant R. P. Homfray ... | 4th Punjab Infantry ... | Killed. |

DELHI;
*The 19th Sept. 1857.*
(Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj., Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.*
(Sd.) A. WILSON, *Maj.-Genl., Comdg. the Delhi Field Force.*

---

RETURN OF ORDNANCE CAPTURED IN AND NEAR DELHI ON AND AFTER THE 14TH SEPTEMBER 1857.

WATER BASTION.

| | No. |
|---|---|
| 32-pounder iron gun, garrison carriage, unserviceable ... | 1 |
| 24-pounder iron gun, travelling carriages, unserviceable (repairable) ... ... ... ... | 2 |
| 12-pounder iron gun, travelling carriage, unserviceable | 1 |
| 10-inch mortar, serviceable ... ... ... | 1 |
| 8-inch mortars, serviceable ... ... ... | 3 |
| 5½-inch mortar, serviceable ... ... ... | 1 |

CABUL GATE.

| | |
|---|---|
| 12-pounder iron gun, serviceable ... ... | 1 |

ROUND TOWER BETWEEN MOREE AND CABUL.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 12-pounder iron gun, serviceable ... ... | 1 |

* Bastions.

519

### Moree Bastion.

| | No. |
|---|---|
| 24-pounder iron guns, serviceable | 2 |
| 10-inch and 8-inch mortars, serviceable | 2 |
| 10-inch mortar, carriage and cap square smashed, repairable | 1 |
| 18-pounder iron gun, broken muzzle | 1 |
| 12-pounder iron gun, unserviceable | 1 |
| 6-pounder brass gun, serviceable | 1 |
| 18-pounder below bastion, unserviceable | 1 |

### Gateway between Moree and Cashmere.

| | |
|---|---|
| 12-pounder iron gun | 1 |

### 3-Gun Battery nearest Cashmere.

| | |
|---|---|
| 18-pounder iron gun, garrison carriage, serviceable | 1 |
| 12-pounder iron gun, garrison carriage, serviceable | 1 |
| 24-pounder field, garrison carriage, serviceable | 1 |

### Cashmere Bastion.

| | |
|---|---|
| 24-pounder | 1 |
| 18-pounders | 2 |
| 12-pounder | 1 |
| 10-inch howitzers | 2 |
| 6-pounder | 1 |
| 10-inch mortars | 2 |
| 8-inch mortars | 4 |

### Kissengunge.

| | |
|---|---|
| 10-inch mortar | 1 |
| 24-pounder | 1 |
| 18-pounders | 2 |
| 12-pounder | 1 |

### Outside the City.

| | |
|---|---|
| 18-pounders | 2 |

### In the Streets of the City.

| | |
|---|---|
| 9-pounders | 2 |
| 24-pounder howitzer | 1 |
| 12-pounder, garrison carriage | 1 |

### Delhi Magazine.

*Serviceable.*

| | No. |
|---|---|
| 24-pounder guns | 4 |
| 32-pounder guns | 5 |
| 18-pounder guns | 25 |
| 12-pounder gun | 1 |
| 4-pounder guns | 5 |
| 3-pounder guns | 4 |
| 10-inch howitzers | 3 |
| 8-inch howitzers | 5 |
| 10-inch mortar | 1 |
| 8-inch mortars | 2 |
| 24-pounder howitzers, brass carronades | 2 |
| 64-pounders | 8 |
| 24-pounders | 38 |
| 18-pounders | 40 |
| 9-pounder brass guns | 5 |

*Unserviceable.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 24-pounder guns | 3 |
| 18-pounder guns | 2 |
| 10-inch howitzer | 1 |
| Garrison carriages | 11 |
| Old Sikh guns | 10 |

### Burn Bastion.

| | |
|---|---|
| 24-pounders | 2 |
| 18-pounder | 1 |
| 12-pounder | 1 |

### Lahore Gate.

| | |
|---|---|
| 12-pounder | 1 |

### Garstin Bastion.

| | |
|---|---|
| 18-pounders | 3 |
| 8-inch howitzer | 1 |

### Ajmere Bastion.

| | |
|---|---|
| 24-pounders | 2 |
| 18-pounder | 1 |
| 12-pounders | 2 |
| 9-pounder (iron) | 1 |
| 8-inch mortar | 1 |
| 5½-inch mortar | 1 |
| Brass guns, Native manufacture | 3 |

PALACE.

| | No. |
|---|---|
| 12-pounders ... ... ... ... | 5 |
| 18-pounders ... ... ... ... | 2 |
| 18-pounder garrison carriage ... ... ... | 1 |
| 6-pounder, Native ... ... ... | 1 |
| Waggons ... ... ... ... | 5 |
| Limber ... ... ... ... | 5 |
| Gun carriage and limber, light ... ... | |

SELIMGHUR.

| | |
|---|---|
| 9-pounder ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| 18-pounders; 1 limber, field carriage ... ... | 2 |
| 18-pounders ... ... ... ... | 2 |
| 10-inch mortar; 2 platform carts ... ... | 1 |
| 8-inch mortar; 1 store cart ... ... ... | 1 |
| Light gun limbers ... ... ... | 2 |
| 18-pounder ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Cart ... ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| 18-pounders; 1 gun ... ... ... | 3 |

FROM THE MUTINEERS' CAMP OUTSIDE THE DELHI GATE.

| | |
|---|---|
| 6-pounders, brass ... ... ... | 2 |
| 3-pounders, brass ... ... ... | 2 |

TURCOMAN GATE AND BASTION.

| | |
|---|---|
| 18-pounder iron guns ... ... ... | 2 |
| 9-pounder iron guns ... ... ... | 2 |
| 3-pounder mountain train ... ... ... | 1 |

WELLESLEY BASTION.

| | |
|---|---|
| 18-pounder iron gun ... ... ... | 1 |

DERRIOWGUNGE.

| | |
|---|---|
| 12-pounder iron gun ... ... ... | 1 |
| Total | ... 272* |

CITY OF DELHI,
*The 22nd Sept. 1857.*

(Sd.) C. HOGGE, *Lieut.-Col.,*
*Commissary of Ordnance.*

* Total should be 287.

522

*General Orders by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Fort William, 5th November 1857.*

No. 1383 of 1857.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council has received a despatch from Major-General Wilson, in continuation of that which was published in the Notification No. 1257 of the 8th ultimo, and completing the narrative of the capture of Delhi.

The reports and returns which accompany this despatch establish the arduous nature of a contest carried on against an enemy vastly superior in numbers, holding a strong position, furnished with unlimited appliances, and aided by the most exhausting and sickly season of the year.

They set forth the indomitable courage and perseverance, the heroic self-devotion and fortitude, the steady discipline and stern resolve of English soldiers.

There is no mistaking the earnestness of purpose with which the struggle has been maintained by Major-General Wilson's army. Every heart was in the cause; and whilst their numbers were, according to all ordinary rule, fearfully unequal to the task, every man has given his aid wherever and in whatever manner it could most avail to hasten retribution upon a treacherous and murderous foe.

In the name of outraged humanity, in memory of innocent blood ruthlessly shed, and in acknowledgment of the first signal vengeance inflicted upon the foulest treason, the Governor-General in Council records his gratitude to Major-General Wilson and the brave army of Delhi. He does so in the sure conviction that a like tribute awaits them, not in England only, but wherever, within the limits of civilisation, the news of their well-earned triumph shall reach.

Major-General Wilson has testified to the earnest and efficient support which he has received from every branch of the force under his command.

To Major F. Gaitskell, who, on Brigadier Garbett being disabled by a wound, assumed the command of the artillery in the field, and to the officers and men of that arm, to Lieutenant-Colonel C. Hogge, Director of the Artillery Depot, who volunteered his services as Commissary of Ordnance with the siege-train, to Captain J. Young and to the other officers of that branch, the Governor-General in Council tenders his cordial thanks for their exertions during the whole siege.

To Lieutenant-Colonel R. Baird Smith, for the able and successful conduct of the siege operations, under the discouragement of sickness and pain, the best thanks of the Governor-General in Council are

eminently due. This distinguished officer was admirably seconded by Captain A. Taylor and the officers and men of the Engineer Brigade.

To Brigadier J. Hope Grant, Commanding the Cavalry Brigade, and to Brigadiers J. Longfield and W. Jones, commanding the Brigades of Infantry, the Governor-General in Council offers his warm acknowledgments of their excellent service; as also to Colonel Campbell, Commanding Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, Light Infantry; to Major C. Reid, Sirmoor Battalion; to Colonel Jones, Commanding the 1st Battalion, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles; and to Colonel J. L. Dennis of Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, Light Infantry, to whose care the charge of the camp was confided during the operations against the town. The manner in which these officers have discharged their duties is highly appreciated by the Government.

It is a matter of the deepest regret to the Governor-General in Council that the mortal wounds received by Brigadier-General Nicholson in the assault, to the success of which he so eminently contributed, have taken from the army of India one of its brightest ornaments, and have deprived the State of services which it can ill afford to lose. The services rendered by Lieutenant-Colonel H. P. Burn, attached as field officer to the 1st Brigade of Infantry, and by Captain Seymour J. Blane, Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, Light Infantry, Brigade-Major to Brigadier-General Nicholson, have earned the approbation of the Government.

The Governor-General in Council cordially acknowledges the admirable manner in which the staff of the field force and the general staff of the army have performed their arduous duties, and to Brigadier-General Chamberlain, Adjutant-General of the Army; to Captain H. W. Norman, Assistant Adjutant-General; to Major R. S. Ewart, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General; to Captain E. B. Johnson, Assistant Adjutant-General of Artillery; to the officers of the Quartermaster-General's Department, Captain D. C. Shute and Captain H. M. Garstin; as also to Captain W. S. R. Hodson, who has performed good service with his newly-raised regiment of Irregular Horse, and at the same time conducted with great ability the duties of the Intelligence Department; to Lieutenant F. S. Roberts, attached to the artillery brigade as Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General; to Lieutenant-Colonel Keith Young and the officers of the Judge Advocate-General's Department; as well as to Captain C. H. Barchard, Captain J. R. Turnbull, Captain R. H. D. Lowe, Lieutenant R. C. Low, and to Major H. A. Ouvry, attached to the personal staff of Major-General Wilson, the Governor-General in Council offers his best thanks for the zealous assistance which they have afford-

524

ed to their commander and to the State. The Governor-General in Council has much pleasure in recognising the valuable aid rendered to the force by the officers of the Civil Service who have been attached to it, and His Lordship in Council desires to record his approbation of the services of Mr. Hervey Greathed, whose untimely death is a heavy public loss, of Mr. C. B. Saunders and of Mr. R. M. Clifford, who made themselves most useful to the Major-General in action, and of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, whose gallantry in conducting the assaulting column under Colonel Campbell through the city was conspicuous.

While tendering his thanks to the officers whose conduct on the occasion of the final assault of the city has been brought under his notice, the Governor-General in Council is anxious not to overlook the gallantry displayed on other occasions by several officers who were debarred by wounds or sickness from joining in the operations of that day. The distinguished services of Brigadier St. G. D. Showers, of Colonel A. M. Becher, Quartermaster-General of the Army, of Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton, 35th Regiment, Native Infantry, of Lieutenant-Colonel Murray Mackenzie, Major J. Coke, and Captain H. Daly, Commanding the Guides, deserve the recognition, and have gained the approval, of Government.

Lieutenant-Colonel W. B. Thomson, Deputy Commissary-General, and the other officers serving in the Commissariat Department, are entitled to the thanks of the Governor-General in Council for the efficiency with which their duties were performed.

The arrangements made by Superintending Surgeon E. Tritton for the care and comfort of the numerous patients in hospital have been most satisfactory, and the Governor-General in Council has pleasure in offering to that officer, as well as to the regimental and staff officers of the Medical Department by whom he was supported, this acknowledgment of their good service.

The Governor-General in Council desires to express to the non-commissioned officers and men of Her Majesty's 9th Lancers and Carabineers the great satisfaction with which he has received the report of the cheerful and effective assistance rendered by them to their comrades of the artillery in working the batteries.

To all the troops, European and Native, to the officers, non-commissioned officers and men serving with the Field Force, His Lordship in Council offers his hearty thanks for the gallantry, perseverance, skill, and discipline which they have displayed throughout the service on which they have been employed.

Where so much has been done to command admiration, it is difficult fairly to select acts for particular notice. But the Governor-General in Council feels that no injustice will be done to any man if he offers a tribute of admiration and thanks to the brave soldiers who under Lieutenants Home and Salkeld accomplished the desperate task of blowing open the Cashmere Gate.

From first to last, from the first advance of the devoted little band against the ramparts, throughout the perilous operation so successfully achieved, to the last act of Bugler Hawthorne in tending his officer's wounds under a heavy fire, this deed was one of deliberate and sustained courage, as noble as any that has ever graced the annals of war. It will be the care of the Governor-General in Council that the brave men, Englishmen and natives, who survive to share the glory of it shall not go unrewarded, and that the memory of those who fell shall be honored.

It is a satisfaction to the Governor-General in Council to find that, in estimating upon a late occasion the eminent services rendered by the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab to the State during the siege of Delhi, and in expressing his earnest thanks for them, he has spoken the sentiments of the individual best able to appreciate those services at their true value. To the indefatigable exertions of Sir John Lawrence Major-General Wilson frankly attributes his own success.

There remains to the Governor-General in Council the pleasing duty of noticing the part taken in the contest before Delhi by some of the neighbouring Native Chiefs.

The loyal and constant co-operation of the Maharajah of Patiala and his troops; the steady support of the Rajah of Jhind, whose forces shared in the assault; and the assistance given to the British arms by Jan Fishan Khan and Sirdar Meer Khan Saheb well call for the marked thanks of the Governor-General in Council.

These true-hearted Chiefs, faithful to their engagements, have shown trust in the power, honor, and friendship of the British Government, and they will not repent it.

The Governor-General in Council will also have the gratification of thanking Maharajah Runbir Singh of Cashmere for the timely support given by the Jummoo Contingent, placed by His Highness under the command of Captain Richard C. Lawrence. The conduct of the ruler of Cashmere has been that of a sincere ally.

MILITARY DEPARTMENT,
FORT WILLIAM;
*The 5th November 1857.*

(Sd.) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.,*
*Secy. to the Govt. of India.*

526

*General Orders by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Fort William, 4th December 1857.*

No. 1529 of 1857.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct that the despatches and returns relating to the operations carried on during the siege of Delhi and received by the Government at irregular intervals, should be made public.

These despatches contain the reports of the officers commanding in the first actions with the mutineers at Ghazi-ud-din-Nuggur, where the gallant conduct of Her Majesty's 60th Regiment, of the Carabineers, and of the Bengal Artillery was conspicuous, and at Badli-ki-Serai; as well as the accounts of other contests in which the British troops have been engaged, always successfully, with the enemy; each occasion furnishing examples of the undaunted courage, determination, and endurance by which the last crowning success was subsequently achieved.

The Governor-General of India in Council has already recorded his gratitude to Major-General Wilson and the officers and men engaged in the final operations against the city. His Lordship in Council now offers his thanks to those who specially distinguished themselves in the preceding operations, and to the noble army by which they were supported.

The warm acknowledgments of the Governor-General in Council are due to *Brigadier* Hope Grant, and to Brigadier Showers, for their excellent services; and His Lordship in Council desires to express his high approbation of the zeal and good judgment displayed by Lieutenant-Colonel Custance, of the Carabineers, and Lieutenant-Colonel Yule, of the 9th Lancers, in the frequent engagements in which they have been opposed to the enemy.

Lieutenant-Colonel Yule has unhappily fallen, and the Queen's army has to deplore the loss of a brave and skilful officer.

The thanks of the Government of India are due to Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed, Commanding Her Majesty's 8th Regiment; to Lieutenant-Colonel Deacon, Commanding Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert, Commanding Her Majesty's 75th Regiment; as also to Colonel Welchman, who was at the head of the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, and was severely wounded; and to Lieutenant-Colonel T. Seaton, of the 35th Regiment, Native Infantry, to whose command a column was entrusted.

The example which has been set throughout these operations by the courageous and indefatigable exertions of Major Reid, Commanding the Sirmoor Battalion, is warmly acknowledged by the Governor-General in Council.

527

Major Coke, of the Punjab Irregular Force, has added to his high and well-earned reputation as one of the foremost frontier soldiers of India; and Lieutenant Hodson's good service at the head of the Irregular Horse merits much praise.

The thanks of the Government are eminently due to Lieutenant-Colonel Baird Smith, and the corps of engineers under his direction. Their labours have been unremitting and have deserved success.

The readiness and coolness, as well as the gallantry evinced by Major Tombs, of the Bengal Artillery, on various occasions recorded in these papers, and the signal daring of Lieutenant Hills, who, alone and unsupported, charged a body of the enemy's cavalry and saved his battery, command the admiration of the Governor-General in Council.

Major Scott and Captain Remmington, of the artillery, have well earned the acknowledgment of their services which the Governor-General in Council now tenders to them.

His Lordship in Council desires to record his appreciation of the services of Lieutenant-Colonel Murray Mackenzie, of the artillery, and of Major Jacob, of the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, who died of the wounds received by them in these operations.

The General Officers who have held command of the army before Delhi have brought to notice the ready assistance, at all times afforded to them, by that very distinguished officer, Brigadier-General Chamberlain, who, after the death of the lamented Colonel Chester on the field of Badli-ki-Serai, was appointed to the Office of Adjutant-General; by Captain Norman, whose services have been unremitting and most valuable, and by the officers of the Adjutant-General's Department; by Colonel Becher, and the officers attached to the Quartermaster-General's Department; by Colonel Congreve, Acting Adjutant-General of Her Majesty's Forces; by Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon'ble R. Curzon, Acting Quartermaster-General of Her Majesty's Forces; by Lieutenant-Colonel Thomson, Deputy Commissary-General, and the branch of the service under his order; by Lieutenant-Colonel Young, Judge Advocate-General, and his department; and by the officers of the Head-Quarters, as well as of their own personal staff. To these officers the Governor-General in Council again expresses his hearty thanks for the good services which they have rendered, and which it will be his grateful duty to bring to the notice of the Hon'ble Court of Directors and of Her Majesty's Government.

During a portion of the time over which the siege operations extended, dating from the first arrival of the army under the walls of

528

Delhi, the command was held by Major-General Sir Henry Barnard. But this gallant officer was not permitted to witness the final success of the undertaking confided to him, and of which his own brilliant victory at Badli-ki-Serai was the worthy commencement. Struck down by sickness, he died at his post, giving his last energies to the discharge of his trust; and the Governor-General in Council cannot close this notice of the Campaign of Delhi without offering a tribute of sincere respect to the courage, constancy, and devotion to duty which marked the command of Sir Henry Barnard.

MILITARY DEPARTMENT,<br>FORT WILLIAM;<br>*The 4th December 1857.*

(Sd.) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.*,<br>*Secy. to the Govt. of India.*

---

NARRATIVE OF THE CAMPAIGN IN 1857, AGAINST THE MUTINEERS OF THE BENGAL ARMY AND OTHER INSURGENTS ASSEMBLED AT DELHI.

*By Lieutenant* H. W. NORMAN, *Second Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army.*

The mutiny of the 19th and 34th Regiments, Native Infantry, and the uneasy feeling known to prevail amongst the Native troops at many stations, had prepared us for the receipt of unpleasant intelligence, although few could have expected that we should hear of the treacherous and cowardly massacres that were about to take place.

On the morning of the 10th May, a report was received at headquarters, at Simla, from General Hewitt, that the sentence of a court-martial on 85 mutineers of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, had been carried out, they having been marched to jail, ironed, from a parade of the whole garrison of Meerut. He at the same time mentioned that the behaviour of the rest of the Native troops at the station was excellent. Private letters from officers, both of the 11th and 20th Regiments, were received at Simla, praising their men; and an experienced officer of the latter corps wrote that even the bad characters of the regiment were behaving well, apparently to show that they had no sympathy with the mutinous spirit evinced by part of the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, and some of the Native artillery recruits.

On the afternoon of the 12th May, copy of a telegraphic message from the signaller at Delhi to Umballa reached Simla, stating that he was obliged to fly, as the mutineer sepoys from Meerut had entered the place and were burning the bungalows. This was brought by Captain Barnard, A.D.C., who rode express from Umballa, and who, in passing Kasauli, had, by direction of Sir Henry Barnard, commanding the Sirhind Division, warned the 75th Foot, there stationed, to be in instant readiness to move down to the plains. As the temper of the

528

Umballa Native regiments was more than doubtful, on receipt of this intelligence the Commander-in-Chief at once despatched an aide-de-camp to Kasauli to order the 75th Foot to move down forthwith, and expresses were sent to warn the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers at Dagshai to move after the 75th Foot as soon as possible, and for the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers at Subathu to be ready to march. Expresses were sent also to Ferozepore to desire the magazine to be placed under charge of a European guard; and to Jullundur for a European detachment to be at once thrown into the fort of Phillour. Officers on leave on private affairs were desired to return to their stations.

Late on the 13th a note arrived from Meerut dated midnight of the 10th, having been brought by *kossid*, stating that the Native troops had risen in open mutiny, that the portion of the cantonment south of the nullah had been burnt, and that the European troops were defending their barracks. Some of the particulars of the Delhi massacres were also received about the same time, and the following measures were immediately taken:—

The Commander-in-Chief with the Adjutant-General and the Quartermaster-General of the Army, the Second Assistant to the former, and the personal staff prepared to start in the morning for Umballa.

The 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers were ordered to Umballa at once.

An artillery officer was sent express to Phillour with instructions for a third class siege-train to be immediately got ready, and also for the spare waggons of the troops of horse artillery at Umballa and a quantity of small-arms ammunition to be despatched to the latter place.

The Nusseree Battalion, which was believed to be perfectly staunch, was to march next day with all expedition to Phillour, there to be joined by as many of the 9th Regiment, Irregular Cavalry, as could be spared, and then to escort the siege-train to Umballa.

The Native company of artillery at Noorpore and Kangra was ordered to Phillour to come down with the train.

The Sirmoor Battalion, from Dehra, and the head-quarters of the Sappers and Miners, at Roorkee, were ordered to Meerut; and finally, a circular was issued with the view of allaying if possible the excited feelings which it was very apparent were prevalent throughout the Native army.

During the 15th and on the morning of the 16th the Commander-in-Chief and staff reached Umballa, and the same morning heads of departments and commanding officers met at Sir Henry Barnard's house, where General Anson had taken up his quarters.

53.

His Excellency considered that a force must be moved on Delhi, but the number of available troops was small, very little carriage and hardly any dhooly-bearers were available, the artillery had only the ammunition in their waggons which might be expended in one action, and even the infantry had very little ammunition with which to commence a campaign; and without some heavy guns it seemed useless to attack Delhi. However, the Commander-in-Chief decided that an advance must be made as soon as practicable, and the greatest possible exertions were required from departmental officers to enable the move to be made.

The position of affairs, as known at Umballa at this time, was as follows:—

At Delhi, those Europeans who had not escaped had been massacred, and the place was held by the mutinous corps from Meerut and the troops of its own garrison.

At Meerut, the European troops were occupying a portion of the undestroyed part of the cantonment, and were busy in erecting defences. The district around Meerut was in complete disorder, and the civil courts powerless.

At Umballa and Jullundur, though the Native regiments were overawed by European troops, it was evident that no confidence could be placed in them.

At Ferozepore, a serious mutiny had occurred, and at Lahore the whole of the Native troops had been disarmed.

From below Meerut there was no intelligence whatever; but it seemed more than probable that the mutinous spirit had broken out in many other stations, and sad massacres occurred.

At Simla, the Nusseree Battalion refused to march to Phillour, and by their conduct created great alarm amongst the European residents, while a party of this corps at Kasauli plundered some treasure, rendering it necessary to send back a hundred of the 75th Foot from Umballa to reinforce the depot at that place. The Nusseree Battalion eventually marched to Saharanpore, where it has since rendered good service in maintaining tranquillity and punishing insurgents. Their display of ill-feeling at this juncture was, however, very unfortunate, and rendered it necessary for the siege-train to move from Phillour with a very insufficient escort consisting of part of the 9th Regiment, Irregular Cavalry, and some Native contingent detachments.

The 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers reached Umballa on the morning of the 17th, and the force now there consisted of two troops of

European horse artillery, Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, the 75th Foot, the 1st and 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers, the 4th Native Lancers, and the 5th and 60th Regiments, Native Infantry. The Native regiments were simply an incumbrance, so there remained disposable about 450 effective cavalry and 1,800 effective infantry, with twelve light guns.

To provide for the safety of Umballa, four companies of the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers were ordered to remain. Besides this, the Native company of artillery from Kangra, one squadron of the 4th Regiment, Light Cavalry, and five companies of the 5th Regiment, Native Infantry, were intended to occupy the station. A battery of nine-pounders had been ordered from Phillour; and these were to be made over to Major Turner for his troop of horse artillery, he giving over his six-pounders to the Native company remaining at Umballa. An entrenchment was also thrown up round the church, into which the Europeans could retire if absolutely necessary. All the families of officers and soldiers were sent to the hill stations, together with all sick soldiers. And still further to lessen anxiety for Umballa, some of the troops of the Patiala Rajah, whose friendship was relied on, were brought into the cantonment.

Five companies of the 5th Regiment, Native Infantry, (in two detachments) and a squadron of the 4th Regiment, Light Cavalry, were sent into the district to punish some insurgents; and the head-quarters squadron of the 4th Regiment, Light Cavalry, and the 60th Regiment, Native Infantry, were to accompany the force.

There was much difficulty in providing artillerymen for the service of the siege-train, and eventually it was found that one company of Europeans (not 40 men) could be spared. This was the reserve company at Ferozepore. It was ordered down by bullock-train, and 100 artillery recruits were directed to join head-quarters with any detachment that came from Meerut.

Equipment sufficient for a small detachment being ready on the night of the 17th, two horse artillery guns, a squadron of the 9th Lancers, and four companies of the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers started for Kurnaul. Subsequently, as corps could be equipped, they were pushed on; but all had very little carriage and even the peace complement of dhoolies could not be supplied. When other troops reached Kurnaul the first detachment marched to Paniput, where the Jhind Rajah's contingent of about 800 men was posted; and being joined by two more squadrons of the 9th Lancers, four guns, and the remainder of the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, the whole were pushed on to

532

Rhye (nine marches from Umballa and two from Delhi), which was reached on the 2nd June. The country so far was secured, but between Paniput and Rhye as well as on to Delhi the police stations, dâk bungalows, and telegraph poles and wires had almost everywhere been destroyed.

On the 25th May, the Commander-in-Chief reached Kurnaul, and was attacked with cholera on the following day, dying early on the morning of the 27th. Sir Henry Barnard, who was in immediate command of the Delhi Field Force, had reached Kurnaul on the night prior to General Anson's death.

On the morning of the 4th June, the head-quarters of the force were at Rhye, and on the 5th marched to Alipur, within ten miles of Delhi. The 60th Regiment, Native Infantry, had been detached to Rhotuck from Kurnaul, in the hope that independent employment might keep them staunch; besides which it was very evident that the European troops would never have fought with confidence with this regiment behind them or by their side; and as it was felt to be too great a trial of fidelity to employ Native Hindustani corps against mutineers, the head-quarters of the 4th Lancers were sent to Meerut.

On the 6th, the siege-train reached camp, together with the head-quarters of the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers, which had joined it two marches from Umballa.

On the 7th, Brigadier Wilson, having crossed the Jumna at Bhagput, arrived with his small but efficient force, which at Ghazi-ud-din-Nuggur, one march from Delhi on the Meerut road, had twice gallantly repulsed attacks of the mutineer force, capturing five guns, four of them of heavy calibre.

The force now in camp consisted of—

16 horse artillery guns (European).
6 horse battery guns (European).
9th Lancers.
2 squadrons of the Carabineers.
6 companies of the 60th Rifles.
75th Foot.
1st Bengal European Fusiliers.
6 companies of the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers.
The Head-Quarters of the Sirmoor Battalion; and the portion of the Sappers and Miners which had not mutinied, about 150 men.

In round numbers there were 600 cavalry and 2,400 infantry, with 22 field guns.

Besides the above, the siege-train, which consisted of eight 18-pounder guns, four 8-inch howitzers, four 8-inch mortars, and twelve 5½-inch mortars, had attached to it a weak company of European artillery (4th of 6th Battalion) and 100 European artillery recruits.

The head-quarters and a squadron of the 4th Irregular Cavalry, and a wing of the 9th Irregular Cavalry, were also in camp, but as a great portion of the former corps had already mutinied, and neither could be implicitly trusted, they were ordered on the 7th to proceed towards some villages near the Jumna, where parties of rebels had been reported to have been seen, so that on the day of action the force might not be embarrassed by treachery in its own ranks.

At 2 A.M. on the 8th June, the troops marched from Alipur to attack the enemy's advanced entrenched position at Badli-ki-Serai, four miles from Delhi. Prior to the march, Captain Howell, 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, Sub-Assistant Commissary-General, died of cholera after a few hours' illness; and this scourge, which broke out at Umballa in May, never once was completely absent from our camp until after the fall of Delhi, carrying off many officers and hundreds of valuable soldiers, and at times raging in particular corps with extreme virulence. Brigadier Hallifax, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, commanding the 1st Infantry Brigade, had previously been compelled by ill-health, brought on by the circumstances of the service, to return to Kurnaul, where he died.

The baggage was all left at Alipur with directions not to move on until the success of our attack at Badli-ki-Serai had declared itself and orders been sent back for its advance. The guard for its protection was composed of two guns of Major Scott's battery, a squadron of the Carabineers, a company of the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers, and the contingent of the Rajah of Jhind, with the exception of about fifty sowars.

The mutineers' position was as follows:—They held the *serai* of Badli on the right* of the Trunk Road as we advanced, and their camp was grouped about it. About a hundred and fifty yards in front of the *serai*, on a small natural elevation, was a sand-bag battery for four heavy guns and an 8-inch howitzer. The ground on either side of the Trunk Road leading to this position is intersected with water cuts and generally swampy; while nearly parallel to the road on the right, at the distance of about a mile, runs the canal, crossed by bridges at various places not far from each other.

* The serai was situated on the left.

The main attack was to be made in front, supported by a diversion on the enemy's left flank with cavalry and guns. Brigadier Grant, commanding the cavalry, accordingly quitted camp before the main column, passed the canal at a neighbouring bridge, and proceeded down its right bank with intent to cross in the enemy's left rear and to attack simultaneously with the main body under Sir Henry Barnard. Brigadier Grant had with him ten horse artillery guns under Major Turner, consisting of four guns of Major Tombs' troop and Major Turner's own troop under Lieutenant Bishop, three squadrons of the 9th Lancers under Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Yule, and about fifty Jhind horsemen under Lieutenant Hodson.

The main column proceeded down the Trunk Road, and consisted of Captain Money's troop of horse artillery, four guns of Major Scott's horse battery, four heavy guns hastily formed into a battery for field purposes and principally manned by recruits, a squadron each of the Carabineers and 9th Lancers, and the five weak infantry regiments.

The total force to be engaged in the main attack was in round numbers 170 cavalry and 1,900 infantry, with fourteen guns. That employed in the flank attack about 350 cavalry and ten guns.

It was intended that in the main attack our four heavy guns should open on the enemy from the road itself, with a light battery on either flank; that Brigadier Showers, with the 75th Foot and 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, should operate to the right; and Brigadier Graves, with the 60th Rifles, 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers and Sirmoor Battalion to the left of the road.

As the day broke the lights in the enemy's camp were visible, and our guns advanced to open fire. Their artillery, however, commenced the ball with a sharp cannonade, to which our guns were not slow in replying. The leading infantry brigade moved off the road to the right and deployed, the 75th Regiment on the left, the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers partly in support and partly on the right of the 75th Regiment, and this brigade advanced in line under the cannonade towards the enemy. At this time the 2nd Brigade, which by some accident had fallen in rear, was not in sight, but orders were sent to hurry it up. The fire of the enemy's heavy battery, aided by several light guns, began to tell seriously, the bullock-drivers of our heavy guns ran away with the cattle, and one of the wagons blew up; our men fell fast, and the staff offering a tempting mark, two officers (Colonel Chester and Captain Russell) were killed, and several horses of the staff lost in the course of one or two minutes. Time was precious, there was no sign of any flank attack by

our cavalry on the insurgents, and it was evident that our guns could not silence their artillery sheltered behind a parapet, so Sir Henry Barnard ordered the 75th Regiment to charge and take the heavy battery. This corps, led by Brigadier Showers and Colonel Herbert, carried out this duty in the most spirited manner. They were supported by the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, who in their advance suffered somewhat from a musketry fire opened from an enclosure on their right.

The battery was hardly taken ere Brigadier Graves came up on our left; and Brigadier Grant (who had been much delayed by the great difficulty experienced in getting his guns over some water-courses) appeared on the enemy's left rear and at once attacked them. This completed the defeat, and the insurgents fell back, leaving several guns in our possession, besides their camp.

The troops pushed on in pursuit, clearing many gardens, until we reached the cross roads, one of which leads to the city through the Subzee Mundee suburb, and the other (the left road) to the cantonment. From this point we could see the ridge beyond the cantonments held by the insurgents; and after a short halt Sir Henry Barnard, with Brigadier Graves' brigade of infantry, Captain Money's troop of horse artillery, and a squadron of the 9th Lancers, took the left or cantonment road, while Brigadier Wilson with the rest of the artillery and cavalry and Brigadier Showers' brigade of infantry took the road through the Subzee Mundee. The Sirmoor Battalion was ordered to extend between the columns, but the distance was too great for the communication to be complete. It was intended thus simultaneously to attack both flanks of Hindu Rao's Ridge, the Sirmoor Battalion skirmishers threatening it at the same time in front.

In front of our left column on the ridge was the flag-staff tower at which the insurgents had posted three guns, and from these a cannonade was opened on Sir Henry Barnard's column. The column moved across open ground to pass a wide and deep canal cut, which ran nearly parallel to the ridge and at a distance of perhaps 1,200 yards, by a masonry bridge. This was partially destroyed, but fortunately was left of a sufficient width for the guns to pass and no more. The insurgents had the range of the bridge, and kept up an accurate fire on it as the column and guns passed over. Proceeding onwards through the huts of the sepoy lines and then through the streets of ruined bungalows of officers, the column came out on the flank of the flag-staff guns at a distance of a few hundred yards; and Captain Money's troop having moved to the front, wheeled up to its right and commenced a

536

fire which almost immediately silenced the cannon of the insurgents. The 60th Rifles and 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers having brought up their left shoulders then advanced and took the guns; and the Sirmoor Battalion coming up to the ridge, the whole column moved along its crest towards Hindu Rao's house, on reaching which it was joined by Brigadier Wilson's column, which had come by the road through the Subzee Mundee suburb, and had been opposed *en route*, capturing an 18-pounder gun.

While Sir Henry Barnard's column was moving on the ridge, as well as after it had been joined by that of Brigadier Wilson, a cannonade was kept up from the city, and the shot ranged well up to and over the ridge, killing some men and blowing up a gun limber.

The camp was ordered to be pitched on the cantonment parade ground facing the lines, and with its rear protected by the canal cut, which could only be crossed by bridges at certain points. A mound on the right of the camp offered an advantageous post for a picquet on that flank, which was much exposed to attacks from the Subzee Mundee suburb. Cavalry picquets on the left flank patrolled to the river, while the ridge on our front was held by the Sirmoor Battalion and two companies of the 60th Rifles at Hindu Rao's house; on the right, a picquet of infantry at the flag-staff tower in front of the left of the camp, and an infantry picquet at a mosque midway between Hindu Rao's house and the flag-staff.

The heavy guns were ordered to be brought up to Hindu Rao's preparatory to being put into battery, and it was found necessary to have two light guns on picquet at the flag-staff, Hindu Rao's, and the mosque.

The troops were withdrawn to the camp ground, but the tents were not up, and the heat was excessive, when about 2 P.M. the insurgents commenced a heavy cannonade from the walls, their balls constantly flying far on our side of the ridge. A body of troops also came out of the city and threatened Hindu Rao's or the main picquet. The whole of the troops had again to move up to the ridge, and after a short time the attack was repulsed; but the cannonade did not altogether cease, and it became evident that as long as we occupied the ridge all our picquets on it would be exposed to the fire of the heavy guns, howitzers, and mortars within the city.

Before sunset the troops not on picquet had returned to camp, and no further attack was made that night.

In the action fought this day our losses were tolerably severe.

They are as follows :—

*Casualties in the action of 8th June 1857 before Delhi.*

| Corps. | Killed. | | | | Wounded. | | | | | Missing. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Officers. | Non-commissioned officers. | Rank and file. | Horses. | Officers. | Native officers. | Non-commissioned officers. | Rank and file. | Horses. | Rank and file. | Horses. |
| Staff ... ... ... ... ... | 3 | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Artillery ... ... ... ... | ... | 1 | 3 | 5 | 4 | ... | 5 | 12 | 14 | ... | 11 |
| Detachment, 6th Dragoon Guards ... ... | ... | ... | 2 | 5 | ... | ... | 1 | 4 | 1 | ... | ... |
| Her Majesty's 9th Lancers... ... ... | ... | 3 | 12 | 20 | ... | ... | 3 | 7 | 4 | ... | ... |
| Her Majesty's 60th Rifles ... ... ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... |
| Her Majesty's 75th Regiment ... ... | 1 | 2 | 20 | ... | 7 | ... | 2 | 41 | ... | 2 | ... |
| 1st Bengal European Fusiliers ... ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | 2 | ... | 1 | 25 | ... | ... | ... |
| 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 5 | ... | ... | ... |
| Sirmoor Battalion ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | 6 | ... | ... | ... |
| Total ... | 4 | 6 | 41 | 33 | 13 | 1 | 14* | 103 | 19 | 2 | 11 |
| Grand Total ... | 51 | | | 33* | 131 | | | | 19 | 2 | 11 |

Of the troops opposed to us it was said that a thousand of those who came out never returned to Delhi. This may be an exaggeration, but their losses were undoubtedly heavy, probably three or four hundred killed and wounded, besides a good many who were said to have gone off to their homes after or during the action.

Thirteen guns were captured, *viz.*, an 8-inch howitzer, two 24-pounder guns, two 18-pounders, and the remainder 9-pounder guns.

It is impossible to give anything like an estimate of the insurgent force; but we know that at this period the following corps or detachments were at Delhi, and though one or two portions of corps possibly arrived without arms, there was no difficulty in supplying their wants in this respect from the armoury in the Delhi Magazine:—

3rd Company, 7th Native Battalion Artillery, with No. 5 Horse Field Battery, 38th Regiment, Light Infantry, 54th and 74th Regiments, Native Infantry, from Delhi.

3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry, 11th and 20th Regiments, Native Infantry, from Meerut.

Head-Quarters of the 9th Regiment, Native Infantry, from Aligarh and detachment from Bolundshahur.

* This table does not agree with the table at page 292.

Hurrianah Light Infantry Battalion and a large portion of the 4th Regiment, Irregular Cavalry, from Hansi, Hissar, and Sirsa.

Head-Quarters of the Corps of Sappers and Miners, from Meerut and Roorkee.

Detachments of the 44th and 67th Regiments, Native Infantry, from Muttra.

A large portion of the 45th Regiment, Native Infantry, from Ferozepore, and many deserters of the 5th Regiment, Native Infantry, from Umballa.

In addition to the above, there were known to be many Native soldiers on furlough, particularly of the irregular cavalry, a very large portion of which branch of the service reside within a circuit of a hundred miles from Delhi; also a miscellaneous collection of customs *chaprasis,* who had deserted their posts, police and jail guards, besides many loose characters of all kinds, and these, though far from formidable in the field, could do much mischief when firing from behind walls during our numerous subsequent actions in the suburbs, they being well aware that a secure and certain retreat into the city was always open behind them.

From the above it would seem that in the early part of the siege the mutineers had but one artillery company, but whether this company had been strongly reinforced by Native artillerymen on furlough, or whether the numerous magazine lascars (an intelligent body of men) assisted in working the guns, or both combined, certain it is that from the first day of our arrival before Delhi the mutineers seemed to have no want of trained artillerymen, and were always able to work as many guns as could conveniently be brought to bear upon us.

Major-General Reed, the Provincial Commander-in-Chief, arrived at Alipur from Rawal Pindi on the 8th June, just as the troops were marching. Unwell and greatly fatigued by a rapid journey during intense heat, he took no part in the action, and never assumed personal command of the troops until after the lamented death of Sir Henry Barnard, though his advice in matters of moment was freely sought and given.

On the morning of the 9th June, the Guide Corps consisting of three troops of cavalry and six companies of infantry (rifles), marched into camp under the command of Captain Daly. This distinguished body of men had marched at the hottest season of the year from Mardan, on the Peshawar Frontier, to Delhi, a distance of 580 miles, in twenty-two days, and though the infantry portion were occasionally assisted with

camels or ponies on the line of road, the march was a surprising feat even for cavalry.

The same afternoon the mutineers, who had cannonaded at intervals during the day, moved out of the city, and threatened our position on the ridge, making a sharp attack on its right at Hindu Rao's house. The Guides moved up in support, and the insurgents were driven back into the city with considerable loss. On our side Lieutenant Quintin Battye, Commandant of the Guide Cavalry, an enthusiastic, gallant soldier, was mortally wounded, and several men killed and wounded.

During these two days our heavy guns were being put in position on the ridge near Hindu Rao's house, to reply to the enemy's fire. They were too distant (from 1,200 to 1,500 yards) to do more than check that fire, and sometimes to silence the guns at the Moree Bastion. It was at once evident that our artillery and engineer means were insufficient to take Delhi, the guns of the rebels being infinitely superior in numbers and calibre to our own, and well served; while to make regular approaches was quite impossible, the Sappers being few in number, and so large a proportion of the infantry being at all times required for the defence of our position that no men could be spared for working parties.

On the 10th and 11th June, attacks similar to that of the 9th were made, and were similarly repulsed.

About this time the insurgents were reinforced by the 60th Regiment, Native Infantry, which mutinied at Rhotuck, and at once proceeded to Delhi, their officers escaping to our camp without injury, but with the loss of all their property.

On the morning of the 12th, a very serious attack was made. A large body of the mutineer infantry having concealed themselves in the ravines in Sir Theophilus Metcalfe's compound, between the flag-staff tower and the river, soon after daylight made a sudden and vigorous onset on the picquet at the tower, consisting of two horse artillery guns and a detachment of the 75th Foot. They gained the summit of the ridge on the left of the tower, and the picquet was hard pressed, losing Captain Knox, killed, and several men. The musketry fire was sharp and heavy, and the bullets fell into the camp; some of the enemy even descended to the camp side of the ridge, and three were killed in the sepoy lines within a short distance of the tents. Reinforcements moved rapidly up in support of the picquet, and the insurgents were driven off and pursued some way. To avoid a recurrence of anything of the kind, a large picquet was sent to occupy Sir Theophilus Metcalfe's ruined house close

to the river, thus throwing up as it were the left flank of our defences, and rendering it almost impossible for the enemy to pass round on that side. This picquet eventually was thrown in advance of the house and divided into three portions,—one of 150 men on a mound on the right of the compound, close to the road leading from the Cashmere Gate to the cantonment sudder bazar, and from which a few men were detached to a house on and commanding the road; fifty men in a cow-house midway between this mound and the river bank; and 150 men in the stables close upon the river.

All these posts were gradually strengthened by the engineers, and were of much use. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe's house would have been previously occupied had it not been for the difficulty of providing one relief for the picquets, and after this it sometimes was impossible to carry out the daily reliefs. The flag-staff continued to be held by a hundred men with two guns, and at night the sentries from this picquet and the mound picquet in the Metcalfe compound communicated.

The attack at the flag-staff had hardly been repulsed, when other bodies of insurgents advanced upon the Hindu Rao's picquet and through the Subzee Mundee into the gardens on the right flank of camp. The first of these attacks was not serious, but the latter threatened the mound picquet, and supports of all arms had to be moved up. The 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, under Major Jacob, then advanced and drove the mutineers out of the gardens, killing a considerable number of them.

As it seemed certain that our means were insufficient regularly to besiege the place, a proposal was made to take it by a *coup de main*, and to this Sir Henry Barnard assented. There was considerable risk in the attempt, for not more than 1,700 or 1,800 infantry were available for the assault, and there was every reason to anticipate a prolonged struggle in the city and in capturing the palace, during which time the camp, with all its sick and wounded, stores, followers, &c., would be necessarily very weakly guarded. Failure, moreover, would have been disastrous, not simply to the troops employed, but in all probability to the whole British population in Upper India and the Punjab. The General, however, was urged from all quarters "to take Delhi" by those who little comprehended his weakness or its strength.

Two gates were to be blown in by powder bags, by which two columns were to effect an entrance, and early on the merning of 13th June, corps were actually formed to move down to the assault, when the mistake of a superior officer in delaying the withdrawal of the picquets

without which the infantry regiments were mere skeletons, forced the plan to be abandoned as daylight was coming on, and it was felt that success was impossible if the blowing in process was not effected by surprise.

There are few who do not now feel that the accident which hindered this attempt was one of those happy interpositions on our behalf of which we had such numbers to be thankful for. Defeat or even a partial success would have been ruin, and complete success would not have achieved for us the results subsequently obtained, or, as far as can be seen, would it have prevented a single massacre, most of which indeed had already taken place.

From this period almost daily attacks took place for some time, and though our losses were not heavy, the troops were much harassed.

Though our investment was only on one side of the city (happily securing, however, our left flank and the communication with the Punjab in our rear), very nearly half the effective force at this period was on picquet; and when the "alarm" sounded and all the picquets had been reinforced, there merely remained a few companies of infantry, besides some cavalry and guns, in reserve to succour any point seriously attacked, or to make a forward move against the insurgents.

The artillery fire from the city,—principally directed against Hindu Rao's house and the neighbouring batteries, but sometimes with violence against the Metcalfe picquet as well as the mosque and ridge generally,—was constantly kept up, and seldom an hour passed without some shots.

Mortar shells, too, were often thrown, and generally in the evening, over the ridge, the fragments sometimes coming into camp, sometimes falling near our right picquet at the mound. Our batteries replied at intervals, and always when the enemy's fire became very troublesome, and a mortar fire on the city was regularly maintained at night. The trunnions of our 8-inch howitzers giving way one after the other, these pieces were sunk in the ground and used as mortars, their shells having a very long range. In our batteries we used the enemy's ordnance captured at Badli-ki-Serai; and as we had no ammunition for the captured 24-pounders, the shots of this calibre fired by the enemy were picked up and sent back again.

The position at Hindu Rao's was confided to the charge of Major Reid of the Sirmoor Battalion, who established his corps in the large house which gave its name to the whole ridge.

At first he had only his own battalion and two companies of the 60th Rifles, but after a time the Guide Infantry were added, and on an

"alarm" he was reinforced by two more companies of the 60th Rifles. He had the protection of all our heavy batteries, and throughout the siege held this honourable post. The house in which he resided with his corps was within perfect range of nearly all the enemy's heavy guns, and was riddled through and through with shot and shell. He never quitted the ridge save to attack the enemy below it, and never once visited the camp until carried to it wounded on the day of the final assault.

On the 15th, a very sharp attack was made on the Metcalfe picquet, and the enemy taking advantage of the lowness of the river tried to turn our left flank by the sands below the high river bank. The party of the 75th Foot on picquet, however, repulsed the onset, and being reinforced, the assailants were driven back and lost a good number of men.

On the 17th June the cannonade was more than usually severe, apparently to divert our attention from a battery which it was evident the enemy were constructing on a rising ground in the direction of the *eedgah* (a large walled enclosure on a hill), and the fire of which if completed would enfilade our position on the ridge. During this cannonade a shot came into a portico of Hindu Rao's house, killing or wounding ten men of different corps, including Ensign Wheatley, 54th Regiment, Native Infantry, attached to the Sirmoor Battalion, who was killed.

Sir Henry Barnard determined to drive the insurgents from the position they were taking up before their battery could be established, and to destroy the works that had been commenced, so at 4 P.M. two columns were detached on this duty.

The right column under Major H. Tombs, Horse Artillery, moved from camp towards the enemy's left. It consisted of four guns of his own troop, thirty Guide Cavalry, twenty Sappers and Miners, two companies of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, and four companies of the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, while Major Reid moved from Hindu Rao's towards Kissengunge and the enemy's right with four companies of the 60th Rifles and the Sirmoor Battalion. Both columns were completely successful, and each defeated and drove off considerable bodies of mutineers. Major Tombs captured and brought in a nine-pounder gun; and Major Reid, besides destroying a battery, burnt the village in which it was situated, a magazine (evidently made by Sappers) and the gates of three *serais*.

The column under Major Tombs had two killed; Captain Brown, 1st Bengal European Fusiliers (dangerously), and nine men wounded, with seven horses. Major Tombs himself was slightly wounded and

had two horses shot, making five horses that, from the commencement of the campaign up to that date, had been shot under him.

The column under Major Reid had one man killed and five wounded.

On this and the previous day the mutineers were reinforced by the Nasirabad Brigade, consisting of the 2nd Company, 7th Battalion, Artillery, and No. 6 Horse Battery, the 15th and 30th Regiments, Native Infantry, with a few men of the 1st Bombay Light Cavalry (Lancers).

Early in the afternoon of the 19th the enemy began to issue from the city, and threatened nearly every part of our position. A very large body with guns, however, proceeded through the suburbs and gardens on our right, and re-appeared a mile-and-a-half in our rear about an hour before sunset. Twelve guns and the available cavalry (between four and five hundred men), all under Brigadier Grant, immediately moved rapidly to meet them, and a sharp action ensued. The portion of the 60th Rifles in camp was also sent in support of the cavalry, followed by the few other infantry that were available; but altogether as attacks were threatened at other points not much over 300 infantry could be spared. Before these latter came up the enemy's infantry from gardens shot down our artillerymen and horses, while the insurgent guns kept up a remarkably quick and well-directed fire; and it was found absolutely necessary for a portion of the 9th Lancers and for the Guide Cavalry to charge the enemy, which was gallantly done, the two corps being led, respectively, by Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Yule and Captain Daly.

By the time that the 60th Rifles had reached the ground it was nearly dusk, and quite so when the other infantry came up. After dark the action still raged for some time, and a waggon of Major Scott's battery was exploded by the enemy's fire.

The firing on both sides gradually ceased, and our infantry being much too weak in numbers to attack the enemy's extended line, our troops returned to camp about 8-30 P.M., the insurgents' fire totally ceasing.

At daylight next morning Brigadier Grant was again on the ground, and found it abandoned. A good many dead men and horses were lying about, and a nine-pounder gun which was brought in.

He had hardly returned to camp when the enemy again resumed their attack on the rear, and opened fire at so short a distance that their round shot came right through the camp. Some of our guns again moved to the rear and soon silenced their fire, and Brigadier Wilson

with a body of troops proceeded towards the enemy only in time to find them hurrying away to their side of the canal.

The insurgent force was principally composed of the Nasirabad Brigade. Their loss must have been very severe, for numerous bodies were lying about, although they had the whole night for their removal. Thirty-five horses were found lying on the spot where their field battery (the famous Jellalabad Battery) was drawn up.

Our own loss in this affair amounted to three officers, 17 men, and 25 horses killed; seven officers, 70 men, and 35 horses wounded; and two men missing. The portions of the artillery, the 9th Lancers and the 60th Rifles engaged, as well as the Guide Cavalry, all suffered heavily. The officers who were killed or died of wounds were Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Yule, 9th Lancers, Lieutenant Humphrys, 20th Regiment, Native Infantry, attached to the 60th Rifles, and Lieutenant Alexander, 3rd Regiment, Native Infantry, who had come to Delhi with magazine stores, and accompanied the troops into action.

The officers wounded were Colonel Becher, Quartermaster-General, severely; Captain Daly, Commandant of the Guide Corps, severely; Captain Williams, 60th Rifles, severely; Lieutenant Bishop, Horse Artillery, slightly; and Lieutenants McGill and Dundas, 60th Rifles, and Ensign Lisle-Phillipps, 11th Regiment, Native Infantry, attached to the 60th Rifles, slightly.

Brigadier J. Hope Grant, commanding the troops engaged in the action of the 19th, had his horse shot under him in a charge, and was only saved by the devotion of two men of his own regiment and his two orderly sowars of the 4th Regiment, Irregular Cavalry.

The artillery employed on our side (twelve guns) consisted of portions of the four troops and batteries in camp, under their respective commanders, Majors Scott, Turner and Tombs, and Captain Money. This employment of portions of troops and batteries, as well as of regiments, instead of whole troops, batteries, or corps, was an evil which, owing to our numerical weakness and the necessarily large force always on picquet duty, was often obliged to be tolerated. In fact, from our proximity to the enemy when an attack took place, the first and most important object was always to bring up such troops as were most ready to hand, and could, without danger, be spared.

To render it less easy to make attacks in rear, which might have led to a stoppage of our communications with the Punjab, a battery for two 18-pounders was constructed behind the camp and armed, and the rear picquets of cavalry and infantry were posted at it. Prior to

545

this, three 18-pounders had been placed in battery on the mound to the right of camp, to check any attack from the side of the Subzee Mundee suburbs. An infantry picquet had been here all along, and a cavalry picquet on the ground below, together with two horse artillery guns.

A day or two after the action in rear of camp, the mutineers from Jullundur and Phillour reached Delhi, consisting of the 6th Light Cavalry, and the 3rd, 36th and 61st Regiments of Native Infantry, and very confident information was given that an attack was again to be made in rear on the morning of the 23rd. On the 22nd, a detachment was at Rhye, twenty-two miles from Delhi, under command of Major Olpherts, Horse Artillery, consisting of four guns of the 1st (European) Troop, 1st Brigade and two guns of the 5th (Native) Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery, a weak wing of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, a company of the 75th Foot, and the detachment of the 2nd Fusiliers, that had been left at Umballa, with the head-quarters of the 4th Sikh Infantry,—a total force of about 850 men and six guns. On the evening of the 22nd, a staff officer was sent to Rhye, to order Major Olpherts to march early in the night, to leave the treasure, &c., to which he was giving escort under a strong guard at Alipur until he found that the road was clear, and should the enemy really be engaged in rear of camp to come upon their rear and attack with vigour. No attempt was made, however, on the rear of camp, but as Major Olpherts' baggage was coming up some cavalry came across the canal and threatened it. They, however, at once retreated on Lieutenant Nicholson moving towards them with his sowars.

It was not destined, however, that the centenary of Plassey should pass over in a bloodless manner. The rear of these troops had not reached camp when a furious cannonade was opened from the city walls, while guns that had been brought into the suburbs opened on our right and kept up a heavy enfilading fire on Hindu Rao's ridge, which the few guns we had in position were unable to silence. The mutineer infantry occupied Kissengunge and Subzee Mundee in force, and threatened to advance on the mound battery; while a constant skirmish of musketry went on close to our ridge batteries. The mutineers were checked in their advance, but a first attempt made by portions of the 1st and 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers to drive them from the strong posts they had occupied in Subzee Mundee failed; Colonel Welchman, 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, who gallantly led the attack, was dangerously wounded, and Lieutenant Jackson, 2nd

Bengal European Fusiliers, killed. The heat was excessive, and many of our men fell from the effects of the sun. The fire, however, never ceased, and it became evident that a great effort must be made to drive the mutineers off. To do this, it was necessary to bring up every available man, and the detachment of the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers and the 4th Sikh Infantry, who had just marched in twenty-two miles, had again to be turned out under a burning sun. To Brigadier Showers was confided the direction of the attack to be made simultaneously from Hindu Rao's ridge and from the low ground in its rear.

It was entirely successful, and the enemy withdrawing their guns, retired into the city, having suffered severe punishment. From that moment we kept an advanced picquet in the Subzee Mundee of 180 Europeans, divided between a *serai* on one side and a Hindu temple on the other side of the Grand Trunk Road, and both of which were immediately strengthened and rendered defensible by the engineers. These posts were only between two hundred and three hundred yards from the right battery at Hindu Rao's ridge, the picquets from which communicated with them, and eventually a line of breastworks running up the ridge connected these picquets with the right battery. Our position was thus rendered much more secure, and the enemy were unable to pass up the Trunk Road to attack our right rear.

In this action we had one officer (Lieutenant Jackson, 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers), 38 men, and four horses killed; three officers (Colonel Welchman, 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, severely; Captain Jones, 60th Rifles, severely; and Lieutenant Murray, Guide Corps, severely), 118 men, and eleven horses wounded, and one horse missing.

The detail with two light guns on picquet at Hindu Rao's (nine-pounders of Major Scott's battery), under the command of Lieutenant Mintò Elliot, were in a most exposed position throughout the affair, and suffered from the fire of heavy artillery in front and flank; one gun was disabled, and no less than fourteen of the horses were put *hors de combat*.

Hardly a day passed over now without the troops having to be turned out for some real or threatened attack, but nothing of importance took place until the 27th June, when, early in the morning, a party of mutineers advanced on the Metcalfe picquet, and being easily there repelled, an attack was made on the ridge batteries and the Subzee Mundee picquets, which was also repulsed. Our loss on this occasion was 13 men killed, one officer (Lieutenant Harris, 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers, severely) and 48 men wounded.

At this period reinforcements began to arrive, and between the 26th June and the 3rd July the following troops joined:—

Two guns of the 1st (European) Troop, 1st Brigade; and two guns of the 5th (Native) Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery.

A detachment of European reserve artillery from Lahore.

Detachments of newly-raised Sikh Sappers and artillery.

The head-quarters of Her Majesty's 8th Regiment.

The head-quarters of Her Majesty's 61st Regiment.

A squadron of the 5th Punjab Cavalry.

The 1st Punjab Infantry (Rifles).

So that the effective force before Delhi now amounted in round numbers to nearly 6,600 men of all arms.

We were also enabled to send a considerable number of sick and wounded to Umballa, a smaller number having been previously sent *viá* Bhagput to Meerut.

On the 30th June another attack was made on the Subzee *Mundee* picquet and Hindu Rao's, and was repulsed with a loss on our part of eight men killed; Lieutenants Yorke, 4th Sikhs, (mortally), and Packe of the 4th Sikhs, (severely), and 36 men wounded.

In the course of the day it was reported that the enemy were again about to construct a battery near the *eedgah,* so Brigadier Showers was sent in that direction on a reconnaissance with six horse artillery guns under Major Olpherts, a troop of the Carabineers, a troop of the 9th Lancers, a wing of Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, and the 1st Fusiliers. The *serai* in which the battery was supposed to be in course of construction was empty, but in an adjoining house was found a quantity of saltpetre, together with a number of entrenching tools and sand bags, which were destroyed or brought away.

When the reinforcements arrived, it was again proposed that the place should be taken by a *coup de main,* and a project was drawn out by which one column was to effect an entrance by blowing in the iron grating of the canal near the Cabul Gate, another column to enter the Cashmere Gate after it had been blown in, a third column to escalade the Cashmere Bastion, and a detachment creeping round by the river side to endeavour to effect an entrance in that direction. It seemed pretty clear that success was doubtful in these attacks, unless the surprise was complete, and we had no reason to reckon upon any want of vigilance on the part of the insurgents, who were not by any means *shut up* or unable to send out patrols and picquets. As, moreover, for the four assaulting parties and the reserve not more than 3,000

infantry (if so many) could be used, it does not seem matter for regret that this attack never took place.

On the 1st and 2nd July, the Rohilkhund mutineers arrived at Delhi, marching across the bridge of boats within full view of the spectators from our camp posted on the ridge. They were a formidable reinforcement, consisting of the whole of No. 15 Horse Battery, two 6-pounder post guns from Shajehanpore, the 8th Irregular Cavalry, and the 18th, 28th, 29th and 68th Native Infantry.

And here I would observe that I have not attempted to give the dates or to allude in any way to all the numerous arrivals of insurgent troops at Delhi; some came in brigades, some in single regiments, and some in detachments. I have referred, however, to all the larger bodies, and the only remaining reinforcements of a strength greater than a regiment that subsequently reached Delhi were the Jhansi troops, consisting of half of No. 18 Light Field Battery, a wing of the 12th Native Infantry, and the 14th Irregular Cavalry; and late in July the Neemuch Brigade, consisting of a Native troop of horse artillery, a wing of the 1st Light Cavalry, the 72nd Native Infantry, 7th Infantry Regiment of the Gwalior Contingent, and the cavalry and infantry of the Kotah Contingent. The other arrivals, though on a small scale, were constant, and by the middle of August the very lowest estimate of the numbers of the insurgents was 30,000 men. Their guns, as we know, were as numerous as even they could have desired, and their ammunition appeared inexhaustible.

Our force was insufficient to invest even one-third of the land side of the place, and access to the left bank of the Jumna was at all times perfectly secure by the bridge of boats, which was under the close fire of their ordnance in the Selimgurh, and fully 2,500 yards from our nearest gun. We were, therefore, powerless to prevent a constant stream of reinforcements and supplies from pouring into the city, and were thankful that we had been so far enabled to keep open our rear, and freely to communicate with the Punjab, whence all our resources were drawn. Had the numerous cavalry of the insurgents been directed with judgment and boldness, it is not too much to say that we could have been put to the most serious straits.

On the afternoon of the 3rd July, large bodies of the insurgents moved into the suburbs and gardens on our right, and all our troops were turned out. At night, the enemy were still in force outside the city, and then moving rapidly upon Alipur, one march in our rear, with

a force of five or six thousand men and several guns, compelled our cavalry post there of a squadron of the 5th Punjab Cavalry, under Lieutenant Younghusband, to fall back towards Rhye. The fire of their guns was heard in camp, and soon after 2 A.M. a force marched to endeavour to overtake or to intercept the mutineers. It was commanded by Major Coke, and consisted of four guns of Captain Money's troop of horse artillery and two guns of the native troop, Major Scott's horse battery, a squadron of the Carabineers, a squadron of the 9th Lancers, the Guide Cavalry, the wing of Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, and the 1st Punjab Rifles, in all about 300 cavalry, 800 infantry and twelve guns, which was about as strong a detachment as could be spared.

At first it was impossible to ascertain whether the mutineers, after plundering Alipur, had gone straight on towards Rhye and Lursowlie, or were returning to Delhi, and grave fears were felt that they might be pushing on for Kurnaul, or at least to intercept treasure which was between Kurnaul and Delhi, and under a Native escort.

About sunrise, however, it became known that they had re-crossed the canal near Alipur, and were returning towards Delhi along the high and dry ground running nearly parallel with the canal, and at a distance from it of a mile or more. Major Coke at once moved to take them in flank, but had to proceed over a swampy cross-country road for a mile and a half to the Pynbarie bridge of the canal, and then had more than a mile of swampy fields to pass over. The artillery came first into action, and were immediately replied to by the insurgents' guns, which had been moved into a village when they perceived our approach, their infantry and cavalry at the same time facing towards us. The infantry, however, save some posted in the village, soon commenced moving off again, their cavalry shortly did the same, and their artillery fire slackening, it was evident that their guns also were being withdrawn. Our guns again advanced, though with much difficulty, and the infantry and cavalry were told to hurry on, the Guide Cavalry on our left being desired to push forward and get on the line of the enemy's retreat. The troops, however, were floundering in mud, and progressed but slowly, and all the insurgents' guns were carried off. An ammunition waggon and an artillery store-cart were, however, secured, and all the plunder taken from Alipore was recaptured. A quantity of small-arm ammunition also fell into our hands, and the insurgents had probably some eighty men killed. On his return towards camp, Major Coke rested his infantry and some of his cavalry at the canal bank, and while here was attacked by some fresh troops from Delhi, including a body

1550

of about 800 cavalry. The firing was sharp, and cavalry and artillery were sent from camp to Major Coke's support. The attack, however, had been virtually repulsed before these supports arrived, and all returned to camp, the Europeans having suffered much from the intense heat of the sun.

In this affair a body of eighty horse raised at Kohat by a Chief, a personal friend of Major Coke, behaved with gallantry, but the Mir, its leader, was unfortunately killed while pursuing some of the fugitive insurgent infantry.

Our losses on this occasion amounted to three men and seven horses killed; twenty-three men and seven horses wounded, exclusive of casualties in the Kohat Horse.

On the following morning (5th July), Sir Henry Barnard was attacked with cholera, and expired early in the afternoon, greatly regretted by the whole force, and most so by those who knew him best. Brave, kind-hearted and hospitable, it is doubtful if he had an enemy. Cholera then as ever was present in the camp, and the death of any one excited no surprise; but no doubt Sir Henry Barnard's attack was due, in a great degree, to his unsparing exposure of himself to the sun at all hours of the day, and to great mental anxiety. His indeed had been a most trying position. Arriving for the first time in India, on assuming command of the Sirhind Division in April, he found the whole of the Native troops, to whose characters and peculiarities he was of course an utter stranger, in a most discontented and unsatisfactory state, and a few weeks placed him at the head of a weak force called upon to take Delhi and crush the great strength of the mutineers there concentrated. Had he not felt anxiety he would not have been human, and he as truly died of causes purely arising out of the mutiny as any soldier who fell in battle when opposed to the insurgent sepoys.

To hinder as far as possible attempts to get round our rear, arrangements were made for blowing up all the canal bridges for several miles parallel with the Trunk Road, save that at Pynbarie, which we retained for our own use, watching it with videttes from our cavalry picquet at the village of Azadpore, two miles in rear of camp.

The Phoolchudder aqueduct, a work of great solidity, which brought the canal water into the city across the Nujufgurh *jheel* cut, and by which horsemen could pass to our rear, was also blown up. By this latter measure no water could enter the city through the canal, a matter

of little moment, however, to the inhabitants of a town situated on the banks of a river, and in which there are many wells.

It was also determined to destroy the Bussye Bridge over the Nujufgurh *jheel* cut, about eight miles from camp, to render approach to our rear still more difficult, and this was effected on the morning of the 8th July, without opposition, by a party of Sappers under escort of a large detachment of all arms, commanded by Brigadier Longfield, of Her Majesty's 8th Regiment.

On the following morning (9th July), the enemy showed outside the city in great force; our main picquet was reinforced, and the troops remained accoutred in their tents ready to turn out, while an unceasing cannonade was kept up from the city walls and from field artillery outside.

About ten o'clock the insurgents appeared to be increasing in numbers in the suburbs on our right, when suddenly a body of cavalry emerged from cover on the extreme right of our right flank and charged into camp.

As previously mentioned, there was a mound on our right on which was placed a battery of three 18-pounders with an infantry picquet, all facing the Subzee Mundee suburb. To the right of the mound on the low ground was a picquet of two horse artillery guns and a troop of dragoons, the guns being this day furnished by Major Tombs' troop and commanded by Lieutenant Hills, the cavalry from the Carabineers, and commanded by Lieutenant Stillman. Still further to the right, at a *fakir's* enclosure, was a Native officer's picquet of the 9th Irregulars, from which two videttes were thrown forward some two hundred yards on to the Trunk Road. These videttes could see down the road towards Delhi as far as our picquet at the *serai*, perhaps seven or eight hundred yards, and up the road to the canal cut, about two hundred yards. Across the road were rather dense gardens.

The place at which the videttes were posted was not visible from camp, and some horsemen in white advancing attracted but little notice, their dress being the same as that of the 9th Irregulars, from which corps the *fakir's* picquet was taken.

Some alarm, however, arose, and the two horse artillery guns at the picquet were got ready, but the leading cavalry insurgents, beckoning men in their rear, dashed on at speed, and the troop of Carabineers, all very young, most of them untrained soldiers, and only 32 in number of all ranks, turned and broke, save the officer and two or three men, who nobly stood. Lieutenant Hills, commanding the guns, seeing the cavalry come on unopposed, alone charged the head of their horsemen to

give his guns time to unlimber, and cut down one or two of the sowars, while the main body of horsemen, riding over and past the guns, followed up the Carabineers, and a confused mass of horsemen came streaming in at the right of camp.

Major Tombs, whose tent was on the right, had heard the first alarm, and calling for his horse to be brought after him, walked towards the picquet as the cavalry came on. He was just in time to see his gallant subaltern down on the ground, with one of the enemy's sowars about to kill him. From a distance of thirty yards he fired with his revolver and dropped Hills' opponent.

Hills got up and engaged a man on foot, who was cut down by Tombs after Hills had received a severe cut on the head.

Meanwhile great confusion had been caused by the inroad of the sowars, most of whom made for the guns of the Native troop of horse artillery which was on the right of camp, calling on the men to join them. The native horse artillerymen, however, behaved admirably, and called out to Major Olpherts' European troop, which was then unlimbered close by, to fire *through them* at the mutineers. The latter however managed to secure and carry off some horses, and several followers were cut down in camp. Captain Fagan, of the artillery, rushing out of his tent, got together a few men and followed up some of the sowars, who were then endeavouring to get away, and killed fifteen of them. More were killed by some men of the 1st Brigade, and all were driven out of camp, some escaping by a bridge over the canal cut in our rear. It is estimated that not more than one hundred *sowars* were engaged in this enterprise, and about thirty-five were killed, including a native officer.

All this time the cannonade from the city and from many field guns outside raged fast and furious, and a heavy fire of musketry was kept up upon our batteries and on the Subzee Mundee picquets from the enclosures and gardens of the suburbs.

A column was therefore formed to dislodge them, consisting of Major Scott's horse battery, the available men of the wings of the 8th and 61st Foot and the 4th Sikh Infantry, in all about 700 infantry and six guns, reinforced *en route* by the head-quarters and two companies of the 60th Rifles, under Lieutenant-Colonel J. Jones; the infantry brigade being commanded by Brigadier W. Jones, and Brigadier-General Chamberlain directing the whole. As this column swept up through the Subzee Mundee, Major Reid was instructed to movē down and co-operate with such infantry as could be spared from the main

picquet. The insurgents were cleared out of the gardens without difficulty, though the denseness of the vegetation rendered the mere operation of passing through them a work of time.

At some of the *serais*, however, a very obstinate resistance was made, and the insurgents were not dislodged without considerable loss. Eventually everything was effected that was desired; our success being greatly aided by the admirable and steady practice of Major Scott's battery under a heavy fire, eleven men being put *hors de combat* out of its small complement.

By sunset the engagement was over, and the troops returned to camp drenched through with rain, which for several hours had fallen at intervals with great violence.

Our loss this day was one officer and 40 men killed, eight officers and 163 men wounded, and 11 men missing: horses, eight wounded and 18 missing. The officer killed was Ensign Mountsteven, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment; and the following were wounded:—Lieutenant Hills, Horse Artillery, severely; Captain Daniell, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, severely; Captain Burnside, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, Major of Brigade, slightly; Lieutenant Griffiths, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, severely; Ensign Andros, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, slightly; Captain Kemp, 5th Regiment Native Infantry, attached to the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers (in command Subzee Mundee picquet), severely; Lieutenant Eckford, 69th Regiment Native Infantry, attached to the Sirmoor Battalion, slightly; Lieutenant Pullan, 36th Regiment Native Infantry, attached to the 4th Sikh Infantry, severely.

The enemy must have lost near 500 men, most of whom were killed on the spot.

The exact circumstances of the inroad of the cavalry into camp were never correctly ascertained, but there seems little reason to doubt that there was some treachery on the part of the picquet of the 9th Irregulars, and the insurgent cavalry evidently reckoned upon assistance in our camp, particularly from the native troop of horse artillery, who however behaved nobly.

In the account of the action of Badli-ki-Serai, allusion has been made to the want of confidence reposed in the portions of the 4th and 9th Irregulars with the force. Some men had behaved well, but it was evident that the general feeling in camp was that there was bad blood amongst them. Indeed, our Sikhs and Punjabis spoke plainly on the subject. The other wing of the 9th and a wing of the 17th Irregular

Cavalry had now come to Delhi, and it was determined to send both corps back to the Punjab. This was accordingly carried out. The head-quarters of the 4th Irregulars remained, barely a hundred men. Not a single desertion, I believe, took place from this portion of the 4th throughout the siege, but they were for the latter part of the time deprived of their horses and swords and employed solely as orderlies.

A selected squadron of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, composed wholly of Sikhs and Punjabis, now came to Delhi, and the whole cavalry force then and until the end of the siege, save that 200 Mooltan Horse joined with General Nicholson in August, consisted of six weak squadrons of dragoons, five squadrons of Punjab and Guide Cavalry, and Captain Hodson's Corps of Sikh Horse in process of raising. Of the native portion one squadron was always detached to Alipur, the first march towards Kurnaul.

The Native troop of horse artillery previously referred to had its guns taken away at a later date, simply to remove temptation and because some of the young soldiers had deserted. Not one old soldier of the troop deserted during the siege, and throughout they were constantly employed and behaved very well in the mortar batteries. When Delhi was taken they were given back their guns and horses. Their horses and arms were also then restored to the head-quarters of the 4th Irregular Cavalry.

On the 14th July the mutineers again came out in great force, and attacked our batteries on Hindu Rao's ridge from an early period in the day, and for many hours kept up an incessant fire of artillery and musketry. As the fire from the ridge failed to drive them off, a column under Brigadier Showers moved into the Subzee Mundee about 3 P.M., and after a sharp struggle forced them to withdraw their field artillery and to retire into the city. Our men pressed them so closely as to suffer from the grape fired from the city walls, but we found on this as on subsequent occasions that the grape thrown from large guns and howitzers ranged freely up to 1,000 or 1,100 yards, and then inflicted mortal wounds. Our troops, however, on the 14th July pursued to within 600 yards.

The column under Brigadier Showers consisted of six horse artillery guns under Major Turner and Captain Money, the 1st Fusiliers under Major Jacob, and Major Coke's corps of Punjab Rifles,* with a few of the Guide Cavalry and Hodson's Horse and the Kohat *ressalah*. Briagdier-

* The 1st Punjab Infantry.

555

General Chamberlain accompanied the column, and on passing the foot of Hindu Rao's ridge it was joined by Major Reid with all the available men from his position.

Our loss this day was fifteen men and two horses killed; sixteen officers, 177 men, and seven horses wounded; and two men missing.

The officers wounded were—

Brigadier-General Chamberlain, Acting Adjutant-General, severely.

Lieutenant Roberts, Officiating Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, slightly.

*Engineers.*

Lieutenant Walker, Bombay, severely.

Lieutenant Geneste, and 2nd-Lieutenant Carnegie, slightly.

*Horse Artillery.*

Lieutenant Thompson, severely.

*Her Majesty's 75th Regiment.*

Lieutenants Rivers and Faithfull, slightly.

*1st Bengal European Fusiliers.*

Lieutenant Daniell, severely.

*Sirmoor Battalion.*

Lieutenant Tulloch, severely.

Lieutenants Ross and Chester, slightly.

*Guide Corps.*

Lieutenants Shebbeare, Hawes, and DeBrett, slightly.

*1st Punjab Infantry.*

Lieutenant Pollock, severely.

The enemy were lying thick in many places, and their loss was estimated at a thousand. For hours carts were seen taking the corpses into the city. An old temple called by the European soldiers "The Sammy House," some way down the slope of the ridge towards the city, and within nine hundred yards of the Moree Bastion, which had been for some time held by us, was the scene of hard fighting. Occupied by a party of Guide Infantry, it defied all efforts to take it, and next morning eighty dead bodies of mutineers were counted round it.

On the 17th July Major-General Reed, whose health, from the first most feeble, had now entirely failed him, proceeded on sick leave to Simla. He made over command of the force to Brigadier A. Wilson, of

the Artillery, conferring on him the rank of Brigadier-General in anticipation of the sanction of Government, for, as a Colonel, Brigadier Wilson was not the senior officer with the troops before Delhi.

At this time also Colonel Congreve, the acting Adjutant-General, and Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon'ble R. W. P. Curzon, Acting Quartermaster-General, Her Majesty's Forces, both left the camp, the former for Simla, and the latter to join his regiment in England.

On the 18th July the insurgents again made a sharp and prolonged attack upon the ridge batteries and Subzee Mundee. About 1 P.M. a column was sent to dislodge them under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Jones, 60th Royal Rifles, consisting of portions of Her Majesty's 8th, 61st and 75th Regiments, the Sikh Infantry and Guide Cavalry, with four horse artillery guns.

This duty was completely performed, and the enemy dislodged with some loss from the positions they had taken up.

Our casualties during the day amounted to one officer and twelve men killed, three officers and 66 men wounded, and two men missing, with seven horses wounded.

Lieutenant Crozier, 75th Regiment, was killed, and the following officers were wounded:—

*Artillery.*

Lieutenant Chichester, slightly.

*Engineers.*

Lieutenant Jones, dangerously, since dead.

*Her Majesty's 61st Regiment.*

Lieutenant Pattoun, severely.

This was the last real contest in the Subzee Mundee, for by this time the incessant exertions of the engineers had cleared away the old *serais*, walls and gardens for some distance round the posts held by our picquets in that suburb, while the breastworks connecting these picquets with the crest of the Hindu Rao ridge were completed and perfected.

Hereafter these picquets were never exposed to more than a distant and comparatively harmless fire.

While the engineers were engaged in this work, the ridge defences were not neglected, and gradually became most formidable. In favorable positions field guns from the captured ordnance were placed, and though the duty on the foot artillery was very hard, it was found possible to man all the guns with the aid of the newly-raised Sikh artillery sent from the Punjab. The "Sammy House," before alluded to,

on the city slope of the ridge, or nearest post to the walls, was greatly strengthened and cover provided for the men occupying it,—a very necessary measure, exposed as it was to the fire of the Burn* and Moree Bastions and within grape range of the latter, while infantry could come up unperceived to within a short distance.

On the 20th July it was reported that a battery was being constructed in the gardens on our right from a distance at which heavy guns could have thrown shot into camp. A reconnaissance, therefore, was made by a column under Lieutenant-Colonel Seaton, 35th Native Light Infantry, attached to the first brigade. The detachment consisted of four horse artillery guns, a troop of the Guide Cavalry, 150 of Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, 400 of the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, and 200 of the Guide Infantry. No traces of an enemy or of any earthworks were found; but on retiring towards camp some of the insurgents emerging from the suburb of Trevelyangunge followed up our troops. The Guide Infantry, who formed the rear guard, however, turned about, and with a cheer drove them completely away.

The casualties this day were only one man killed, three officers, eleven men and two horses wounded.

The officers wounded were—

*Artillery.*

Lieutenant Dickins, dangerously, (since dead).

*1st Punjab Infantry.*

Lieutenant Travers, slightly.

*Her Majesty's 24th Regiment.*

Captain Greensill, Assistant Field Engineer.†

On the morning of the 23rd July large numbers of insurgents emerged from the Cashmere Gate, and occupying Ludlow Castle and its neighbourhood, brought up some field guns, which fired occasionally at the Metcalfe picquet, but principally at the ridge and particularly at the Mosque picquet. Fire was opened in reply from the two field guns at the latter picquet and from two more that came up in support, and from such of the guns at Hindu Rao's as could be brought to bear. By constantly moving about their guns, and aided by the cover of walls and trees, the enemy were enabled to continue their fire and

* Named after Colonel William Burn, who, in conjunction with Colonel (afterwards General Sir David) Ochterlony, defended Delhi when besieged by Holkar in 1804.

† Accidently wounded while on duty at the Metcalfe picquet, and died on the following morning.

were doing damage, so Brigadier Showers was ordered to move out from our left and, coming through a gorge, to advance on their flank while their attention was taken up by the fire from the ridge. The troops detailed for this duty consisted of six horse artillery guns under Major Turner, 408 rank and file of Her Majesty's 8th and 61st Regiments and the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, 360 of Major Coke's Rifles, and a detachment of the Guide Cavalry.

Two hundred and fifty men of the Metcalfe House picquets under Lieutenant-Colonel Drought, 60th Regiment, Native Infantry, field officer of the day, were also to advance and co-operate on the left, while the main column moved up the high road leading to the Cashmere Gate.

The mutineers apparently did not perceive the advance of these troops until they were within a few hundred yards, and after two rounds their guns went off into the city. Some skirmishing however took place with their infantry in the gardens and compounds before they were all driven off, after which our troops returned to camp.

Our loss was one officer and eleven men killed, five officers, thirty-four men and two horses wounded, and one man missing.

Captain Law, 10th Native Infantry, attached to the 1st Punjab Infantry, was killed, and the following officers were wounded:—

Lieut.-Col. T. Seaton, 35th Native (Light) Infantry, attached to the 1st Brigade, severely.

Lieut.-Col. R. Drought, 60th Native Infantry, attached to the 2nd Brigade, severely.

*Horse Artillery.*

Captain Money, severely.
Lieutenant A. Bunny, slightly.

*Her Majesty's 8th Regiment.*

Lieutenant Pogson, slightly.

Subsequent to the 23rd of July, for several days nothing occurred save the usual artillery fire on both sides and the skirmishing at our advance breastwork, but on the 31st a force of several thousand men, with ten field guns and three mortars, moved out of the city and along the Rhotuck road, with the intention of making a temporary bridge (for which purpose they took timber) across the Nujufgurh *jheel* cut and getting to our rear,—a move which, if successfully carried out, would have caused us much inconvenience. However, their proceedings were closely watched, and a movable column was held in readiness to march at once

against them under Major Coke, should they get over the water cut, after which they had to cross a flooded country almost impassable for guns for some miles, and then to pass the canal itself (which latter, however, would not have been much of an obstacle, but little water coming down at this time owing to some obstruction or accident above) before they could come on the Trunk Road, the only part of the country where troops could, at this season, move with ease.

The Kumaon Battalion, about 400 strong, were this day at Rhye, two marches off, with a large store of ammunition and treasure; so instructions were sent to the commanding officer to march straight in that night, and Major Coke's column went out to Alipur to form an additional escort for the last march. The whole convoy reached camp in the morning, in the midst of drenching rain, and Major Coke's column was again held in readiness to move at an instant's notice.

In the afternoon the mutineers had nearly completed a bridge at Bussye, when a flood came down and swept it away, the timber work being carried past our camp. The force immediately broke up and returned towards Delhi, a large body of infantry moving from the city to meet them at the same time. When the two bodies met, they turned through the Kissengunge suburb and attacked the right of our position on the ridge. This was about sunset, and all night long the roar of musketry and artillery was incessant. Constantly they came close up to our breastworks, but were always repulsed by the fire of our infantry, aided, when practicable, by grape. Our light mortars too played with effect upon the masses below the ridge, but it was not till 10 A.M. of the 2nd that their efforts began to cease, and they did not altogether retire until 4 P.M. Our men were admirably steady; and being well protected by breastworks, and never showing, save when the enemy came close up, our loss was trifling, notwithstanding that for many consecutive hours a perfect storm of bullets raged, and the fire of shot and shell both from the city and the Kissengunge was incessant. One officer (Lieutenant Travers, 1st Punjab Infantry) and nine men were killed, and 36 wounded. The enemy's loss seemed to be immense; 127 dead bodies were counted in front of a breastwork to the right of the "Sammy House," and many more were lying in other places. During the darkness too, no doubt, many bodies were carried off.

A few days after this, the insurgents commenced a series of efforts to drive us from the Metcalfe picquet, and constantly plied it with shot and shell from guns brought out of the Cashmere Gate and posted a few hundred yards in advance of the city walls at Ludlow Castle

or in the Khoodsee* Bagh, while a number of infantry skirmishers, many of whom were riflemen, kept up a nearly constant fire from the jungle in the front, occasionally advancing with shouts, but always being repulsed by our fire when they came near. The losses at the picquet were not many, good cover having been provided, but the approach to it for reliefs, &c., was extremely perilous.

It was determined to put a stop, if possible, to these annoyances, and the following troops were placed at the disposal of Brigadier Showers for the purpose:—

Six horse artillery guns under Captain Remmington; a squadron of the 9th Lancers, under Captain Anson; the Guide Cavalry, under Captain Sanford; one hundred men (75th Foot) from the Metcalfe picquet, under Captain Freer, of Her Majesty's 27th Regiment; the 1st Bengal Fusiliers (350 strong), under Major Jacob; Major Coke's Rifles (250 men), with 100 men each of Her Majesty's 8th, under Captain Robertson, and of the 2nd Fusiliers, under Captain Harris; Kumaon Battalion, under Lieutenant Thomson; and 4th Sikh Infantry, under Captain Chambers.

The insurgents were completely surprised about dawn of the 12th August, some 250 killed (of whom several were artillerymen), and four guns (a 24-pr. howitzer, two 9-pounders and a 6-pounder) captured.

Brigadier Showers himself was severely wounded, as also was Major Coke when in the act of seizing one of the enemy's guns. Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed, 8th Foot, was sent to take command on Brigadier Showers' becoming disabled, and superintended the return of the troops.

Besides the two above-named officers, the following were wounded:—Lieutenant Sherriff, 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers, mortally, since dead; Lieutenant Innes, 60th Native Infantry, orderly officer; Lieutenant Lindsay, Horse Artillery; Lieutenant Maunsell, Engineer; Captain Greville and Lieutenant Owen, 1st Fusiliers, all slightly; with 19 men and one horse killed, 85 men and eight horses wounded, and five men missing. Of the casualties, thirty-four were in the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers and thirty-three in the 1st Punjab Infantry (Coke's corps).

By the insurgents placing guns on the opposite side of the river, the Metcalfe picquet after this suffered some annoyance from the enemy, and the camp of the 1st Punjab Infantry, had to be shifted; but before any other engagement of importance took place, we had received a most valuable reinforcement in Brigadier-General J. Nicholson's column,

* Koodsea.

consisting of Captain Bourchier's European Horse Battery, Her Majesty's 52nd Light Infantry, the remaining wing of Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, the 2nd Punjab Infantry, and 200 Mooltanee Horse. It was still necessary, however, to wait for the siege-train with a large quantity of ammunition in progress from Ferozepore.

On the 13th or 14th August, a body of the enemy, principally cavalry, left Delhi by the Nujufgurh road, with the object, it was presumed, of interrupting our communications with Umballa and the Punjab, or of attacking Hansi or Jhind.

Lieutenant W. S. R. Hodson was, therefore, detached to watch them, and as far as possible to frustrate their intentions. He took with him the head-quarters of his own newly-raised corps of horse, 233 sabres, 103 of the Guide Cavalry, and 25 Jhind horsemen, with six European officers.

On the first march he managed to surprise and nearly to destroy a party of mutineer irregular cavalry sowars of different regiments, including Ressaldar Bisharut Ally, 1st Irregular Cavalry.

The flooded state of the country rendered movement extremely difficult, but Lieutenant Hodson pushed on to Rhotuck, on approaching which place he had a skirmish with a body of footmen and a few sowars, headed by Babur Khan, the Chief of the Rangur tribe. These men were charged, and thirteen of them killed.

The next morning Lieutenant Hodson's party was again attacked by Babur Khan with about 300 horsemen that he had managed to collect, supported by about 900 matchlockmen. The heads of the assailants were immediately charged and driven back, but as a fire was kept up from the enclosures near the town, Lieutenant Hodson retired, and so drew the insurgents out into open country, upon which he again charged and drove them into the town, fifty of their horsemen being left dead on the ground.

All the disaffected the same night evacuated Rhotuck, and Lieutenant Hodson, agreeably to orders, returned to camp on the 22nd August.

The whole of his men behaved admirably; the Guide Cavalry, as usual, with forward gallantry, well aided by Lieutenant Hodson's own new levy and the few horsemen of the Jhind Rajah.

Our casualties were—

*Guide Cavalry Detachment.*

Eight men and two horses wounded.

*Jhind Horse.*

Two sowars wounded.

*Hodson's Horse.*

Lieutenant H. H. Gough (slightly).

Five men and five horses wounded.

The force before Delhi at this time, notwithstanding great sickness, was much stronger than it had ever been previously. The number of effective rank and file was as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Artillery European ... ... ... | 548 |
| Artillery, Native* ... ... ... | 477 |
| Sappers and Miners, Native† ... ... | 673 |
| Cavalry, European ... ... ... | 485 |
| Cavalry, Native‡ ... ... ... | 769 |
| Infantry, European ... ... ... | 2,703 |
| Infantry, Native ... ... ... | 2,467 |

or in round numbers 8,000 rank and file of all arms.

Besides the above, there were in camp (notwithstanding that several hundred sick and wounded had been sent to Umballa) sick 1,535, wounded 304.

In the course of the 24th, a large force of the enemy, with 18 guns, left Delhi and proceeded in the Bahadurgurh direction, with the avowed intention of intercepting our siege-train, known to be in progress from Ferozepore with a very slender escort. Brigadier-General Nicholson was accordingly detached at daybreak on the 25th, to endeavour to overtake and bring this body of the rebels to action. His column was composed of 16 horse artillery guns under Major Tombs, with Captains Remmington and Blunt, 30 Sappers under Lieutenant Geneste, a squadron of the 9th Lancers under Lieutenant Sarel, a squadron of the Guide Cavalry, under Captain Sanford, the squadron of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, under Lieutenant Nicholson, 200 Mooltanee Horse under Lieutenant Lind, 420 of Her Majesty's 61st Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Rainey, the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers (380 men), under Major Jacob, the 1st Punjab Rifles (400), under Lieutenant Lumsden, and the 2nd Punjab Infantry (400), under Captain Green.

The difficulties of the march were very great, the line of route being off the Trunk Road. Before reaching Nangloee, nine miles from camp, two difficult swamps had to be crossed. Here intelligence was

* Composed of newly-raised Sikh artillery, gun lascars and drivers.

† Principally composed of newly-raised Punjab Sappers and Miners.

‡ Including 241 of Captain Hodson's newly-raised corps.

563

received of the enemy's movements, and the troops immediately pushed on towards Nujufgurh, at which place they arrived about 4 P.M., and found the enemy posted, occupying a position about a mile and three-quarters in length, extending from the bridge over the Nujufgurh canal to the town of Nujufgurh. The baggage was left behind (before crossing a ford in front of the insurgents' line), protected by the detachment of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, and 120 Mooltanee Horse.

The strongest point of the insurgents' position was an old *serai*, on their left, in which were four guns, and they had nine more between the *serai* and bridge.

By 5 P.M. our troops were across the ford, and advanced to the attack of the *serai* with the intention, after its capture, of changing front to the left and sweeping down the enemy's line to the bridge.

One hundred men of each corps were left in reserve, and the 61st Foot, the 1st Fusiliers, and the 2nd Punjab Infantry, were formed up with four guns on the right and ten on the left flank, supported by the squadrons of the 9th Lancers and the Guide Cavalry. After a few rounds from the guns, the infantry charged, carried the position, changed front, and swept down the line, the insurgents flying over the bridge with our guns playing on them. They left thirteen field pieces in our hands.

Meanwhile the 1st Punjab Infantry had cleared the town of Nujufgurh.

It being found that a village in rear was still held by a party of the enemy who were cut off, the 1st Punjab Rifles, were sent to take it, but met with a very obstinate resistance, their gallant young commander being killed, and the 61st Foot had to be sent back in support before the place was taken. Indeed, more properly speaking, it was not taken, but was evacuated by the enemy during the night.

The troops bivouacked on the field without food, having been marching or fighting all day, and during the night the Sappers mined and blew up the Nujufgurh bridge.

The column returned to camp on the evening of the 26th, the enemy having quite relinquished their intention of going to our rear and being in full march for Delhi.

Our casualties were two officers and twenty-three men killed, two officers and 68 men wounded, sixteen horses killed and four wounded. Officers,—Lieutenant Gabbett, 61st Foot, and Lieutenant Lumsden, 1st Punjab Infantry, killed; Lieutenant Elkington, 61st Foot (since dead),

and Assistant-Surgeon Ireland, Horse Artillery, both dangerously wounded.

The following ordnance was captured on this occasion:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 24-pounder howitzer | ... ... | ... 1 |
| 12 do. howitzers | ... ... | ... 2 |
| 9 do. guns | ... ... | ... 2 |
| 6 do. do. | ... ... | ... 4 |
| 4 do. do. | brass Native guns ... | ... 2 |
| 3 do. do. | brass Native guns ... | ... 2 |

with a large quantity of ammunition.

On the morning of the 26th the insurgents in the city turned out in great force, apparently believing that we had few men left in camp during General Nicholson's absence.

The picquets were immediately reinforced, and the enemy commenced an attack on the right of the ridge, and opened fire with field guns from Ludlow Castle on the Mosque. The attack, however, never became very serious, and after suffering severely from our artillery fire, the insurgents retreated into the city.

Our loss in this affair was only eight killed and thirteen wounded.

Towards the end of the month our sick increased a good deal, and on the 31st August 2,368 men were in hospital.

Early in September the siege-train being close at hand preparations were made for the commencement of active operations for the capture of Delhi, and one of the first things done was to form a trench to the left of the "Sammy House," at the end of which a battery was constructed for four 9-pounders and two 24-pounder howitzers. The object of this battery was to prevent sorties from the Lahore or Cabul Gates passing round the city wall to annoy our breaching batteries, and also to assist in keeping down the fire of the Moree Bastion.

As this battery was within reach of grape from the Moree Bastion, several casualties occurred during its construction, and Lieutenant Warrand of the Engineers lost an arm while on duty there.

By the 6th September all reinforcements that could possibly be expected, together with the siege-train, had arrived. The former consisted of detachments of artillery, and of the 8th Foot and 60th Rifles, the 4th Punjab Rifles, and a wing of the Belúch Battalion, and when the actual siege operations commenced, the number of effective rank and file of all arms, artillery, sappers, cavalry and infantry, and including lascars, drivers, newly-raised Sikh sappers and

artillery, and recruits of Punjab corps, was 8,748, and there were 2,977 in hospital. The strength of British troops was—

| | |
|---|---|
| Artillery ... ... ... ... | 580 |
| Cavalry ... ... ... ... | 443 |
| Infantry ... ... ... ... | 2,294 |

The European corps were mere skeletons, the strongest only having 409 effective rank and file, while the 52nd Regiment, Light Infantry, which three weeks before had arrived with fully 600 rank and file out of hospital, had now only 242.

The Cashmere Contingent of 2,200 men and four guns had also reached Delhi, and several hundred men of the Jhind Rajah's Contingent (which had previously been most usefully employed in keeping up our communication with Kurnaul) were, at the Rajah's particular request, brought in to share in the credit of the capture, the Rajah himself accompanying.

For a detail of the actual operations of the siege I annex a copy of an admirable letter that appeared in the *Lahore Chronicle* of the 30th September, 1857, under the signature of "FELIX," who is apparently an officer of Engineers. In the margin I will take the liberty to correct one or two trifling errors, and to add some information.

*Letter from* "FELIX" *to The Editor of* THE LAHORE CHRONICLE.

"Your readers will have understood from the intelligence which has been from time to time published, that, from the period of the arrival of our army before Delhi in June last, up till very lately, the position occupied by our troops has been in effect a purely defensive one. It extended from the picquet at Metcalfe's house, close to the river on the left, along the ridge facing the north side of Delhi as far as the Subzee Mundee suburb on our right, where this ridge terminates, distance from the city wall averaging from 1,200 to 1,500 yards.

"We had from the first no choice as to the front of attack, our position on the north being the only one that could secure our communications with the Punjab, whence our supplies and reinforcements were drawn.

"Whether the city might or might not have been carried by a *coup de main*, as was contemplated first in June and afterwards in July, it is needless now to enquire.

"But judging from the resistance we afterwards experienced in the actual assault, when we had been greatly reinforced in men and guns, it appears to me fortunate that the attempt was not made. The strength of the place was never supposed to consist in the strength of

its actual defences, though these were much undervalued; but every city, even without fortifications, is, from its very nature, strongly defensible (unless it can be effectually surrounded or bombarded), and within Delhi the enemy possessed a magazine containing upwards of 200 guns and an almost inexhaustible supply of ammunition, while their numbers were certainly never less than double those of the besiegers. Few will doubt then that the General in command exercised a sound discretion in refusing to allow a handful of troops, unaided by siege-guns, to attack such a place, knowing, as he did, what disastrous results must follow a failure.

"By the beginning of this month, however, we received the siege-train from Ferozepore, and further reinforcements of European and native troops from the Punjab, and it being known that there was no hope of any aid from down country for a considerable time, it was resolved that the siege should be at once commenced and prosecuted with the utmost vigour.

"Our available force amounted in round numbers to 6,500 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and 600 artillery, Europeans and natives,—the regiments in camp being Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards,* the Guide Cavalry, Hodson's Horse, and detachments of the 1st, 2nd and 5th Punjab Cavalry; Her Majesty's 8th Foot (part of), 52nd Foot, 60th Rifles (part of), 61st Foot, 75th Foot, and the 1st and 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, the Sirmoor and Kumaon Battalions (Gurkhas), the 4th Sikh Infantry, the Guide Infantry, and the 1st, 2nd and 4th Regiments of Punjab Infantry†; four troops of Horse Artillery (Tombs', Turner's, Remmington's, and Renny's)‡, two light field batteries (Scott's and Bourchier's), and some companies of foot artillery attached to the siege-guns, which numbered about forty heavy guns and howitzers, and ten heavy and twelve light mortars.

"The means of the engineers were very restricted, not in officers, but in trained men, of whom there were only about 120 regular sappers. Some companies of Muzbee Sikhs had, however, been rapidly raised and partially trained, and a body of coolies had also been collected who worked remarkably well; the park had been at work for some time in collecting material; and 10,000 fascines, 10,000 gabions, and 100,000 sand bags were ready for future operations: field magazines,

* Only four weak troops of the 6th Dragoon Guards.

† Also a weak wing of the Beluch Battalion, besides the Jhind and Cashmere Contingents.

‡ Only four guns of Major Tombs' troop were at Delhi. Money's troop (commanded by Captain Blunt subsequent to 23rd July) has been omitted, and Renny's merely consisted of the portion of the Native troop that had been attached to four guns, but deprived of their ordnance.

567

scaling ladders and spare platforms had also been duly prepared, and great credit is due to Lieutenant Brownlow of the Engineers, in charge of the park, whose activity and intelligence contributed not a little to the eventual success of our operations.

"The north face being the side to be attacked, it was resolved to hold the right in check as far as possible, and to push the main attack on the left: *first*, as the river would completely protect our flank as we advanced; *second*, as there was better cover on that side; *third*, as after the assault the troops would not find themselves immediately in narrow streets, but in comparatively open ground.

"The front to be attacked consisted of the Moree, Cashmere, and Water Bastions, with the curtain walls connecting them. These bastions had been greatly altered and improved by our own engineers many years ago, and presented regular faces and flanks of masonry with properly cut embrasures; but the height of the wall was twenty-four feet above the ground level, of which, however, eight feet was a mere parapet three feet thick; the remainder being about four times that thickness. Outside the wall was a very wide berm, and then a ditch sixteen feet deep and twenty feet wide at bottom, escarp and counterscarp steep, and the latter unrevetted, and the former revetted with stone and eight feet in height. A good sloping glacis covered the lower ten feet of the wall from all attempts of distant batteries.

"On the evening of the 7th September, No. I Advanced Battery, in two portions, was traced about 700 yards from the Moree Bastion. The right portion, for five 18-pounders and one eight-inch howitzer, was to silence the Moree and prevent its interfering with the attack on the left; the left portion, for four 24-pounders, was intended to hold the Cashmere Bastion partially in check. The working parties were very little disturbed during the night; the covering parties in front kept the musketry at a distance, and except three well-aimed showers of grape thrown from the Moree, which knocked over some workmen, we received no further annoyance. By the morning the two portions of the battery were finished and armed, though not ready to fire until nearly sunrise; a trench was also made connecting the two portions and extending a little to the right and left, so as to give communication with a wide and deep ravine, which, extending very nearly up to our left attack, formed a sort of first parallel, and gave good cover to the guard of the trenches, the dhoolies, &c. For some time we were well pounded from the Moree with round shot and grape, but as our guns in the new battery got gradually into play, the enemy's fire grew less and less, and was at length

563

completely overpowered. This battery became known as Brind's, being worked by that officer with great effect till the end of the siege.

"On the evening of the 8th and 9th, No. II Battery was traced and commenced. To our surprise we had been allowed to seize this advanced position at Ludlow Castle, within six hundred yards of the city, without even a fight for it, on the previous day. In fact there is little doubt the enemy still thought the attack was to be on the right, where all the fighting had hitherto been, and where all our old batteries were located. Ludlow Castle and the Khoodsee Bagh* were now occupied by strong detachments, and formed our chief support to the left attack. During the 9th, a sharp fire of musketry, shot and shell was opened on these positions by the enemy from the jungle in front and from the Cashmere and Water Bastions and the Selimgurh, but no great damage was done. During the nights of the 9th and 10th, No. II Battery was completed and partially armed, but not yet unmasked. It was in two portions. One immediately in front of Ludlow Castle, for nine 24-pounders, to open a breach in the curtain between the Cashmere and Water Bastions immediately to the left of the former, and to knock off the parapet to the right and left for some distance, so as to give no cover to musketry. The other portion, some 200 yards to the right, consisting of seven eight-inch howitzers and two 18-pounders, was to aid the first portion and work with it for the same end. No. III Battery was also commenced on the left, and No. IV Battery, for ten heavy mortars, was completed in the Khoodsee Bagh* but not yet unmasked. Major Tombs was in charge of this battery. The light mortars, under Captain Blunt, were afterwards worked from the rear of the Custom House.

"During the nights of the 10th and 11th No. II Battery was strengthened, armed, and unmasked, and No. III Battery completed. This last was made in the boldest manner within a hundred and eighty yards of the Water Bastion, behind a small ruined house in the Custom House compound, and under such a fire of musketry as few batteries have ever been exposed to; it was for six 18-pounders, which were to open a second breach in the Water Bastion, and was worked by Major Scott. The enemy also went to work to-night, and made an advanced trench parallel to our left attack, and about 350 yards from it, from which at daybreak they opened a very hot fire of musketry, which was maintained throughout the rest of the siege; they had previously got some light guns and one heavy gun out into the open on our right, which caused considerable annoyance by their enfilade fire.

* Koodsea.

"On the 11th our batteries opened fire, a salvo from the nine 24-pounders opening the ball, and showing by the way it brought down the wall in huge fragments what effect it might be expected to produce after a few hours. The Cashmere Bastion attempted to reply, but was quickly silenced, and both portions of No. II went to work in fine style, knocking the bastion and adjacent curtains to pieces. Majors Campbell and Kaye, Captain Johnson and Lieutenant Gray had charge of No. II.* No. III, however, did not commence fire till the following day, when the full power of our artillery was shown and the continuous roar of fifty guns and mortars pouring shot and shell on the devoted city warned the enemy that his and our time had at length come. Night and day, until the morning of the 14th, was this overwhelming fire continued. But the enemy did not let us have it all our own way. Though unable to work a gun from any of the three bastions that were so fiercely assailed, they yet stuck to their guns in the open, which partially enfiladed our position; they got a gun to bear from a hole broken open in the long curtain wall; they sent rockets from one of their martello towers, and they maintained a perfect storm of musketry from their advanced trench and from the city walls.

* Major Campbell commanded the left portion and Major Kaye the right, but the former officer being wounded on the evening of the 11th, Captain Johnson, Assistant Adjutant-General of Artillery, then serving in that battery, succeeded to the command, and held it to the moment of the assault, when he resumed his place on General Wilson's staff.

"On the night of the 13th, the engineers stole down and examined the two breaches near the Cashmere and Water Bastions; † and both being reported practicable, orders for the assault were at once issued, to take place at daybreak the following morning.

† Lieutenants Medley and Lang examined the former, Lieutenants Greathed and Home the latter.

"The arrangements for the storming were as follows:—

1st Column

*Under Brigadier-General J. Nicholson.*‡

| | |
|---|---|
| Her Majesty's 75th Regiment.<br>1st Bengal Fusiliers.<br>2nd Punjab Infantry. | To storm the breach near the Cashmere Bastion, and escalade the face of the bastion. |

"Engineer officers attached,—Lieutenants Medley, Lang and Bingham.

| | Men. |
|---|---|
| ‡ 75th Foot (Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert) ... ... | 300 |
| 1st Fusiliers (Major Jacob) ... ... ... | 250 |
| 2nd Punjab Infantry (Captain Green) ... ... | 450 |
| Total .. | 1,000 |

570

## 2ND COLUMN

*Under Brigadier W. Jones, Commanding Her Majesty's 61st Regiment.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Her Majesty's 8th Regiment<br>Her Majesty's 61st Regiment*<br>4th Sikh Infantry | To storm the breach in the Water Bastion. |

"Engineer officers attached,—Lieutenants Greathed, Hovenden and Pemberton.

## 3RD COLUMN

*Under Colonel G. Campbell, Commanding Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment<br>2nd Bengal Fusiliers†<br>1st Punjab Infantry | To assault the Cashmere Gate after it should be blown open. |

"Engineer officers attached,—Lieutenants Home, Salkeld and Tandy.

## 4TH COLUMN

*Under Major C. Reid, Commanding the Sirmoor Battalion.*‡

| | |
|---|---|
| Detachments of European regiments<br>Sirmoor Battalion<br>Guide Infantry<br>Detachment of Dogras | To attack the suburb Kissengunge and enter the Lahore Gate. |

"Engineer officers attached—Lieutenants Maunsell and Tennant.

---

* The 61st have been here erroneously inserted for the 2nd Fusiliers. This column was as follows:—

| | | Men. |
|---|---|---|
| Her Majesty's 8th Foot (Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed) | ... | 250 |
| 2nd Fusiliers (Captain Boyd) ... ... | ... | 250 |
| 4th Sikh Infantry (Captain Rothney) ... | ... | 350 |
| Total | ... | 850 |

† The Kumaon Battalion should have been here entered instead of 2nd Fusiliers.

| | | Strength of Column. Men. |
|---|---|---|
| Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment (Major Vigors) | ... | 200 |
| Kumaon Battalion (Captain Ramsay) ... | ... | 250 |
| 1st Punjab Infantry (Lieutenant Nicholson) ... | ... | 500 |
| Total | ... | 950 |

‡ The 4th Column consisted of the Sirmoor Battalion and Guides and such of the picquets (European and Native) as could be spared from Hindoo Rao's, altogether 860 men, besides the Cashmere Contingent, strength not known.

5TH COLUMN

*Under Brigadier J. Longfield, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Her Majesty's 60th Rifles<br>Kumaon Battalion<br>4th Punjab Infantry | The Reserve.* |

"Engineer officers attached,—Lieutenants Ward and Thackeray.

"At 4 A.M. the different columns fell in, and were marched to their respective places, the heads of Nos. 1, 2, and 3 Columns being kept concealed until the moment for the actual assault should arrive.

"The signal was to be the advance of the Rifles to the front to cover the heads of the columns by skirmishing.

"Everything being ready, General Nicholson, whose excellent arrangements elicited the admiration of all, gave the signal, and the Rifles dashed to the front with a cheer, extending along and skirmishing through the low jungle, which at this point extends to within fifty yards of the ditch. At the same moment, the heads of Nos. 1 and 2 Columns emerged from the Khoodsee† Bagh, and advanced steadily towards the breach. Our batteries had maintained a tremendous fire up to the moment of the advance of the troops, and not a gun could the enemy bring to bear on the storming columns; but no sooner did these emerge into the open, than a perfect hailstorm of bullets met them from the front and both flanks, and officers and men fell fast on the crest of the glacis. For ten minutes it was impossible to get the ladders down into the ditch to ascend the escarp; but the determination of the British soldier carried all before it, and Pandy declined to meet the charge of the British bayonet. With a shout and a rush the breaches were both won, and the enemy fled in confusion.

"Meanwhile the explosion party advanced in front of the 3rd Column straight upon the Cashmere Gate. This little band of heroes (for they were no less) had to advance in broad daylight to the gateway in the very teeth of a hot fire of musketry from above, and through the gateway and on both flanks; the powder bags were coolly

* The Reserve was really thus composed—

| | | Men. |
|---|---|---|
| Her Majesty's 61st (Lieutenant-Colonel Deacon) | ... | 250 |
| 4th Punjab Infantry (Captain Wilde) | ... | 450 |
| Wing, Belúch Battalion (Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar) | ... | 300 |
| Jhind auxiliaries (Lieutenant-Colonel Dunsford) | ... | 300 |
| Total | ... | 1,300 |

Besides 200 of the 60th Rifles under Lieutenant-Colonel Jones, after they had covered the advance of the stormers.

† Koodsea.

laid and adjusted, but Lieutenant Salkeld was by this time *hors de combat* with two bullets in him. Sergeant Carmichael then attempted to fire the hose, but was shot dead. Sergeant Burgess then tried and succeeded, but paid for the daring act with his life. Sergeant Smith, thinking that Burgess too had failed, ran forward, but seeing the train alight had just time to throw himself into the ditch and escape the effects of the explosion. With a loud crash the gateway was blown in, and through it the 3rd Column rushed to the assault, and entered the town just as the other columns had won the breaches. General Wilson has since bestowed the Victoria Cross on Lieutenants Home and Salkeld,* on Sergeant Smith, and on a brave man of Her Majesty's 52nd who stood by Lieutenant Salkeld to the last, and bound up his wounds.

* Both these gallant officers have since died. Lieutenant Home was blown up on the 1st October by the premature explosion of a mine in destroying the fort of Malagurh. Lieutenant Salkeld, who lost an arm and had his thigh broken in the storm, died of his wounds after lingering for many days.

"General Nicholson then formed the troops in the main guard inside, and with his column proceeded to clear the ramparts as far as the Moree Bastion. It was in advancing beyond this towards the Lahore Gate that he met the wound which has since caused his lamented death,—a death which it is not too much to say has dimmed the lustre of even this victory,—as it has deprived the country of one of the ablest men and most gallant soldiers that England anywhere numbers among our ranks.

"The 4th Column, I regret to say, failed; but as it was too far for me to know anything of its real progress, I prefer leaving its story to be told by another instead of sending you a vague and imperfect account. Had this column succeeded, its possession of the Lahore Gate would have saved much subsequent trouble.

"Mr. Editor, I regret that my account must stop here, as, being wounded myself at this stage of the proceedings, I was unable to witness the subsequent capture of the magazine, the Burn Bastion, the Palace, and finally of the whole city. Some one else will doubtless conclude my story in a more worthy manner than I have told it.

"Thus terminated the siege of Delhi. Our loss during the actual siege was about 300 men.† On the day of the assault it was 61 officers and 1,178 killed and wounded,‡ being nearly one-third of the whole number engaged. The 1st Fusiliers alone lost nine officers, and other regiments, I believe, in proportion; the engineers suffered heavily;

† Actually 327 from date of opening of batteries to moment of assault.

‡ Actually 66 officers and 1,104 men.

the three officers conducting Nos. 1, 2, and 4 Columns (Lieutenants Medley, Greathed and Maunsell) were all struck down early in the fight; and of 17 officers on duty that day, ten were put *hors de combat*. The loss of the enemy is never likely to be correctly ascertained; but at the end of the operations it is probable that at least 1,500 men must have been killed between the 7th and 20th, and a very large number wounded, who were carried away.

"For the complete success that attended the prosecution of the siege, the chief credit is undoubtedly due to Colonel R. Baird Smith, the Chief Engineer, and to Captain A. Taylor, the director of the attack. On this latter officer, in fact, in consequence of the chief engineer being wounded, devolved the entire superintendence of the siege works, and his energy and activity will doubtless meet with their due reward. Throughout the operations he seemed to be omnipresent, and to bear a charmed life, for he escaped without a wound. The plan of attack was bold and skilful, the nature of the enemy we were contending with was exactly appreciated, and our plans shaped accordingly. Pandy can fight well behind cover; but here he was out-manœuvred, his attention being diverted from the real point of attack till the last, and then the cover which might have proved such a serious obstacle to us was seized at the right moment without loss and all its advantages turned against him. With plenty of skilled workmen the siege works might have been more speedily constructed, but with the wretched means at our disposal the wonder is that so much was done with so little loss.

"If the siege of Delhi was not a regular siege in the same sense with that of Bhurtpore or Seringapatam, it may yet bear a fairer comparison with a greater than either,—that of Sebastopol. In both the strength of the fortifications was as nothing; it was the proportion of besieged to besiegers, the magnitude of the arsenal inside, and the impossibility of a thorough investment that constituted the real strength of the place; in fact, neither were properly speaking sieges, but rather attacks on an army in a strongly intrenched position.

(Sd.) FELIX."

I must now add a few particulars to the above, and complete the account to the period when we were finally in possession of the whole city.

To enable the whole of the siege batteries to be armed, most of the heavy guns were withdrawn from the ridge, such only being left as were necessary to render that position secure against attack from the Kissengunge direction. The foot artillery, even without relief, being

574

quite unable to man the heavy guns and mortars, nearly all the officers and men of the horse artillery were sent into the batteries and worked in them until the morning of the assault, when they rejoined their troops. In addition to these, the Carabineers and the 9th Lancers furnished a quota of volunteers, whose intelligence and good-will rendered their services most valuable. Several volunteer officers from the line had been under instruction in the ridge batteries for some days before the breaching batteries opened, and were afterwards most usefully employed in the latter.

The newly-raised Sikh artillerymen of course took their share of the work; and the manner in which a detail of these men under Lieutenant Sir William Hamilton, *Bart.*, worked two of the guns in Major Scott's battery under a close and constant fire of musketry elicited the admiration of those who saw them.

The men of the two field batteries of the force were not taken for the siege guns, so that one battery furnished the three divisions of guns for the picquets and the other was in reserve in camp.

From the night of the 7th until the batteries were completed, the exertions of all the engineer officers, sappers and pioneers, were unceasing, and large working and covering parties had to be constantly furnished by the infantry.

On the 8th, after No. I or Brind's Battery had opened, a sortie was made from the city, principally of cavalry, but the only result was that several of the insurgents were killed by the fire of our artillery. From the broken ground below the ridge, however, and from a trench in front of No. I Battery, a constant fire of musketry was kept up, and grape had to be used at the light gun battery near the "Sammy House," commanded by Captain Remmington, to keep the skirmishers at a distance.

The other efforts at annoyance until the period of the assault were those described in the letter of "FELIX," and numerous casualties were occasioned, for not only were 327 fighting men put *hors de combat*, but many followers, such as *bhistis*, magazine lascars, ordnance drivers, &c., were killed and wounded. At the Custom House Battery, within 180 yards of the place, the rattle of musketry was incessant, and the approach to the battery was most hazardous. Captain Fagan of the Artillery, a most valuable and gallant officer, was killed here by a musket shot two or three hours after fire had been opened. Once or twice before the guns of No. II Battery were in full play, sorties were made from the Cashmere Gate, and a constant fire was kept up from

575

trenches in front. A portion of the 1st Punjab Infantry (Rifles) under Lieutenant Nicholson was from the 8th to the 14th engaged in protecting No. II Battery, being posted behind a low wall in advance, with a reserve of the same corps together with some European infantry at Ludlow Castle; and all the batteries were of course guarded by strong parties of infantry.

The guns placed by the enemy in the Taleewarra suburb completely enfiladed Nos. I and II Batteries, and were a source of much annoyance. They were so sheltered that our ordnance on the ridge and at the "Sammy House" Battery were never able altogether to silence them.

From the Selimgurh too a very constant fire of shells was kept up, which dropped about the Custom House Mortar Battery and No. II Battery.

The Kissengunge batteries still continued to play at intervals on the ridge.

During the actual period of the siege but one attempt was made to annoy our rear. A body of cavalry crossing the canal drove in our picquet of irregular horse at Azadpore; but parties of Punjab and Guide Cavalry speedily turning out pursued and killed twenty-five of the mutineers, including a native officer. Lieutenant Watson, 1st Punjab Cavalry, was wounded on this occasion; one man and two horses were killed, eleven men and thirteen horses wounded.

During the assault the protection of the camp was confided to the convalescents of corps, a portion of the cavalry, and some horse artillery, under Colonel Dennis, Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, Light Infantry. The infantry picquets all joined their regiments, save a small detachment at the mosque. After the assault and until the total capture of the city no infantry could be sent back to camp; but on the 15th most of the cavalry and the horse artillery had returned, and the Sirmoor Battalion and the Guide Corps being at Hindu Rao's House, the camp with all the sick, wounded, stores, &c., became tolerably secure, and the anxiety which was felt in case it should be attacked in rear by a body of troops (which the enemy might have spared), while we were involved in the city, was allayed.

Brigadier Grant, with the bulk of the cavalry (about 600 sabres) and a troop and a half of horse artillery, was directed to move down when the assault took place to the neighbourhood of No. I Battery, to check any attempt to take our storming columns in flank by sortie from the Lahore and Ajmere Gates; and No. I Battery was to keep up its fire

576

on the Moree until our columns were found to be progressing in that direction.

Taking up the account where "FELIX" leaves off, I will briefly describe what occurred to the several columns.

Nos. 1 and 2, having effected an entrance, proceeded round the walls to their right, overcoming opposition, and taking a small battery and a tower between the Cashmere and Moree Bastions, the Moree itself, and the Cabul Gate. All attempts, however, to take the Burn Bastion and Lahore Gate failed. The troops had to advance up a narrow lane swept down by grape and musketry, and in one of these attempts General Nicholson was mortally wounded. As far as the Cabul Gate our hold was secured, and preparations were immediately made for opening fire from the bastions inwards on the town, sand-bag parapets being constructed across the gorges.

The 3rd Column, under Colonel Campbell, of Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, Light Infantry, after storming the Cashmere Gate, proceeded through the town towards the Jumma Musjid, conducted in the most gallant manner by Sir Theophilus Metcalfe of the Civil Service, who had volunteered for the duty, for which he was well qualified from local knowledge. By taking the column by a circuitous route but little opposition was met with until the Chandney Chowk was reached, and possession obtained of the *kotwali*.* After this, however, men fell fast, and it was found impossible to carry out the object assigned, *viz.*, the capture of the Jumma Musjid. Eventually this column fell back to the neighbourhood of the church and joined the reserve, a proceeding which met with the full approval of the Major-General Commanding.

The reserve followed No. 3 Column into the Cashmere Gate, the wing of the Belúch Battalion having been previously detached to the right of No. II Battery, and eventually sent to Hindoo Rao's as a support, when the serious nature of the struggle in Kissengunge became known.

The college gardens were cleared of the insurgents by the reserve, and held by the 4th Punjab Rifles and some of Her Majesty's 61st Regiment. The Water Bastion, Cashmere Gate, Skinner's house, and the house of Ahmed Ali Khan, a large commanding building, were also held by this column. Upon the retirement of No. 3 Column, the Kumaon Battalion were placed in Skinner's house, Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment at the church, and the 1st Punjab Infantry in the houses at the end of the two streets that led into the open space around the church from the interior of the city. Guns too were posted at the

* The police station.

577

head of these streets, which stopped an attempt that was made to follow up No. 3 Column.

No. 4 Column, under Major Reid, advanced from the Subzee Mundee towards Kissengunge, the Cashmere Contingent co-operating on its right. The latter, however, was so sharply attacked by the insurgents, who were in great force, that after losing a great number of men* and four guns, they were completely defeated and fell back to camp. Major Reid's column met with the most strenuous opposition, greatly increased doubtless by the failure of the Cashmere Contingent, and the enemy were so numerous and so strongly posted that after the loss of many men and officers, the commander, Major Reid, having been carried away severely wounded, Captain Muter, 60th Rifles, the next senior officer, judiciously withdrew the troops to their former post at Hindoo Rao's and in the Subzee Mundee.† Their retirement was much aided by a fire of shrapnel shells opened by Lieutenant H. J. Evans from the light guns at the battery called the "Crow's nest." One party of the Guide Infantry, however, were surrounded in an enclosure and could not get away. Their rescue was eventually effected in a spirited manner by the wing of the Belúch Battalion, which as before stated had been detached to this quarter.

* There is no return of the casualties of the Cashmere Contingent, and they are not included in those given in the abstract of casualties attached to this report.

† Sir Henry Norman in a letter to the Editor of the *Friend of India*, dated Simla, desired that the above passages should be altered as follows :—

*Modified passages.*

I.

No. 4 Column under Major Reid, advanced from the Subzee Mundee towards Kissengunge, the Cashmere Contingent co-operating in two divisions; the main body under Major R. Lawrence acting as a reserve, and a detachment under Captain Dwyer attacking the *eedgah* upon the right. The latter was so sharply attacked by the insurgents, who were in great force, that after losing a great number of men and four guns, it was completely defeated and fell back to camp.

II.

Major Reid's Column met with the most strenuous opposition, greatly increased doubtless by the failure of the detachment of the Cashmere Contingent *on the right*.

III.

Captain Muter, 60th Rifles, who succeeded to the command of the advance after Major Reid's fall, the next senior officer to Major Reid (Major Lawrence) being in command of the reserve, and therefore some way in the rear, judiciously withdrew the advanced troops to the Subzee Mundee. When Major Lawrence became aware of Major Reid's fall, he, as in duty bound, assumed command of the whole column, and made all subsequent dispositions.

Major Lawrence maintained the defence of the ground in the neighbourhood of the canal, until the necessity for it ceased.

Meanwhile Brigadier Grant with his cavalry and guns had most effectually prevented any annoyance to the flanks of the assaulting columns, but his troops had suffered severely from the fire of the Taleewarra guns and the Burn Bastion, three of the former of which were however spiked by our artillery.

The heavy fire brought on the cavalry caused Major-General Wilson to send up Captain Bourchier's battery in aid of the horse artillery guns under Major Tombs, which had as usual been most efficiently commanded, but had sustained heavy loss.

The duty assigned to the cavalry having been completed, they were withdrawn to the neighbourhood of Ludlow Castle, with picquets towards the ridge.

The Belúch Battalion also being no longer required outside, moved into the city and joined the reserve.

During the 15th several mortars were got into position to shell the town and palace. A battery commanding Selimgurh and part of the palace was opened from the college gardens, and some houses were taken in advance of our first positions. A breach was made also from the college in the magazine defences. The enemy all this time kept up a cannonade on our position in the city from Selimgurh; from the magazine a constant musketry fire was maintained on the college compound, and more or less skirmishing went on at all our advanced posts. This occasioned, however, little loss, as directly we occupied a house sand-bag defences were put up wherever requisite.

At dawn on the 16th the magazine was stormed and taken with slight loss to us by Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, part of the 4th Punjab Infantry, and the wing of the Belúch Battalion.

Kissengunge this morning was evacuated by the enemy and five heavy guns left, of which possession was taken by a party sent forward from Hindu Rao's. We were now for the first time enabled to see the immense strength of the insurgent position here and in Taleewarra, and which they had spared no labour to improve.

During the 17th and 18th our right and left positions at the Cabul Gate and magazine were brought into direct communication by a line of posts, in rear of which every thing was our own. Pushing still forward, the Bank, Major Abbott's house, and the dwelling of Khan Mahomed Khan were taken, so that our posts were now close to the palace and Chandney Chowk. These advances were not made without opposition, both from field artillery and musketry, but being conducted with great judgment, our loss was trifling.

578

All our mortars (most of them from the magazine) now played constantly upon the palace and the quarters of the town occupied by the enemy, and must have materially contributed to the subsequent evacuation of the palace. Indeed, it became evident that the insurgents were gradually escaping from the place at the opposite side. Few went over the bridge, as our guns commanded it.

On the evening of the 19th, the Burn Bastion was surprised and captured by a party from the Cabul Gate, and early next morning the Lahore Gate and Garstin Bastion were likewise taken and held. The cavalry also, going round by the *eedgah*, found the camp of a large force of the mutineers outside the Delhi Gate evacuated; and Lieutenant Hodson pushing in, secured it, his sowars killing a number of wounded or sick sepoys. Quantities of clothing, ammunition, and plunder were taken in this camp, everything showing that the insurgents had fled with precipitation. Some cavalry entering by the Delhi Gate took possession of the Jumma Musjid, and were speedily supported by infantry and guns.

While this was going on a column had been formed to take the palace, which appeared deserted, save that occasionally a musket shot was fired from over the gateway at our troops at the head of the Chandney Chowk. Powder bags were brought up and the gateway blown in. Only two or three fanatics were found inside, and a number of wounded sepoys, who soon fell victims to the bayonets of our men.

The whole city was now entirely in our hands; and the troops were posted at the various gateways, bastions, &c., head-quarters being established in the palace, which was held by Her Majesty's 60th Rifles and the Kumaon Battalion.

The town was nearly empty of inhabitants, many of whom indeed (principally women and children of *bunniahs*) had been passed out by our guards subsequent to the assault. Now and then sepoys or fanatical Mahomedans wounded or hiding were discovered by parties of our troops, dragged out and shot.

On the 21st Lieutenant Hodson with the valuable aid of the head of our Intelligence Department (Moulvi Rajab Ali) captured the King a few miles from Delhi. He was brought in and placed under a European guard, and now awaits a trial which has been ordered.

On the following day two of the king's sons and a grandson, all deeply implicated in the atrocities committed in May, were also captured through Lieutenant Hodson's exertions. They were shot, and their bodies exposed for twenty-four hours in front of the *kotwali*.

On the morning of the 24th a strong movable column, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, moved into the Doab, to clear it and to endeavour to open communication with General Havelock at Cawnpore; and the connection of the writer with the Delhi Force ceased.

It is impossible, however, to conclude without alluding to the trials and constancy of the troops employed in this arduous siege. Called on at the hottest season of the year to take the field, imperfectly equipped, and with the extent of difficulties to be faced very imperfectly known, all felt that a crisis had arrived to meet which every man's cheerful, willing and heartfelt energies must be put forth to the utmost; and how well this was done those who were with the army know and never can forget. For the first five weeks every effort was required, not indeed to take Delhi, but to hold our own position, and day after day for hours together every soldier was under arms under a burning sun and constantly exposed to fire. Notwithstanding the daily casualties in action, the numerous deaths by cholera, the discouraging reports relative to the fidelity of some of the native portions of our own force, the distressing accounts from all parts of the country, the constant arrival of large reinforcements of mutineers, and the apparent impossibility of aid ever reaching in sufficient strength to enable us to take the place, the courage and confidence of the army never flagged; and, besides enduring a constant and often deadly cannonade for more than three months, in thirty different combats, our troops invariably were successful, always against long odds, and often opposed to ten times their numbers, who had all the advantages of ground and superior artillery.

At last the actual siege commenced. Batteries were at once thrown up in open ground within grape range of the walls, and though the loss in doing this was comparatively small, owing to some apparent misconception on the part of the enemy, the design was one of the boldest ever conceived. The establishment of Major Scott's battery within 180 yards of the walls, to arm which heavy guns had to be dragged from the rear under a constant fire of musketry, was an operation that can rarely have been equalled in war.

Finally, these soldiers worn with disease, tired with incessant duty, and sadly reduced in numbers, in open day stormed a place defended by vastly superior force, many crossing a ditch twenty-four feet deep, and clambering up a breach in face of a deadly fire, and having done this had at once to commence a series of fresh operations for the

reduction of the town, which after six days' constant toil or skirmishing were attended with complete success.

All behaved nobly, but it may be permitted me to allude somewhat to those corps most constantly engaged from the beginning, the 60th Rifles, the Sirmoor Battalion and the Guides. Probably not one day throughout the siege passed without a casualty in one of these corps; placed in the very front of our position, they were ever under fire. Their courage, their high qualifications as skirmishers, their cheerfulness, their steadiness, were beyond commendation. Their losses in action show the nature of the service.

The Rifles commenced with 440 of all ranks; a few days before the storm they received a reinforcement of nearly 200 men; their total casualties were 389.

The Sirmoor Battalion commenced 450 strong, and once was joined by a draft of 90 men. Its total casualties amounted to 319.

The Guides commenced with about 550 (cavalry and infantry), and the casualties were 303.

The incessant labours of the artillery as well as of the engineer department deserve especial mention; 365 casualties in the former and 293 in the latter branch are proof of the exposure to which they were subjected. There can be no brighter passage in the history of the Bengal Artillery than that which will tell of their exertions before Delhi, whether in the heavy batteries or in the various engagements in which field artillery alone took part. The duties of the engineer officers were most laborious, and involved constant exposure, more than two-thirds being killed or wounded; and the remnant of the old Corps of Sappers and Miners (the only trained Sappers present) behaved with the most perfect fidelity, and on numerous occasions with exemplary gallantry, notwithstanding that the bulk of their comrades were opposed to them. The returns annexed will show how heavily all corps suffered, even those who joined towards the close; and there was no regiment that could not boast of brilliant feats. Europeans and natives alike were animated by one spirit, and happy was the Government which at such a time numbered these troops amongst the ranks of its army.

There is but one point left to which to allude,—the strength of Delhi. Absurd accounts of the weakness of the place were circulated in India and in England. "FELIX" shows where its principal strength lay. Suffice it that a wall twelve feet thick, with a ditch in front of considerable width and about twenty-four feet deep, with an admirable glacis covering the wall for a full third of its height, bastions in capital order

582

(each holding ten, twelve or fourteen pieces of heavy artillery), so as to form good flanking defences around a city seven miles in extent, with the river on one face, constitute a formidable position. When added to this it is borne in mind that at the very lowest estimate there were never fewer than double as many defenders as assailants, and more generally four times as many; that there could be no investment even in name; that upwards of three hundred guns, of which a large proportion were of heavy calibre, were actually captured in front of or in the place; and that the defenders' supply of ammunition was plentiful to the last, it will be allowed that the General whose task it was to take Delhi had no ordinary enterprise on hand.

Honour to him for his resolution, which persevered to the end, and which led to the success that probably more than anything else will be found to have contributed to the restoration of British authority wherever it has been shaken in India.

How Sir John Lawrence supported and reinforced the army, at the risk of denuding the country under his Government of troops that might be most urgently required, how vigorously he aided the operations in every way, has already been acknowledged by the Government of India. To him the Army of Delhi, as well as the British nation, owe a deep debt of gratitude, and which by the former certainly will not be forgotten.

Annexed is a return of casualties in action. I should have wished to have added a return of casualties by sickness, and a correct plan of Delhi with our positions and those of the insurgents. These I have been unable to obtain at present owing to my having quitted Delhi with the pursuing column; but doubtless both hereafter will be forthcoming in an official form.

CAMP OF MOVABLE COLUMN,<br>CAWNPORE;<br>*The 28th October 1857.*

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Lieut.*,<br>*Asst. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.*

583

LIST OF OFFICERS KILLED, DIED OF WOUNDS, OR WOUNDED AT OR NEAR DELHI, FROM THE 30TH MAY 1857 TO THE FINAL CAPTURE OF THE PLACE ON THE 20TH SEPTEMBER 1857.

[KILLED OR DIED OF WOUNDS.]

*Staff.*

Brigadier-General J. Nicholson, commanding the 4th Infantry Brigade.

Colonel C. Chester, Adjutant-General of the Army.

Captain C. W. Russell, 54th Native Infantry, Orderly Officer.

Captain J. W. Delamain, 56th Native Infantry, Orderly Officer.

*Artillery.*

Captain R. C. H. B. Fagan.[1]
Lieutenant E. H. Hildebrand.[1]
Lieutenant H. G. Perkins.[1]
Lieutenant T. E. Dickins.[1]

*Engineers.*

Lieutenant P. Salkeld.
2nd-Lieutenant F. L. Tandy.
2nd-Lieutenant E. Jones.

Captain T. M. Greensill, 24th Foot, Assistant Field Engineer.

Assistant-Surgeon S. Moore, 6th Dragoon Guards.

*Her Majesty's 8th (the King's) Regiment.*

Lieutenant W. W. Pogson.[1]
Lieutenant W. R. Webb.[1]
Lieutenant W. H. Mountsteven.[1]

*Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.*

Captain (Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel) R. A. Yule.

*Her Majesty's 52nd Light Infantry.*

Lieutenant J. H. Bradshaw.

*Her Majesty's 60th Royal Rifles.*

Captain F. Andrews.
Ensign W. H. Napier.

*Her Majesty's 61st Regiment.*

Lieutenant T. Gabbett.
Ensign S. B. Elkington.

*Her Majesty's 75th Regiment.*

Captain E. W. J. Knox.
Lieutenant J. R. S. FitzGerald.
Lieutenant A. Harrison.
Lieutenant E. V. Briscoe.
Lieutenant W. Crozier.

*Corps of Guides.*

Lieutenant Quintin Battye, 56th Native Infantry, Commandant of Cavalry.

*Belúch Battalion.*

Lieutenant C. B. Bannerman, 1st Bombay Native Infantry.

*1st Punjab Infantry.*

Lieutenant E. J. Travers, 32nd Native Infantry, 2nd-in-command.

Lieutenant W. H. Lumsden, 68th Native Infantry, Adjutant.

*2nd Bengal European Fusiliers.*

Lieutenant S. H. Jackson. | 2nd Lieutenant D. F. Sherriff.

*3rd Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant J. Yorke, attached to the 4th Regiment, Sikh Infantry.

Lieutenant R. W. Alexander.*

*10th Native Infantry.*

Lieut. (Bt.-Capt.) W. G. Law, attached to 1st Punjab Infantry.

*11th Native Infantry.*

Ensign E. A. Lisle-Phillipps, attached to Her Majesty's 60th Rifles.[11]

*17th Native Infantry.*

Lieut. R. P. Homfray, doing duty with the 4th Punjab Infantry.

*20th Native Infantry.*

Lieut. M. A. Humphrys, attached to Her Majesty's 60th Rifles.

*26th Native Infantry.*

Ensign J. T. Davidson, attached to the 2nd Punjab Infantry.

*33rd Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant J. H. Browne, attached to the Kumaon Battalion.

*38th Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant C. H. FitzRoy Gambier, attached to the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers.

*42nd Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant A. W. Murray, attached to the Corps of Guides.[2]

* Not in Lieutenant Norman's List.—See Appendix G.

*45th Native Infantry.*

Ensign O. C. Walter, attached to the 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers.

*54th Native Infantry.*

Ensign C. E. Wheatley, attached to the Sirmoor Battalion.

*55th Native Infantry.*

Captain G. G. McBarnet, attached to 1st Bengal European Fusiliers

*65th Native Infantry.*

Lieut. E. Speke, attached to the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers.

WOUNDED.

*Staff.*

Brigr.-Genl. N. B. Chamberlain, 16th Native Infantry, acting Adjutant-General of the Army.[3]

Colonel A. M. Becher, 61st Native Infantry, Quartermaster-General of the Army.[3]

Lieutenant F. S. Roberts, Bengal Artillery, officiating Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General.[4]

Brigadier St. G. D. Showers, 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers, commanding the 1st Infantry Brigade.[3]

Captain H. E. H. Burnside, 61st Foot, Brigade-Major, 3rd Infantry Brigade.[5]

Lieutenant F. C. Innes, 60th Native Infantry, Orderly Officer.[4]

*Sirmoor Battalion.*

Major C. Reid, 10th Native Infantry, Commandant.[3]

*1st Punjab Infantry.*

Major J. Coke, 10th Native Infantry, Commandant.[3]

Lieutenant C. J. Nicholson, 31st Native Infantry, acting Commandant.[3]

Local Ensign C. Prior, attached.[4]

*2nd Punjab Infantry.*

Captain G. W. G. Green, 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers Commandant.[4]

Lieutenant T. Frankland, 48th Madras Native Infantry, 2nd-in-command.[3]

*Corps of Guides.*

Captain H. Daly, 1st Bombay European Fusiliers, Commandant.[3]

Lieutenant C. W. Hawes, 43rd Native Infantry, Adjutant.[4]

Lieutenant T. G. Kennedy, 62nd Native Infantry, officiating Commandant of Cavalry.[3]

*Kumaon Battalion.*

Captain H. F. M. Boisragon, 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, 2nd-in-command.[3]

*Bengal Engineers.*

Lieutenant-Colonel R. Baird Smith, Chief Engineer.[4]

Lieutenant G. T. Chesney, Brigade-Major of Engineers.[3]

Lieutenant W. W. H. Greathed.[7]

Lieutenant F. R. Maunsell.[3]

Lieutenant J. G. Medley.[3]

Lieutenant E. Walker.[4]

Lieutenant W. E. Warrand.[6]

Lieutenant H. A. Brownlow.[6]

Lieutenant M. G. Geneste.[4]

Lieutenant J. St. J. Hovenden.[3]

Lieutenant Æ. Perkins.[4]

2nd-Lieut. J. U. Champain.[4]

2nd-Lieut. R. C. B. Pemberton.[4]

2nd-Lieutenant P. Murray.[4]

2nd-Lieutenant H. A. L. Carnegie.[4]

*Bombay Engineers.*

Lieutenant J. T. Walker.[3]

*Artillery.*

Brigadier H. Garbett.(*a*)[4]

Capt. (Bt.-Maj.) J. H. Campbell.[3]

Capt. (Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel) M. Mackenzie.(*b*)[3]

Captain E. K. Money.[3]

Captain J. Young.[4]

Captain (Bt.-Maj.) H. Tombs.[5]

Captain T. E. Kennion.[3]

Captain A. Light.[4]

Lieutenant A. Bunny.[4]

Lieutenant H. P. Bishop.[4]

Lieutenant G. Baillie.[4]

Lieutenant A. Gillespie.[4]

Lieutenant E. L. Earle.[4]

Lieutenant A. H. Lindsay.[4]

Lieutenant C. Hunter.[4]

2nd-Lieutenant J. Hills.[3]

2nd-Lieutenant M. Elliot.[3]

2nd-Lieutenant P. Thompson.[3]

2nd-Lieutenant A. H. Davidson.[3]

2nd-Lieutenant E. Fraser.[4]

2nd-Lieutenant R. T. Hare.[4]

2nd-Lieutenant H. Chichester.[4]

Asst.-Surgn. W. W. Ireland, M.D.[3]

Lieutenant and Riding-Master S. Budd.[4]

(*a*) Died at Simla on the 14th January 1858 from the effects of the wound he received before Delhi.

(*b*) Died of his wounds, 5th October, 1857, at Simla.

*Punjab Sappers.*

Local Ensign L. Gustavinski.[8]
Local Ensign C. Anderson.[4]

*Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards.*

Captain C. P. Rosser.[6]
Lieut. A. A. de Bourbel.[3]

*Her Majesty's 8th Regiment.*

Maj. (Bt. Lt.-Col.) J. C. Brooke.[8]
Captain E. G. Daniell.[8] *
Captain (Bt.-Maj.) R. S. Baynes.[6]
Lieut. (Bt.-Capt.) D. Beere.[3]
Lt. (Bt.-Capt.) E. N. Sandilands.[5]
Lieutenant G. F. Walker.[3]
Lieutenant W. F. Metge.[4]

*Her Majesty's 27th Regiment.*

Captain R. Freer, attached to Her Majesty's 75th Regiment.[4]

*Her Majesty's 52nd Light Infantry.*

Colonel G. Campbell.[4]
Captain J. A. Bayley.[8]
Lieutenant W. Atkinson.[4]
Ensign T. Simpson.[4]

*Her Majesty's 60th Royal Rifles.*

Captain H. F. Williams.[8]
Captain C. Jones.[3]
Captain G. C. H. Waters.[10]
Lieutenant H. P. Eaton.[6]
Lieutenant J. S. D. M'Gill.[4] *
Lieutenant J. D. Dundas.[4]
Lieutenant H. G. Deedes.[4]
Lieutenant P. J. Curtis.[8]
Ensign W. G. Turle.[3]
Ensign A. S. Heathcote.[4]
Surgeon J. H. K. Innes.[4]

*Her Majesty's 61st Regiment.*

Captain W. E. D. Deacon.[6]
Lieut. T. M. Moore.[4]
Lieut. W. H. W. Pattoun.[8]
Lieut. A. C. Young.[8]
Lieut. C. J. Griffiths.[3]
Lieut. T. B. Hutton.[4]
Ensign E. B. Andros.[4]

*Her Majesty's 75th Regiment.*

Lieut.-Colonel C. Herbert.[5]
Captain T. C. Dunbar.[4]
Captain A. Chancellor.[4]
Captain R. Dawson.[6]
Lieut. and Adjutant R. Barter.[8]
Lieutenant C. R. Rivers.[4]
Lieutenant E. Armstrong.[4]
Lieutenant G. C. N. Faithfull.[4]
Lieutenant C. M. Pym.[4]
Ensign R. Wadeson.[8]
Paymaster D. F. Chambers.[4]
Asst.-Surgeon S. A. Lithgow.[4]

* Not in Lieutenant Norman's List.

*Her Majesty's 84th Regiment.*

Captain the Hon'ble A. H. A. Anson, attached to Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.[4]

*1st Bengal European Fusiliers.*

Colonel J. Welchman.[6]
Major G. O. Jacob.[1]
Captain S. Greville.[9]
Captain E. Brown.[6]
Lieutenant H. M. Wemyss.[10]
Lieutenant J. W. Daniell.[8]
Lieutenant E. A. C. Lambert.[4]
Lieutenant A. G. Owen.[10]
Second-Lieutenant N. Ellis.[4]

*2nd Bengal European Fusiliers.*

Lieutenant A. Elderton.[8]
Lieutenant J. T. Harris.[3]
Lieutenant C. R. Blair.[6]

*3rd Light Cavalry.*

Lieutenant H. H. Gough, attached to Hodson's Horse.[4]

*6th Light Cavalry.*

Lieutenant B. Cuppage, attached to Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.[4]

*3rd Native Infantry.*

Captain J. P. Caulfeild, attached to 1st Bengal European Fusiliers.[4]
Ensign O. I. Chalmers, attached to the Corps of Guides.[4]

*4th Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant C. F. Packe, attached to the 4th Sikh Infantry.[5]

*5th Native Infantry.*

Captain D. Kemp, attached to 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers.[8]

*7th Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant D. B. Lockhart, attached to the Sirmoor Battalion.[5]

*9th Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant S. Ross, attached to the Sirmoor Battalion.[4]

*11th Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant T. M. Shelley, attached to 1st Punjab Infantry.[4]

*16th Native Infantry.*

Captain W. Graydon, attached to 1st Bengal European Fusiliers.[8]

*20th Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant A. Tulloch, attached to the Sirmoor Battalion.[16]

*35th Native Infantry.*

Lieut.-Col. T. Seaton, C.B., attached to the 1st Infantry Brigade.[5]
Lieutenant H. T. Pollock, attached to 1st Punjab Infantry.[7]

*36th Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant H. D. E. W. Chester, attached to the Sirmoor Battalion.[6]
Lieutenant A. Pullan, attached to the 4th Sikh Infantry.[3]

*49th Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant A. B. Temple, attached to the Kumaon Battalion.[4]

*55th Native Infantry.*

Lieut. E. H. Woodcock, attached to 1st Bengal European Fusiliers.[5]

*57th Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant F. H. Jenkins, attached to the 4th Sikh Infantry.[8]
Lieutenant E. E. B. Bond, attached to the Corps of Guides.[3]
Lieutenant H. De Brett, attached to the Corps of Guides.

*58th Native Infantry.*

Ensign T. Dayrell, attached to Her Majesty's 75th Regiment.[8]

*60th Native Infantry.*

Lieut.-Col. R. Drought, attached to the 2nd Infantry Brigade.[3]
Captain J. C. Hay, attached to 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers.[6]
Lieutenant R. H. Shebbeare, attached to the Corps of Guides.[5]
Lieut. T. N. Walker, attached to 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers.[6]

*69th Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant A. H. Eckford, attached to the Sirmoor Battalion.[6]

*28th Bombay Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant J. Watson, attached to the 1st Punjab Cavalry.[4]

PALACE OF DELHI,
*The 23rd Sept. 1857.* (Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Lieut.*,
*Asst. Adjt.-Genl. of Army.*

[1] Previously slightly wounded.
[2] Previously severely wounded.
[3] Severely wounded.
[4] Slightly wounded.
[5] Twice slightly wounded.
[6] Dangerously wounded.
[7] Very severely wounded.
[8] Once very severely, once very slightly wounded.
[9] Once severely, twice slightly wounded.
[10] Once severely, once slightly wounded.
[11] Previously twice slightly wounded.

591

## *Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Delhi Field Force, Delhi, on 30th May 1857, up to the capture*

| Corps. | Effective strength of all ranks on 11th September 1857. | KILLED. | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Officers. | | Non-commissioned officers. | | Drummers, &c. | | Rank and file. | | | |
| | | European. | Native. | European. | Native. | European. | Native. | European. | Native. | Total. | Horses. |
| Staff ... ... ... | ... | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 8 |
| Artillery, including drivers, gun-lascars and newly raised Sikh Artillery. | 1,350 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 1 | ... | ... | 39 | 25 | 74 | 55 |
| Engineers and Sappers and Miners (including five companies newly raised Punjab Sappers.) | 722 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | ... | ... | 1 | 31 | 43 | ... |
| Her Majesty's 9th Lancers ... | 391 | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 25 | ... | 27 | 39 |
| Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards (four troops). | 123 | 1 | ... | 5 | ... | ... | ... | 13 | ... | 19 | 16 |
| Detachment, 4th Irregular Cavalry (disarmed and dismounted). | 78 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Detachment, 1st Punjab Cavalry | 147 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Detachment, 2nd Punjab Cavalry | 114 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Detachment, 5th Punjab Cavalry | 107 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Hodson's Irregular Horse .. | 462 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 |
| Her Majesty's 8th Regiment ... | 322 | 3 | ... | 5 | ... | ... | ... | 19 | ... | 27 | ... |
| Her Majesty's 52nd Light Infantry. | 302 | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 17 | ... | 19 | ... |
| Her Majesty's 60th Rifles ... | 390 | 4 | ... | 2 | ... | 1 | ... | 106 | ... | 113 | ... |
| Her Majesty's 61st Regiment ... | 402 | 2 | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | 28 | ... | 32 | ... |
| Her Majesty's 75th Regiment ... | 459 | 5 | ... | 4 | ... | 1 | ... | 74 | ... | 84 | ... |
| 1st European Fusiliers ... | 427 | 3 | ... | 10 | ... | 2 | ... | 83 | ... | 98 | ... |
| 2nd European Fusiliers ... | 370 | 4 | ... | 7 | ... | 1 | ... | 71 | ... | 83 | ... |
| Sirmoor Battalion ... ... | 212 | 1 | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | 82 | 86 | ... |
| Kumaon Battalion ... ... | 312 | 1 | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | 18 | 21 | ... |
| Guide Corps (Cavalry and Infantry; 302 Infantry, 283 Cavalry). | 585 | 2 | 5 | ... | 13 | ... | 2 | ... | 50 | 72 | 16 |
| 4th Sikh Infantry (including recruits). | 414 | 1 | 2 | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | 40 | 46 | ... |
| 1st Punjab Infantry (including recruits). | 664 | 3 | 3 | ... | 5 | ... | ... | ... | 66 | 77 | ... |
| 2nd Punjab Infantry (including recruits). | 650 | 1 | 1 | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | 38 | 43 | ... |
| 4th Punjab Infantry (including recruits). | 541 | 1 | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 8 | 10 | ... |
| Wing Beluch Battalion ... | 322 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7 | 8 | ... |
| Pioneers (unarmed and undisciplined). | No return | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 23 | 25 | ... |
| Grand Total ... | 9,866 | 46 | 14 | 45 | 35 | 5 | 2 | 476 | 389 | 1,012 | 139 |

ABS

| | Officers. | Native officers. | Non-commissioned officers. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Killed ... ... ... | 46 | 14 | 80 |
| Wounded ... ... ... | 140 | 49 | 207 |
| Missing ... ... ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Total ... | 186 | 63 | 288 |

*Memorandum.*—Those officers who died of wounds during the siege are included as killed, but those returned as killed of other ranks were all killed at the time, there being no documents available to show what number of wounded soldiers died in consequence of their injuries.

2,163 Officers and men were killed, wounded, and missing, prior to 8th September, on which date the batteries for the reduction of the place were opened.

327 Officers and men were killed, wounded, and missing, from above date until morning of assault.

1,170 Officers and men were killed, wounded, and missing, in the assault of 14th September.

177 Officers and men were killed, wounded, and missing, from 15th September until final capture of the City on the 20th idem.

Total ... 3,837

*from the commencement of the Operations in the neighbourhood of of the City on the 20th September.*

| Wounded. Officers. European. | Wounded. Officers. Native. | Wounded. Non-commissioned officers. European. | Wounded. Non-commissioned officers. Native. | Wounded. Drummers, &c. European. | Wounded. Drummers, &c. Native. | Wounded. Rank and file. European. | Wounded. Rank and file. Native. | Wounded. Total. | Wounded. Horses. | Missing. Officers. European. | Missing. Officers. Native. | Missing. Non-commissioned officers. European. | Missing. Non-commissioned officers. Native. | Missing. Drummers, &c. European. | Missing. Drummers, &c. Native. | Missing. Rank and file. European. | Missing. Rank and file. Native | Missing. Total. | Missing. Horses. | Total of Killed, Wounded, and Missing. Officers and men. | Total of Killed, Wounded, and Missing. Horses. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 13 | 10 |
| 23 | 1 | 13 | 2 | 4 | ... | 199 | 47 | 289 | 62 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 2 | 4 | 365 | 121 |
| 19 | 1 | 6 | 10 | ... | ... | ... | 50 | 86 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9 | 9 | ... | 138 | ... |
| 2 | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | 61 | ... | 66 | 46 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 36 | 93 | 121 |
| 2 | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | 6 | ... | 11 | 11 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 30 | 27 |
| ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 3 | 3 | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | 3 | 3 |
| 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 6 | 12 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 7 | 16 |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 3 | 2 | ... | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 3 |
| ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 4 | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 5 |
| 1 | 5 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 11 | 11 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 11 | 14 |
| 7 | ... | 9 | ... | ... | ... | 120 | ... | 136 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 163 | ... |
| 4 | ... | 8 | .. | .. | ... | 65 | ... | 77 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | ... | 5 | ... | 101 | ... |
| 10 | ... | 17 | ... | ... | ... | 249 | ... | 276 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 389 | ... |
| 7 | ... | 7 | ... | ... | ... | 105 | ... | 119 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 4 | ... | 5 | ... | 156 | ... |
| 14 | ... | 7 | ... | ... | ... | 177 | ... | 198 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | 3 | ... | 285 | ... |
| 11 | ... | 23 | ... | 1 | ... | 186 | ... | 221 | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | 319 | ... |
| 6 | ... | 11 | ... | ... | ... | 145 | ... | 162 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 245 | ... |
| 6 | 8 | ... | 8 | ... | 1 | ... | 210 | 233 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 319 | ... |
| 2 | 3 | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | 30 | 38 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 5 | ... | 64 | ... |
| 6 | 10 | ... | 43 | ... | 4 | ... | 168 | 231 | 33 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9 | 303 | 58 |
| 3 | 7 | ... | 8 | ... | ... | ... | 98 | 116 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 162 | ... |
| 5 | 5 | ... | 7 | ... | ... | ... | 134 | 151 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 228 | ... |
| 2 | 4 | ... | 7 | ... | ... | ... | 96 | 109 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 152 | ... |
| ... | 2 | ... | 5 | ... | ... | ... | 54 | 61 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 71 | ... |
| .. | 1 | ... | 5 | ... | ... | ... | 43 | 49 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | ... | 58 | ... |
| ... | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 128 | 130 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 155 | ... |
| 140* | 49 | 108 | 99 | 5 | 5 | 1,313 | 1,076 | 2,795 | 186 | ... | . | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 12 | 17 | 30 | 53 | 3,837 | 378 |

(Signed) H. W. NORMAN, *Lieut.*,
*Asst. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.*

TRACT.

| Drummers. | Rank and File. | Total. | Horses. | Europeans. | Natives. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7 | 865 | 1.012 | 139 | 572 | 440 | 1,012 |
| 10 | 2,389 | 2,795 | 186 | 1,566 | 1,229 | 2 795 |
| ... | 29 | 30 | 53 | 13† | 17† | 30 |
| 17 | 3,283 | 3,837 | 378 | 2,151 | 1.686 | 3.837 |

*N. B.*—Since this return was compiled it has been ascertained that a mistake took place in the return furnished by the 8th Foot of casualties at the assault, 17 more men having been killed than were actually entered. Owing to the numerous casualties in corps during the siege, it is probable that some were omitted to be returned, and that the loss in several regiments exceeds that above shown.

PALACE OF DELHI,
*The 23rd September 1857.*

(Signed) H. W. NORMAN, *Lieut.*,
*Asst. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.*

* From Nominal Roll, 142 officers were wounded.
† Should be 12 and 18,—see return.

## APPENDIX A

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Barrackpore, 22nd March 1857.*

IN compliance with the directions contained in your official despatch of the 14th instant, I have the honor to enclose for submission to Government a letter in duplicate from the Officer Commanding the 19th Regiment of Native Infantry, dated the 18th idem, furnishing the required explanation of his conduct as affected by the statements in the petition of the men of the 19th Regiment of Native Infantry, which petition is also herewith returned.

---

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* W. ST. L. MITCHELL, *Commanding the 19th Regiment of Native Infantry, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—dated Berhampore, 18th March 1857.*

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a letter to Major-General J. B. Hearsey, C.B., commanding the Presidency Division, from Colonel R. J. H. Birch, C.B., Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, dated Council Chamber, Fort William, 14th March 1857; and in reply I beg leave to state as follows:—

The first statement in the petition in which I am mentioned is regarding the meeting at the mess-house on the 16th February; on that subject I need say nothing; the Major-General has received my report and approved of my proceedings.

The petition then goes on to state:—"After some time fresh stores arrived from Calcutta"; this statement is not true. The stores arrived on the 11th February, five days before the meeting at the mess-house, and subsequently none have been received.

The petition then states that I spoke angrily on parade, saying, "If you will not take the cartridges, I will take you to Burma, where

through hardships you will all die." I certainly did not make use of the expression above quoted; I explained to the regiment that the cartridges were made by the men of the 7th Native Infantry, and had been in store for a long time, and therefore they should be served out by the officers commanding companies. It is true, I cautioned the regiment against the serious consequences which would ensue from their persisting to disobey orders in refusing to take the cartridges.

It is stated in the petition that I said—"This is a very bad business; we don't fear to die, and will die here." I don't remember exactly the words I made use of on the occasion above referred to, but they were to the effect that we, the officers, were prepared to do our duty, should the men of the regiment not yield obedience.

It was not until after the men of the regiment had broken into the *kotes*, had armed themselves, and were in a state of mutiny, that I called out the artillery and cavalry.

The Adjutant, who went by my orders to the quarter-guard to sound the call for the native officers, came back with a report that the native officers at the quarter-guard had warned him not to go onwards, as the men were loaded, and would fire. When I arrived with the guns on parade, there was much shouting on the part of the men, and the rattling of ramrods in the barrels of the muskets,—such a noise as is made in loading.

It is further stated in the petition that I sent away the cavalry and guns, but said that they should come to a general parade in the morning, but that, on the native officers having requested me to dispense with the presence of artillery and cavalry, and on the representation of the Adjutant, I did so. I at first thought it advisable to parade all the troops together in the morning, thinking that the presence of the cavalry and artillery would hold the 19th Native Infantry, in check in case of any further outbreak; but subsequently, on its being reported to me that three or four companies had given up their arms, and that the rest were doing so, and as I saw a disposition on the part of the men to return to obedience, and in order to restore confidence, I took away the guns and ordered off the cavalry, and all was quiet in the lines.

At first I objected to parade the 19th Native Infantry alone, for the reasons above assigned; but on hearing from the Adjutant that the native officers had told him that the men could not be divested of the idea that the other troops were to be called out to act against

them, I relinquished my intention of parading all the troops in the morning, and directed that the 19th Native Infantry should be paraded alone, which was done, and the regiment behaved quietly, respectfully, and obediently.

I feel certain that the mutinous proceedings of the 19th Native Infantry, on the night of the 26th February, did not arise from anything that took place on parade that evening; but that the men were ripe for an outbreak owing to communications which they had been receiving for days and weeks previously from some of their comrades in the regiments at Barrackpore.

I am sure it will be readily admitted by the Major-General that my position was a very trying and a very difficult one, and I cannot help thinking that, if I had adopted measures less prompt and vigorous, lamentable results might have ensued.

---

*Demi-official from Lieutenant-Colonel* W. St. L. Mitchell, *Commanding the 19th Regiment of Native Infantry, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—dated Berhampore, 19th March 1857.*

I return the petition with an explanatory letter in duplicate.

The commissariat elephants have not yet arrived, but I hope they may to-day or to-morrow, as I am anxious to march from this on Saturday morning, although we will be rather short of carts. I am sending everything I can by water. Any public letters I will send off to-morrow.

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department, to Major-General* J. B. Hearsey, c.b., *Commanding the Presidency Division,—dated Fort William, 31st March 1857.*

With reference to my letter of this date, I am instructed to transmit to you, for the purpose of being laid before the Court of Enquiry ordered to be assembled to investigate into the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, Commanding the 19th Native Infantry at Berhampore, the several documents enumerated in the accompanying list.

2. The return of the documents is requested when no longer required for the purpose of the investigation.

---

*List of papers transmitted with letter to Major-General* J. B. Hearsey, c.b., *Commanding the Presidency Division, dated the 31st March 1857.*

Letter to Major-General Lloyd, commanding the Dinapore Division, of the 13th February 1857, and his reply, dated the 17th February 1857.

Letter to the Officer Commanding at Berhampore, of the 13th, and his reply, dated the 17th February 1857.

Despatch from Major-General Hearsey, C.B., dated 21st February 1857, with three enclosures.

Letter from the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, dated 2nd March 1857, with one from Major-General Hearsey, of the 1st March, enclosing a demi-official from Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, dated 27th February 1857, with two pieces of brown paper.

Letter from Major-General Hearsey, dated 5th, enclosing one from Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, dated 2nd March 1857, with a Persian petition from the 19th Native Infantry, and translation in English.

Letter to Major-General Hearsey, dated 14th March 1857.

Letter from Major-General Hearsey, dated 7th March 1857, with one from Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, dated 3rd of March, also one dated 5th March (and a demi-official also dated 5th March), with the proceedings of a European Court of Enquiry held at Berhampore, on the 27th February 1857.

A demi-official letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, dated 8th March 1857.

Letter from Major-General Hearsey, dated 13th March 1857 with two demi-official letters from Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, dated 6th and 7th March 1857.

Letter from Major-General Hearsey, dated 9th March 1857, with one from Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, enclosing the continued proceedings of the Court of Enquiry, also a demi-official letter dated 11th March 1857.

Letter from Major-General Hearsey, dated 18th March 1857, with the continued proceedings of the Court of Enquiry.

Letter from Major-General Hearsey, dated 22nd March 1857, with one from Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, dated 18th March 1857, and a demi-official letter dated 19th March 1857.

---

*Proceedings of a Special Court of Enquiry, held at Barrackpore, on the 2nd of April 1857, by order of Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to investigate certain matters which will be communicated to the President by the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Division.*

PRESIDENT:

*Brigadier* C. GRANT, C.B., *Commanding at Barrackpore.*

MEMBERS:

*Brevet-Colonel* E. AMSINCK, *3rd Battalion, Madras Artillery.*
*Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel* A. HUYSHE, *5th Battalion, Bengal Artillery.*
*Major* H. W. MATTHEWS, *43rd Regiment, Light Infantry.*
*Major* W. A. COOKE, *2nd Grenadiers.*
*Captain* G. N. GREENE, *70th Regt., Nat. Infy., conducting the Proceedings.*

598

*Thursday, 2nd April 1857.*

The Court assembled at 11 o'clock, A. M., this day, at the mess-house of the 43rd Regiment, Light Infantry.

President, Members, and Officiating Judge-Advocate, all present.

Lieutenant-Colonel W. St. Leger Mitchell, commanding the 19th Regiment of Native Infantry, appears in Court.

Presidency Division Orders and Barrackpore Station Orders, both of the 1st instant, convening and forming the Court, fixing the hour and place of assembly, and nominating Ensign F. E. A. Chamier, 34th Regiment of Native Infantry, to be Interpreter to the Court, are here read.

The Interpreter is present in Court.

Read and attached to the Proceedings (marked Appendix A) letter of instructions of the 1st instant, from the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Division to the address of the President.

Read and attached to the Proceedings (marked Appendix B) letter, dated 31st ultimo, from the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the address of Major-General J. B. Hearsey, C.B., commanding the Presidency Division. Read successively the whole of the documents transmitted with the foregoing letter, as specified in the "list" annexed thereto, and appended and marked as above.

The Court adjourns at 2 o'clock, P. M., until 11 A. M. to-morrow, to enable the European officers of the 19th Regiment of Native Infantry to be warned to attend for the purpose of giving evidence.

*Second day, Friday, 3rd April.*

The Court having met pursuant to adjournment, and all being present as on yesterday, proceeds to the examination of witnesses.

Intimation being here received from the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Division that Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell and the officers of the 19th Regiment of Native Infantry are required to proceed on duty to Chinsurah, the Court adjourns at quarter past 11 o'clock, A.M., until further orders.

*Third day, Monday, 6th April.*

The Court re-assembled at 11 A. M., this day, agreeably to Station Orders of yesterday's date. All present as on first day.

Lieutenant-Colonel W. St. L. Mitchell is present in Court.

*1st Witness*

*Lieutenant and Adjutant I. F. MacAndrew, 19th Regiment of Native Infantry*, is called into Court, and examined by the Officiating Judge-Advocate:—

*Question*—Did any of the European officers of companies accompany Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell and yourself to the quarter-guard of the 19th Regiment of Native Infantry on the evening of the 26th February?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Did the Lieutenant-Colonel direct any of them to go to their men upon that evening, and use their influence to induce them to accept the percussion caps which they had refused?

*Answer*—Not to my knowledge.

*Question*—What measures did he on that evening adopt for making known to the men of the regiment generally the explanation given to the native officers at the quarter-guard?

*Answer*—There were a number of native officers and havildars and about fifty sepoys present, and they were told to make known the Colonel's explanation to the men generally.

*Question*—Did the Lieutenant-Colonel, before leaving the quarter-guard, await a report of the effect of that explanation upon the men generally?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—How soon after that explanation at the quarter-guard did you receive the Lieutenant-Colonel's orders to warn the Officer Commanding the 11th Irregular Cavalry to have his regiment on the 19th Native Infantry parade-ground, on the following morning; likewise the order given to yourself to have the post guns on the same ground?

*Answer*—Whilst driving home in a buggy from the lines.

*Question*—Did you, when at the quarter-guard the evening referred to, hear the Lieutenant-Colonel threaten the men by saying to them—"If you don't take the cartridges, I will take you to Burma or China, where you will all die"?

*Question*—(concld.)
refused to do so, they would be imprisoned or transported?

*Answer*—I did not.

*Question*—Did you hear him say that he "would have the Governor-General's orders read out;" and, if so, what did you understand thereby?

*Answer*—What I understood him to say was that he would have the Articles of War read.

*Question*—Was the submission of the men, in respect to lodging their arms on the night of the 26th February, prior or subsequent to the withdrawal of the artillery and cavalry?

*Answer*—I should say it was simultaneous.

*Question*—Do you consider that the circumstance of the men arming themselves upon that night was produced by fear of the guns and cavalry being used against them on the following morning?

*Answer*—No; I don't think so, as it would have been time enough for them to arm themselves when the other forces actually came. My own opinion is that it was all arranged beforehand, though perhaps the parade for the blank ammunition may have precipitated the affair.

EXAMINED BY THE COURT

*Question*—Was the regiment aware that any grease required might be provided by the pay-havildars?

*Answer*—It was.

*Question*—Were you present when four men per company were called out, and the cartridges shown to them; if so, what was said by those men regarding them?

*Answer*—I was present; the four men per company were called out; the cartridges were opened before them; some of them were pulled to pieces, and the paper was burnt; the men discussed the matter amongst themselves, and some of them said there was not any grease. While the Colonel, the Quartermaster, and I were talking on the subject, a man named Gunness Doobey called my attention to there being two kinds of paper, one of which was more highly glazed than the other, and that he and the other men objected

*Answer*—(concld.)
to this kind. The men then requested that the two kinds might be put to the test of water.

*Question*—Was Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's manner or language calculated to excite or arouse any religious feeling regarding the issue of the cartridges?

*Answer*—No.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell declines to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

*2nd Witness*

*Captain J. MacDougall, 19th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and examined by the Officiating Judge-Advocate.

*Question*—Did you, on the evening of the 26th February, go to the lines of your company and endeavour to prevail upon your men to accept the percussion caps which they had rejected in the evening?

*Answer*—No; my reason for not doing so was that the refusal was not reported to me until 8 o'clock, P.M., by the orderly-havildar, who then told me that the Colonel and Adjutant were in the lines. I made an immediate report to the Commanding Officer.

*Question*—Did the men of the regiment, on the night in question, lodge their arms before or after Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell had directed the withdrawal of the guns and cavalry?

*Answer*—I did not see any of the men lodge their arms. Fifty men of my own company agreed to do so, but before I could get the other fifty together, those who had agreed had seated themselves under the trees with their arms in their hands, saying—"All will be right to-morrow morning."

CROSS-EXAMINED BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL MITCHELL

*Question*—At the time you had collected the fifty men who agreed to lay down their arms, did not the men in general about you show a disposition to return to obedience?

*Answer*—I think if they had been more regularly drawn up at the *kotes*, they might have lodged their arms. I mean those men assembled about Nos. 1 and 2 *kotes*.

*Question*—Did I not order the European officers to go to their companies and endeavour to get their men to lodge

*Question*—(concld.)
their arms? Why, then, did not you get your company regularly drawn up?

Witness withdraws.*

*3rd Witness*

*Captain H. D. Manning, 19th Regiment of Native Infantry*, having been called into Court, is examined by the Officiating Judge-Advocate.

*Question*—Did you, on the evening of the 26th February, go to the lines of your company, and try to persuade them to take the percussion caps, which they had previously refused?

*Answer*—No; I did not. I was prepared to do so, but refrained because I heard that the commanding officer and the adjutant had already been to the lines (on the subject of that refusal) and returned therefrom.

*Question*—Did the lodgment of arms precede or succeed the withdrawal of the guns or cavalry on the night of the 26th February?

*Answer*—Up to the time of my quitting my company, the men had not lodged their arms. I saw but very few men of my own company with arms.

EXAMINED BY THE COURT

*Question*—Were you aware that any grease required might be prepared by the pay-havildars?

*Answer*—I am aware that my pay-havildars knew such to be the case; beyond that I cannot say; still my idea is that all the men were aware of it.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL MITCHELL

*Question*—Where were you when I gave the order for the guns to be taken away?

*Answer*—I heard the order given after I had left my company and joined you and the other officers.

*Question*—Did you hear the conversation that took place between me and the native officers? If so, state what it was.

*Answer*—When I joined the Colonel and the other officers at the guns, I heard the former call for the native officers; they came to the front; the Colonel spoke to them, saying: "This is a most disgraceful proceeding; I will order a general parade for the morning, and see what all this is about." The native officers begged that the regiment might be paraded alone, as it would only

* No reply recorded in original.

*Answer*—(concld.)
alarm the men were the whole of the troops ordered out. The Colonel at first declined acceding to their request, but afterwards yielded the point.

*Question*—Did not the native officers say to me that some of the companies had laid down their arms, and that the rest were in the act of doing so?

*Answer*—I did not myself hear them say so, but I have been told that they did say so.

*Question*—Did I not, before taking away the guns, say to the native officers that it was a very dark night and I could not ascertain how the men were behaving, but that I trusted to their honour that all should be quiet during the night, and I would meet them on parade in the morning?

*Answer*—Yes, you did.

*Question*—Did I not show you this paper (paper handed in, marked C, and appended to the Proceedings), and ask you to circulate the contents privately throughout the regiment, as I could not speak them to the men on parade for fear of their taking the subject as an address ordered by the Major-General or the Governor-General?

*Answer*—Yes, I recollect you showing me the paper; and although I cannot remember positively that you asked me to circulate it, yet you told me to do my best to try and discover the origin of the meeting, which from that time up to the date of disbandment I have endeavoured to do without avail.

The witness withdraws.

*4th Witness*

*Lieutenant and Brevet-Captain L. R. Newhouse, 19th Regiment of Native Infantry*, is called into Court and examined by the Officiating Judge-Advocate.

*Question*—Did you, on the evening of the 26th February, go to the men of your company and try to prevail on them to take the percussion caps which they had on that evening refused?

*Answer*—No, I was officer of the day; but on a report to that effect having been made to me, I went in search of the commanding officer.

*Question*—Were you present at the quarter-guard on the evening in question when the Lieutenant-Colonel and the Adjutant were there?

*Answer*—No, I was not.

*Question*—Were you, at a later hour of the same date, amongst the men of your company after they had armed themselves, and did you enquire of them the reason of their doing so?

*Answer*—When the Colonel sent the European officers to their companies, I asked the men why they had armed themselves, and they said it was because they thought the cavalry were coming down to cut them up.

*Question*—Did the men lodge their arms before or after the withdrawal of the guns and cavalry on the night of the 26th February?

*Answer*—After.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL MITCHELL

*Question*—Did you hear me give the order for the removal of the guns?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—How then do you know that the guns were ordered to be withdrawn before the arms were lodged?

*Answer*—My opinion is derived from the time when I saw the torches with the guns moving off the parade-ground.

*Question*—When was it that you reported to me that the men of your company had all lodged their arms?

*Answer*—About 3 A.M., on the morning of the 27th February, I reported to you that most of my men had lodged their arms.

The witness withdraws.

The Court deems it unnecessary to call in any more of the officers of the 19th Native Infantry as witnesses.

The Court having called upon Lieutenant-Colonel William St. Leger Mitchell for any statements he may be desirous of making, that officer states as follows:—

*Statement of Lieutenant-Colonel* MITCHELL.

*Gentlemen*,—I wish to bring to your notice that the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers of my regiment never gave me or any of my officers any information of what reports had reached the regiment concerning cartridges or the disturbances at Barrackpore,

605

although, in the evidence before the Court of Enquiry at Berhampore, they state that rumours had reached them one or two months before.

On the 11th of February we received some balled ammunition from Calcutta.

On the 15th idem I received letters from Major-General Hearsey, C.B., and from Colonel Birch, C.B., informing me that messengers had been sent from Barrrackpore to the 19th Native Infantry for the purpose of getting them to create a disturbance.

On the 16th February I had a meeting of the native commissioned officers and the pay and color-havildars of companies at the mess-room at 11 o'clock, at which the second-in-command and the adjutant and the quartermaster were present. All the native officers present positively denied that any *kossid* had arrived, and told me that if any message should reach them they would report it to me. According to the evidence before the Court, the rumour about the cartridges being greased was confirmed by the guard of the 65th Native Infantry on the 11th February. Pray mark that the meeting at the mess between me and the native officers took place on the 16th February. Again, on the 18th February, a havildar's guard of the 34th Native Infantry arrived with some Government stallions proceeding to Buxar. In the evidence before the Court, you will see it stated that this guard confirmed the statement made by the guard of the 65th Native Infantry, and still no report was made to me. Again, on the 25th February, a havildar's guard of the 34th Native Infantry arrived with European convalescents, and they corroborated the statements made by the two former guards; still my native officers never made any report to me. All this I did not know until the first portion of the proceedings of the Court of Enquiry was sent to me.

As regards my conduct during the whole proceedings, it is fully explained by the written documents before the Court, except, perhaps, that the withdrawal of the guns has been left in doubt by my hastily-written letter of the 27th February.

I can assure the Court that I never made any compromise with the men, and that before I ordered the guns and cavalry off, the native officers declared to me that some of the companies had lodged their arms, and that the rest were doing so. I then told them that I trusted to their honour that there should be no further disturbance during the night, and that I would meet them on parade at daylight. All went off quietly. I may as well inform the Court that my position on the night of the 26th February was most critical; that I was uncertain

whether, if it came to a fight, we were able to coerce the men of the 19th Native Infantry, and that I was in consequence exceedingly desirous of avoiding a collision.

I tender to the Court a copy of my demi-official letter, dated 12th March 1857, to the address of the Assistant Adjutant-General of Division (the original of which is not amongst the documents which were laid before the Court) also a letter, dated 4th instant, from Lieutenant-Colonel Macgregor, the Governor-General's Agent at Moorshedabad, both of which I would wish to be attached to the Proceedings.

The following two documents are marked, respectively, Appendices D and E and appended to these Proceedings.

The Proceedings are here closed :—

(Sd.) C. GRANT, *Brigr., President.*
(Sd.) E. AMSINCK, *Bt.-Col.*
(Sd.) ALFRED HUYSHE, *Bt.-Lieut.-Col.*
(Sd.) H. W. MATTHEWS, *Maj.*
(Sd.) W. A. COOKE, *Maj., 2nd Grenadiers.*
(Sd.) G. N. GREENE, *Capt., conducting the Proceedings.*
} *Members.*

The Court adjourned at half-past 2 o'clock, *sine die.*

BARRACKPORE, *The 9th April 1857.* (Sd.) J. B. HEARSEY, *Maj.-Genl., Comdg. Presy. Divn.*

## *A.*

*From Major* A. H. ROSS, *Assistant Adjutant-General, to Brigadier* C. GRANT,—*dated Barrackpore, 1st April 1857.*

I am directed by Major-General Hearsey, C.B., commanding the Division, to inform you that the Special Court of Enquiry, of which you are President, has been convened in Division Orders of this date, to investigate in the fullest manner possible into the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, commanding the 19th Regiment of Native Infantry, at Berhampore, in connection with the occurrences at that station on the 26th February last and subsequently, which have led to the disbandment of that regiment.

## *B.*

*From Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, to Major-General* HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division—dated Fort William, 31st March 1857.*

With reference to my letter of this date, I am instructed to transmit to you, for the purpose of being laid before the Court of Enquiry, ordered to be assembled to investigate into the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, Commanding the 19th Native Infantry at Berhampore,

the several documents enumerated in the accompanying list (*vide* pages iii and iv).

2. The return of the documents is requested when no longer required for the purpose of the investigation.

*C.*

I cannot suppose that what occurred on the night of the 26th February was the united act of the whole regiment. I do not think that more than ten or fifteen men of each company can have been concerned in the forcible seizure of the arms and ammunition at the *kotes*, but the raising a cry of fire, and the drum sounding the alarm, caused the entire regiment to turn out, so that the good and the bad men of the regiment got assembled; and the night being dark, there was no distinguishing between the armed and the unarmed men. I now call upon you, the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the regiment, to assist me in finding out the leaders of this mutinous proceeding; also by whom these gross mis-statements concerning the cartridges and the grease about to be served out to regiments to be used with the new Enfield rifles, were first communicated to the 19th Regiment of Native Infantry. This is your duty to find out.

The Articles of War clearly state that any person acting against the religious feelings of any man in a regiment of the army is liable to the severest punishment. Therefore you should not, upon the mere rumour spread abroad by mischievous or designing persons, have distrusted a Government you have sworn faithfully to serve, and who for upwards of 100 years have had your forefathers in their service.

I now entreat you to come forward and state when and from whom you first heard that it was the intention of Government to destroy your caste. If this information is not given immediately, the punishment, whatever Government may please to order, will fall equally upon the good and the bad men of the regiment, and I think it is the duty of all officers and good soldiers to save the character of the regiment, which has hitherto been good.

*D.*

*Demi-official from Lieutenant-Colonel* W. St. L. Mitchell, *Commanding the 19th Regiment of Native Infantry, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—dated Berhampore, 12th March 1857.*

All quiet and orderly. The Court re-assembles to-day at 11 o'clock A.M. I send two days' proceedings, the first copy of which went yesterday. On the evidence of the subadar-major I have two remarks to

608

make. The first is with regard to the Governor-General's orders, should be read—"I said General Orders and *Lashkar Aien*,"—by which I meant the Standing Orders and Articles of War. Again, the subadar-major says that an order was given to send in a petition. The true history of the petition is this: Four men of the Adjutant's company went to him and said that they wished to tell their own story to the General. He told them that if it was respectful it would be sent, he had no doubt. The men then said that the other companies were preferring similar requests to their own officers. The Adjutant then told them that there was no use in sending in ten petitions, but that one for the whole regiment was enough, and that he had no doubt I would forward it if it was respectful and couched in proper language.

He told them to go and prepare it, and that he would ask me. When he did so, I said of course, if the petition was a proper one; and I had told the same thing to a havildar of the regiment, who asked me if I would forward a petition from the men, before I heard from the Adjutant.

## *E.*

*Demi-official from Lieutenant-Colonel* G. H. MACGREGOR, *to Lieutenant-Colonel* W. ST. L. MITCHELL, *Commanding 19th Regiment of Native Infantry,—dated Berhampore, 4th April 1857.*

I have just received your letter of the 1st instant, and lose no time in replying to it.

I returned to Berhampore, as you know, on the morning of the 27th of February last, and it was then that I learnt what had occurred the previous night.

I believe, from all that I know of the matter, that you did all in your power, on the evening of the 26th of February last and previously, to satisfy the men of the 19th Regiment that the cartridges which they refused to take were altogether unobjectionable, and that it was only when they had seized their arms to resist your authority that you had recourse to the adoption of strong measures against them.

There can be no doubt, I think, that the measures taken by you for reducing the men of the 19th to obedience were necessary, and, under the emergency, that you displayed good judgment in adopting such measures is, I think, sufficiently shown by the success which attended them.

The men behaved very well afterwards, and seemed to be very sorry for what they had done, and I do believe that if the native officers

609

and non-commissioned officers had done their duty, the men would never have been guilty of mutiny. I have been stationed here with the regiment for some months past, and until this business a quieter or a better-behaved regiment I never met with.

With regard to your own conduct in the matter, I fail to perceive in what way you are to blame.

I suppose it is a form generally observed, to assemble a Court of Enquiry on an occasion of the kind, to enquire into the conduct of the commanding officer, and as much for his satisfaction as for that of the Government; but you will, I doubt not, be fully acquitted of all blame in the matter.

Hoping soon to hear of such acquittal, and that Government have entirely approved of your conduct.

---

*Minute by the Governor-General, concurred in by Members of Council.*

A *careful* perusal of these papers satisfies me that Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, in dealing with the outbreak of the 19th Regiment of Native Infantry, on the 26th of February, did not show the temper and firmness which is required of a commanding officer in such circumstances.

I cannot doubt that during the first part of the proceedings, Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell was, as some witnesses have testified, very angry. The inconsiderate threat that if the men did not receive the cartridges he would take them to Burma or China, where they would die, which is not denied by Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, could not have proceeded from an officer speaking advisedly on a matter in which calmness and self-possession were urgently needed.

But it is especially in the time and manner of withdrawing the artillery and cavalry which he had brought upon the ground for the purpose of compelling to obedience the regiment, which had then taken up arms, that Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's gravest error of a want of firmness consists. The evidence upon this point varies somewhat, but not materially. Lieutenant MacAndrew, Adjutant of the regiment, thinks that the submission of the sepoys in lodging their arms was simultaneous with the withdrawal of the artillery. Captain MacDougall did not see any men lodge their arms; fifty men of his own company agreed to do so, but they did nothing more than sit down with their arms in their hands. Captain Manning did not see the arms lodged by the few men of his company who had them. Captain Newhouse says

that the arms were not lodged until after he saw the torches which accompanied the artillery move off the ground. Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's statement is that he made no compromise with the men, and that before he ordered the guns and cavalry off, the native officers declared to him that some of the companies had lodged their arms, and that the rest were doing so.

It is no doubt true that there was no arranged bargain between Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell and his men; but whereas it was his duty to listen to no proposals, and to accept no assurances, until he had satisfied himself, through his European officers, that every musket in the ranks was laid down, he did yield to representations made on behalf of a regiment in mutiny with arms in its hands, and he did so in order to obtain from them that which he ought to have exacted as an act of obedience. It is impossible not to view the mode in which Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell withdrew the coercing force as a triumph to the mutinous sepoys.

After what has passed in this matter, I submit that the Government cannot feel that confidence in Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's judgment and firmness which it ought to be able to repose in every officer commanding a regiment, and I propose that the Commander-in-Chief be requested to appoint some other officer to raise and command the corps which will take the place of the disbanded 19th Regiment, and to find such other employment for Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell as His Excellency may deem suitable.

*13th May 1857.* (Sd.) CANNING.

I agree entirely.

*13th May 1857.* (Sd.) J. DORIN.

I concur fully.

*14th May 1857.* (Sd.) J. LOW.

And I.

*15th May 1857.* (Sd.) J. P. GRANT.

*16th May 1857.* (Sd.) B. PEACOCK.

*From Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India, to the Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Fort William, 30th May 1857.*

I am desired to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that after a careful perusal of the papers, copies of which are herewith transmitted, connected with the outbreak of the 19th Regiment of Native Infantry, on the 26th of February last, the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council is of opinion

that Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell did not show the temper and firmness which is required of a commanding officer in such circumstances.

The inconsiderate threat held out by Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell during the first part of the proceedings, "that if the men did not receive the cartridges, he would take them to Burma or China, where they would die," and which is not denied by him, could not have proceeded from an officer speaking advisedly on a matter in which calmness and self-possession were urgently needed.

But it is specially in the time and manner of withdrawing the artillery and cavalry which he had brought upon the ground for the compelling to obedience the regiment, which had then taken up arms, that, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's gravest error of a want of firmness consists.

The evidence on this point varies somewhat but not materially.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell states that he made no compromise with the men, and that before he ordered the guns and the cavalry off the ground, the native officers declared to him that some of the companies had lodged their arms, and that the rest were doing so.

It is no doubt true that there was no arranged bargain between Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell and his men; but whereas it was his duty to listen to no proposals, and to accept no assurances, until he had satisfied himself through his European officers that every musket in the ranks was laid down, he did yield to representations made on behalf of a regiment in mutiny with arms in its hands, and he did so in order to obtain from them that which he ought to have exacted as an act of obedience.

In the opinion of the Governor-General in Council it is impossible not to view the mode in which Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell withdrew the coercing force as a triumph to the mutinous sepoys.

After what has passed in this matter, the Government cannot feel that confidence in Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's judgment and firmness which it ought to be able to repose in every officer commanding a regiment; and I am desired to request that His Excellency may be moved to make known to that officer the sentiments of the Governor-General in Council. Should it be eventually determined to raise another corps to take the place of the disbanded 19th Regiment, it is the desire of the Governor-General in Council that Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell should not be employed to raise and command it, and that some other employment may be found for that officer, such as His Excellency may deem suitable.

---

## APPENDIX B

*From Major-General* J. B. Hearsey, c.b., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Barrackpore, 5th April 1857.*

I have the honor to forward, for the consideration and orders of Government, the enclosed letter, in original, from Brevet-Colonel G. Burney, commanding the Sonthal Field Force, dated the 29th ultimo, with a correspondence attached, relating to the recent misconduct of three companies of the 63rd Native Infantry at Sooree, some of the men of which had declined to avail themselves of indulgence of furlough to their homes, on the ground that none of the regiments at Barrackpore intended to take theirs.

2. Colonel Burney also reports that these companies have since, he was informed, returned to a proper sense of their duty and were willing to take their furlough, but that he did not now consider himself at liberty to accept their offer.

3. A nominal roll of certain men who would seem to have taken the lead in this affair forms a portion of the enclosures; and I would venture to suggest, for the consideration of Government, the expediency of directing the summary discharge from the service of all these fourteen sepoys, in order to mark its displeasure at this act of passive mutiny.

---

*From Colonel* G. Burney, *in temporary command Sonthal Field force, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—dated Camp Sooree, 29th March 1857.*

In obedience to instructions from Government, I have the honor to report, for the information of Major-General J. B. Hearsey, C.B.,

commanding the Presidency Division of the army, that the 63rd Regiment Native Infantry will probably commence its march from this in progress to Berhampore on the 2nd proximo, leaving two companies at Raneegunge and two companies at Sooree until they can be relieved.

2. As the 63rd Regiment will be attached to the Presidency Division immediately, I do myself the honor to submit, for the consideration of Major-General J. B. Hearsey, C.B., commanding, the enclosed correspondence, showing the state of feeling in the regiment.

3. On the morning of the 27th instant, the Commanding Officer and Adjutant waited on me for instructions how to act under the following circumstances, stating that three companies of the regiment (the Grenadier, No. 2, and Light) had refused to proceed on furlough unless the troops at Barrackpore also went. The commanding officer handed me his confidential letter marked A. In reply, I instructed the commanding officer to tell the men they might please themselves, and that they would not be allowed the indulgence should they again ask for it, but the leave would be granted to others according to priority of claim; this to be explained to the Native officers in the evening, and again to the whole regiment at the ordinary instruction parade the next morning. This verbal communication of mine was afterwards put to paper by the Brigade-Major, and sent to Captain Phillips, commanding the regiment, as demi-official, marked B.

4. This day Captain Phillips, in his letter marked C, reports that the men who objected to take their furlough have come to a sense of their duty. I beg to forward a list, showing the names of the men who first assigned the objectionable reason for not proceeding on furlough: these men have been told that the motives of their refusing to take their furlough unless the troops at Barrackpore did so, have been reported to higher authority.

5. With advertence to Captain Phillips' letter marked C, stating that the men have returned to a sense of their duty, I beg to add that, to all outward appearance, his opinion is correct, but it is impossible to say how long the regiment may continue so, if instigated by men of other regiments. I urge this, as I hear this disaffection in the 63rd Regiment has been occasioned by two sepoys having come on the evening of the 26th instant, incognito, by train from Barrackpore *via* Paneighen to Sooree, and that these men brought a written communication with them. Previous to that evening the men of the 63rd Regiment had resolved to avail themselves of the furlough, as several of them had purchased tattoos and made preparatory arrangements for their journey

home, and it was the pretended necessity of acting in concert with their brethren at Barrackpore which made them plead their inability to go on furlough.

---

## A.

*From Captain* J. G. PHILLIPS, *Commanding 63rd Regiment of Native Infantry, to Captain* H. L. PESTER,—*dated Camp Sooree, 27th March 1857.*

I deem it my duty to beg you will acquaint the officer commanding the field force that a report was made to me last evening to the effect that the men of the Grenadier, 2nd and Light Companies of the regiment under my command had, after sunset roll-call, requested the orderly-havildars of their companies to report their reluctance to proceed home on furlough.

I immediately sent for the Native officers of those companies, and told them to go to the lines, reason with the men, and endeavour to ascertain their state of feeling.

Captain W. J. P. Barlow, officiating Adjutant, visited the lines by my orders at the 9 o'clock roll-call, and reports having first gone to the place where the Grenadier Company was assembled. He then caused the roll of the men entitled to furlough to be called, and asked the men present, individually, whether they wished to accept it or not. The officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, without exception, expressed their willingness to go, also the three senior sepoys; the other men present replied, if our brethren at Barrackpore go, we will go, but we hear they are not going. His enquiries from the 2nd and Light Companies met with a similar result. He then left them, telling them to think over the matter during the night. This morning the leave men of the Grenadier, No. 2 and Light Companies were had up to the adjutant's quarters, and very respectfully gave in their intention of not proceeding on leave until they heard of the men at Barrackpore having availed themselves of the indulgence, and the three sepoys of the Grenadier Company who expressed their willingness to go now declared their inability to resist the general pressure.

There seems to be a dread of incurring the displeasure of other troops, which apparently was only implanted in their minds at a late hour yesterday, as the purchase of ponies and other preparations for their home journey were in progress throughout the day, and the men appeared to be in high good humour. I am convinced that the receipt

of some intelligence during yesterday afternoon caused the excited state of feeling, but I am unable to trace its origin.

## B.

*From Captain* H. L. Pester, *to Captain* J. G. Phillips,—*dated Sooree, 27th March 1857.*

Colonel Burney wishes that you should have the instructions he gave you verbally in writing. The colonel wishes you to tell the men that they may please themselves, and that they will not be allowed the indulgence should they again ask for it, but that the leave will be granted on the 1st proximo according to priority. This to be explained to the regiment at the ordinary inspection parade to-morrow morning, and this evening to the Native officers.

## C.

*From Captain* J. G. Phillips, *to Captain* H. L. Pester,—*dated Camp Sooree, 29th March 1857.*

With reference to my letter dated the 27th instant, I have the honor to report, for the information of the officer commanding the field force, that the men who objected to take their furlough have, I am happy to say, come to a sense of their duty. The same was reported to me last evening by the Native officers and pay-havildars of the three companies.

The men, they say, express their sorrow at what has occurred.

616

*List of Sepoys of the Grenadier, 2nd and Light Companies of the 63rd Regiment of Native Infantry who stated their reluctance to proceed on furlough on the 26th March 1857.*

| No. | Rank and names. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|
| | SEPOYS. | |
| | *Grenadier Company.* | |
| | Samput Singh ... | Stated his reluctance. |
| | Sewsahae Pattack ... | Ditto ditto. |
| | Cholee Tewaree ... | Was one of the first to come forward. |
| | Runghee Singh ... | Stated his reluctance. |
| | Luchmun Gwala ... | Ditto ditto. |
| | Mutthoora Misir ... | Was very prominent as a spokesman from the first, although not entitled to furlough. |
| 7 | Sooklat Puchowrie ... | Was one of the first to come forward. |
| | *2nd Company.* | |
| | Soondur Singh ... | Was one of the first to come forward. |
| | Mulkaou Singh ... | Ditto ditto. |
| | Mooklapersaud Sookool ... | Ditto ditto. |
| 4 | Khurugjeet Singh ... | Ditto ditto. |
| | *Light Company.* | |
| | Junghir Khan ... | Was one of the first to come forward. |
| | Ramchurn Pattack ... | Ditto ditto. |
| 3 | Prag Misir ... | Ditto ditto. |

**NOTE.—There were thirty-six men entitled to furlough present at the roll-call when the three companies were reported as being reluctant to take their furlough, but their names (though recorded) are not given, as they did not take a prominent part in the affair, remaining silent, or speaking in the dark, where they could not be recognised.**

CAMP SOOREE,
*The 29th March 1857.*

(Sd.) J. G. PHILLIPS, *Capt., Comdg. 63rd Regt. of Nat. Infy.*

(Sd.) W. J. P. BARLOW, *Capt., Offg. Adjt., 63rd Regt. of Nat. Infy.*

617

*Minute by the Governor-General, concurred in by the Members of Council.*

I cannot assent to the proposal of Major-General Hearsey for the summary disposal of the fourteen sepoys of the 63rd Regiment of Native Infantry, who are reported in these papers to have refused to take their furlough on the ground that the sepoys of the regiments at Barrackpore intended to do the same.

The offence may deserve the definition given of it by Major-General Hearsey as "passive mutiny," but it is accompanied by extenuating circumstances which call for favorable consideration.

The men returned to a sense of their duty after a few hours, and expressed sorrow for what they had done.

They had up to the time of their refusal shown no sign of contumacy, and were preparing eagerly for their journey home.

It seems certain that they were instigated to the refusal by two sepoys of the 34th Regiment, who came to their lines and brought written communications from Barrackpore.

They belong to a regiment to shake the fidelity of which an attempt had previously been made when the late 19th Regiment left Berhampore; and this attempt was exposed by the men, who placed the letters which had been addressed to them with this view in the hands of their adjutant.

I submit that after the solemn warning which has just been given in the case of the 19th Regiment, it will be sound policy to pass over the offences of these men of the 63rd Regiment without punishment. The example which will be furnished by their escape from punishment in consideration of their resistance, though a tardy one, to the attempt made to lead them astray, will, I fully believe, be quite as effective in present circumstances as that of a dismissal.

I would, however, direct that the commanding officer of the 63rd Regiment should warn them how narrow their escape has been, explaining, if this be necessary, that although the refusal to take a furlough is in itself an innocent act, the doing so in combination with others as a mark of mistrust, fear, or opposition directed at the Government or its officers, is an offence of the gravest character, and one which will not be pardoned a second time.

*The 6th April 1857.* (Sd.) CANNING.

*The 7th April 1857.* (Sd.) J. DORIN.

I quite agree; but I would suggest, if any future similar case were to occur, that any man who may take decidedly a leading part in such

618

an unsoldierlike proceeding, such, for instance, as was done in this instance by Mutthoora Misir, of the Grenadier Company, should be summarily dismissed from the service.

*The 7th April 1857.* (Sd.) J. LOW.

I agree with the Governor-General.

*The 7th April 1857.* (Sd.) J. P. GRANT.

*The 7th April 1857.* (Sd.) B. PEACOCK.

---

*From Colonel* G. BURNEY, *in temporary command, Sonthal Field Force, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India,—dated Camp Sooree, 5th April 1857.*

I have the honor to acknowledge your message by electric telegraph, dated the 3rd instant, received by me this day at half-past 4 P.M. I immediately despatched a mounted orderly to the Officer Commanding the 63rd Native Infantry at Synthia (one march from this). with instructions to grant furlough to all the men of the regiment, without exception, and this in obedience to the orders received from you.

---

*From Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, to Colonel* C. CHESTER, *Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Fort William, 8th April 1857.*

With reference to the accompanying copy of a letter of the 5th instant, from Major-General Hearsey, C.B., Commanding the Presidency Division, forwarding correspondence relative to the reluctance expressed by certain men of the 63rd Regiment of Native Infantry to take their furlough, on the ground that the sepoys of the regiment at Barrackpore intended to decline their furlough, I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that the Governor-General in Council is not prepared to assent to the proposal of the Major-General for the summary dismissal of the fourteen men named in the roll which accompanied Colonel Burney's letter.

2. The offence may deserve the definition given to it by Major-General Hearsey, as "passive mutiny," but His Lordship in Council observes, that it is accompanied by extenuating circumstances which call for favorable consideration.

The men returned to a sense of their duty after a few hours, and expressed sorrow for what they had done.

They had up to the time of their refusal shown no sign of contumacy, and were preparing eagerly for their journey home.

It seems certain that they were instigated to the refusal by two sepoys, supposed to be of the 34th Native Infantry, who came to their lines and brought written communications from Barrackpore.

They belonged to a regiment to shake the fidelity of which an attempt had previously been made, when the late 19th Native Infantry left Berhampore, and this attempt was exposed by the men, who placed the letters which had been addressed to them with this view in the hands of their adjutant.

After the solemn warning which has just been given in the case of the 19th Regiment, the Governor-General in Council considers that it will be sound policy to pass over the offence of these men of the 63rd Regiment without punishment.

The example which will be furnished by their escape from punishment, in consideration of their resistance, though a tardy one, to the attempt made to lead them astray, will, His Lordship in Council believes, be quite as effective in their present circumstances as that of a dismissal.

The Governor-General in Council, however, requests that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will be so good as to direct the Officer Commanding the 63rd Regiment of Native Infantry to warn the men how narrow their escape has been, explaining that, although the refusal to take a furlough is in itself an innocent act, the doing so in combination with others as a mark of mistrust, fear, or opposition directed at the Government or its officers, is an offence of the gravest character, and which will not be pardoned a second time.

Colonel Burney has been instructed by telegraph to allow the men to proceed on furlough.

---

Copy of the foregoing forwarded to Major-General Hearsey, C.B., Commanding the Presidency Division, with reference to his letter of the 5th instant.

By order of the Governor-General of India in Council,

(Sd.) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Colonel.*

620

# APPENDIX C

*From Colonel* K. YOUNG, *Judge-Advocate-General, to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India,—dated Simla, 2nd April 1857.*

I HAVE the honor, by direction of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, to transmit, for the information of the Governor-General of India in Council, the accompanying proceedings of a general court-martial on the trial of Boodheelall Tewarry and Boohadoor Sing, Sepoys, 2nd Native Infantry, who, having been convicted of mutiny, have been sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for fourteen years.

The return of the proceedings is requested when no longer required.

---

*Proceedings of a Native General Court-Martial assembled at Fort William on Wednesday, the 18th March 1857, by order of Major-General* HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division of the Army, and with the sanction of the Governor of the Fort, for the trial of Boodheelall Tewarry and Boohadoor Sing, both sepoys, 2nd Regiment of Native Infantry (Grenadiers), and all such other prisoners as may be duly brought before it.*

PRESIDENT:

*Subadar-Major* JEWAHIR TEWARRY, *43rd Regiment, Native Light Infantry.*

MEMBERS:

*Subadar* BHOLA OOPADHIA, *17th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* HURRUCK SING, *40th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* RAM SING, *9th Battalion, Artillery.*
*Subadar* AMANUT KHAN, *37th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* SEWUMBIR PANDIE, *34th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* DOORGA RAM, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* KHOODA BUKSH, *2nd Regiment, Native Infantry (Grenadiers).*
*Subadar* MEERWAN SING, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* SOOKLALL MISR, *43rd Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* ADJUDHIA TEWARRY, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* SALIM SING, *43rd Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Jemadar* DEWAN ALIE, *9th Battalion, Artillery.*
*Jemadar* MOHUN SING, *65th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Jemadar* LALLA RAM BUKSH, *8th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

IN WAITING:

*Jemadar* ROMADE SING, *43rd Regiment, Native Infantry.*

*Jemadar* SEWRAM MISR, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

JUDGE-ADVOCATE:

*Captain* G. C. HATCH, *Deputy Judge-Advocate-General, Presidency Division.*

INTERPRETER:

*Lieutenant* W. M. GRIERSON, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

The Committee assembled this day at the Main Guard, Fort William, at 10 o'clock A. M., the President, Members, Judge-Advocate, and Interpreter being all present.

Sepoys Boodheelall Tewarry and Boohadoor Sing, 2nd Regiment of Native Infantry (Grenadiers), are brought prisoners into Court.

The orders convening and forming the Court and appointing the senior Native officer to be President and Captain G. C. Hatch to be Judge-Advocate, and Lieutenant-Colonel Cavenagh, Town-Major, to be Prosecutor, and garrison orders appointing the hour and place of the Court's assembly, are produced and read.

The names of the President and Members of the Court are read over in the hearing of the prisoners.

BY THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE

*Question*—Sepoy Boodheelall Tewarry, prisoner,—Do you object to being tried by the President, or any of the members appointed to serve on this court-martial ?

*Answer*—I have no objection.

*Question*—Sepoy Boohadoor Sing, prisoner, do you object to being tried by the President, or by any of the members appointed to sit on this court-martial ?

*Answer*—I object to none.

The members in waiting withdrew. The Interpreter, President, Members, and Judge-Advocate make the prescribed solemn affirmation.

The following charges were read :—

Boodheelall Tewarry, No.—, and Boohadoor Sing, No.—, both sepoys of the 4th Company, 2nd Regiment of Native Infantry (Grenadiers), placed in confinement by order of Major-General Hearsey, C.B., Commanding the Presidency Division, on the following charges :—

*1st*—For having, when on duty on the Town-Major's guard at Fort William, at or about 10 o'clock on the night of the 10th of March 1857, quitted their guard without being regularly relieved and without leave, and not returned until brought back as prisoners on the following morning.

622

*2nd*—For mutiny, in having, during the absence from the guard, as set forth in the first charge, at about half-past 10 o'clock at night, together gone to the mint guard in Calcutta, and then and there endeavoured to induce Subadar Muddeh Khan then commanding the mint guard, to quit his post, and march on that night with his guard into Fort William for the purpose of joining in an intended mutiny or concealed combination against the State.

By order of the Major-General Commanding Presidency Division,

BARRACKPORE, *The 16th March 1857.* } (Sd.) A. H. ROSS, *Major*, *Asst. Adjt.-Genl., Presy. Divn.*

---

BY THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE

*Question*—Sepoy Boodheelall Tewarry, 4th Company, 2nd Regimnet of Native Infantry (Grenadiers),—How say you, are you guilty or not guilty of the charges ?

*Answer*—Not guilty.

*Question*—Sepoy Boohadoor Sing, 4th Company, 2nd Regiment of Native Infantry (Grenadiers),—How say you, are you guilty or not guilty of the charges ?

*Answer*—Not guilty.

Lieutenant-Colonel Cavenagh, Town-Major, Fort William, having been appointed Prosecutor, and being present in Court, proceeds to call his witnesses.

*Subadar Muddeh Khan (Mussulman), 34th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court and duly affirmed.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—What is the strength of the guard which you command and where is it stationed ?

*Answer*—Four havildars, three naicks and eighty-six sepoys. I commanded the mint guard in Calcutta.

*Question*—What are the orders which you have received relative to the discharge of your duties whilst stationed at the mint ?

*Answer*—To protect the mint, and report any irregularity to the town-major.

*Question*—State what occurred on the night of the 10th instant.

*Answer*—At about the time of half-past 10 o'clock at night, I was sitting on my charpoy reading. These two sepoys who are now prisoners before this Court (witness pointing to them both) came up to me. I said to

*Answer*—(concld.)

them—"Where do you come from, and who are you?" The sepoy who is on the left (pointing to the prisoner Boodheelall Tewarry) said—"I have come from the fort, and from the men off duty on the reserve guard." I said—"Well?" The sepoy, the one who was speaking, said—"At 12 o'clock the Calcutta Militia is coming into the fort, and do you also bring the mint guard at that time into the fort; the Governor-General is going up to Barrackpore at 10 o'clock, and after taking possession of the magazine there will be some fighting." I was angry and told him to be silent, saying—"Hold your tongue, you rascal; how can you say such improper things?" I said—"Get out of this." They went to the door of the guard-room and again stopped. I called out for the naick of the guard, Allahooddeen, and told him to place them in confinement, and place an extra sentry over them. I gave orders that no one should be allowed to come near to them, or speak to them. They remained all night in confinement, and next morning I sent them off with a naick and four sepoys, with the havildar who goes to make the daily report to the town-major. This is what happened. When they were being taken off with the guard, they both joined their hands and begged to be pardoned. I said—"I have no power; I cannot pardon such an act."

*Question*—How far was Boohadoor Sing from you when the prisoner Boodheelall Tewarry addressed you? Was he sufficiently near to enable him to hear the conversation that took place?

*Answer*—They were close, side by side.

*Question*—Did Boodheelall Tewarry speak in a sufficiently loud tone of voice, so as to render whatever he said perfectly audible to Boohadoor Sing?

*Answer*—They were close together. He spoke as I am doing now; they were close enough to touch each other.

*Question*—Did the prisoner Boohadoor Sing in any way join in the conversation?

*Answer*—No: he did not speak; he stood there.

*Question*—Was any other person present when the prisoner came to your guard, and during the time the conversation took place?

*Answer*—Yes; Allahooddeen, Naick, and Sepoy Sirdar Khan were on a charpoy within a cubit's distance from me. The naick had just come in from posting a sentry, and stood close by while the conversation was going on.

*Question*—Did Boodheelall Tewarry state that he was acting under the authority of any commissioned or non-commissioned officer?

*Answer*—He mentioned the havildar-major of the reserve guards.

*Question*—Did Boodheelall Tewarry mention from whom the Calcutta Militia had received instructions to move into the fort?

*Answer*—He did not; he merely said it would come into the fort.

*Question*—Did he state that any particular duty had been assigned to the Calcutta Militia in garrison?

*Answer*—No; he merely said the Calcutta Militia are coming in, and you also bring your guard, and we will take the fort.

*Question*—Did he tell you to put your guard at any particular place in the fort?

*Answer*—No; he merely said—"Bring your guard into the fort, and join in."

*Question*—After you had placed the prisoners in confinement, are you aware of any person having come to the guard to make enquiries regarding them?

*Answer*—I went to sleep, and heard nothing of any one coming to enquire after them.

*Question*—You have stated that in the morning both the prisoners begged you to pardon and release them; can you mention the exact words that they used on that occasion?

*Answer*—They folded their hands and said—"You are an officer, pardon us; don't report us." They both said this.

*Question*—Did they give any reason for expressing a hope that you would not report their fault?

*Answer*—They merely asked to be pardoned, and not to be reported; which they did repeatedly.

*Question*—Did either of the prisoners make any allusion to their fault being known only to yourself; and, if so, can you state the words he used?

*Answer*—Yes; he said—"You only know our fault; pardon us."

*Question*—Did either of the prisoners make use of any such expression as "household words" (*ghur kee bat*) in his conversation with you; if so, which was the person, and when did he use the expression?

*Answer*—The prisoner on the left (pointing to Boodheelall Tewarry) said—"This is a thing among ourselves; why are you angry?" This was said at half-past 10 at night, when I ordered them to be confined.

*Question*—To your knowledge, did any of the men of the guard enter into conversation with the prisoners either before or after you had directed them to be confined?

*Answer*—No; I gave very strict injunctions that no one should talk to them.

By the Judge-Advocate

*Question*—Had you ever seen either of the prisoners before to your knowledge?

*Answer*—I never saw them before.

*Question*—Was there a light in the guard-room?

*Answer*—Yes; there is a light in my room, and three in the main room of the guard, the whole night.

*Question*—How were these two men dressed when they came to you?

*Answer*—They were dressed in native clothes.

*Question*—About what distance is the mint guard from the fort?

*Answer*—About two miles.

Cross-examined by the Prisoner Boodheelall Tewarry

*Question*—How could I say that the Lord-Sahib could take the magazine? Did I not say that he was going up for a parade? Did I not say anything about a European regiment having gone up?

*Answer*—I am answering on my oath what was said. He said nothing about European troops.

*Question*—Were we known to each other that I came and asked you to come into the fort, as you say?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—How could I then, who am not even a non-commissioned officer, come to you and say what you say I

*Question*—Did I not say that I had come for a letter?

*Answer*—No, he said nothing of the kind.

Sepoy Boohadoor Sing declines to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

*Allahooddeen (Mussulman) Naick, No. 6 Company, 34th Regiment of Native Infantry*, is called into Court and duly affirmed.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Have you any acquaintance with the prisoners in Court?

*Answer*—No; but I recognise them.

*Question*—What guard do you belong to; who commands it; and from what date has it been stationed on its present duty?

*Answer*—The mint guard in Calcutta; Muddeh Khan, Subadar, 34th Native Infantry, commands it; and it has been stationed there since the 3rd of the present month.

*Question*—Has either of the prisoners been in the habit of visiting any man attached to the guard since it has been posted in the mint?

*Answer*—No; I never saw them there before the day they were confined.

*Question*—On what date, and by whose orders were they confined?

*Answer*—On the night of the 10th of this month, by order of Muddeh Khan, Subadar.

*Question*—State, to the best of your power, the exact circumstances under which they were confined?

*Answer*—On the night of the 10th instant, at about half-past 10 o'clock, the subadar was sitting on his charpoy before the lamp, reading the order book. These two men, the prisoners in Court, came alongside of him, and when the subadar looked up they saluted him. The subadar asked them who they were, what they wanted, and where they came from. They replied—"The havildar-major has sent us; the Governor-General is going to Barrackpore to take the magazine, and there will be fighting there. The Calcutta Militia are coming into the fort; you bring your guard and join them." The subadar then said—"Who sent you with this order?" and they replied—"The havildar-major." The subadar said—"What! Am I going to

*Answer*—(concld.)

obey the havildar-major? Get out of this!" They then went outside into the compound before the door, and began talking. I do not know whether to each other or to men of the guard. When the subadar came out and told me to get a sentry ready and place them in confinement, I did so, and told the sentry that no one should speak to the prisoners. During the night they remained in confinement, and in the morning, when the havildar, who goes to make the daily report, was starting, the subadar took out four sepoys from the guard, which always falls in at gunfire, and told me to go with them, and report the whole of the circumstances to the authorities in the fort.

*Question*—Were you in the same room with the subadar when the prisoners entered?

*Answer*—Yes, I was.

*Question*—Did both the prisoners take part in the conversation with the subadar, or did one of them act as spokesman?

*Answer*—One only spoke [witness points to Boodheelall Tewarry.]

*Question*—How far was the prisoner Boohadoor Sing from his companion Boodheelall Tewarry when the latter was carrying on his conversation with the subadar?

*Answer*—Close together.

*Question*—Did Boodheelall Tewarry speak in an audible tone, so as to be heard by every one in the room?

*Answer*—He spoke so that others might have heard; I myself heard.

*Question*—Who were present at the time the prisoner Boodheelall Tewarry addressed the subadar?

*Answer*—I and a sepoy, Sirdar Khan.

*Question*—Where were the rest of the guard?

*Answer*—There are two rooms in the guard, one a small room and the other a large room. In the small room the subadar and two or three of us stop. It is a large guard of eighty-six men. They were all in the large room, with the exception of those who were on duty.

*Question*—To enter the large room is it necessary to pass through the room allotted to the subadar, or has each room a separate entrance?

*Answer*—There are doors in the large room, besides the one leading into the subadar's room.

*Question*—Is it usual for persons to enter the little room unless they should wish to speak to the subadar ?

*Answer*—It is not usual, unless to speak to the subadar.

*Question*—Did the prisoner Boohadoor Sing at any time address the subadar, or take any part in the conversation ?

*Answer*—Only in the morning, when he begged the subadar to release him.

*Question*—When the subadar went out of his room, and ordered you to confine the prisoners, were any of the men of the guard standing near them, or conversing with them ?

*Answer*—I did not see any.

*Question*—Did the prisoner Boodheelall Tewarry mention who was the havildar-major from whom he had received instructions to wait upon the subadar ?

*Answer*—He gave no name ; but meant, I suppose, the havildar-major of the place whence he came. He used the words "havildar-major."

*Question*—Did he state by whom the order had been given for the Calcutta Militia to march into the fort ?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Did he state the reason for the corps marching at such unusual hours, and what was the nature of the duty to be performed in the fort ?

*Answer*—No ; he merely stated that the regiment was to go into the fort at 12 o'clock at night, and the subadar was to bring his guard and fall in with them.

*Question*—Did he, Boodheelall Tewarry, tell the subadar to report his arrival to the Town-Major, or to any of the authorities in garrison, or did he mention the particular spot to which the mint guard was to be taken ?

*Answer*—No ; he did not. He only said—"Bring your guard, and fall in with the Calcutta Militia."

*Question*—From what the prisoner stated to the subadar, were you led to suppose that the guard was summoned into the fort for any other particular object ?

*Answer*—If we had got the order from European officers, I would have thought it was all right ; but as the order came

*Answer*—(concld.)

from them, I suppose they wanted us to come in to fight against the *huzoor log* (the State).

*Question*—Did either of the prisoners, at any time on that night, speak to you, or to any other man of the guard?

*Answer*—They did not speak to me, nor to any one else. The order was given that they were not to be allowed to speak to any one.

*Question*—After the prisoners had been confined, are you aware of any one having come to the guard to make inquiries regarding them?

*Answer*—No one came. I went to sleep.

*Question*—Did you accompany the escort in charge of the prisoners into the fort; and if so, to whom did you make the latter over?

*Answer*—I did accompany them into the fort, and after reporting the circumstances to the authorities according to orders received, I took them to the main guard.

*Question*—Do you know whether either of the prisoners is very well acquainted with, or is a particular friend of any man now doing duty with the mint guard?

*Answer*—No; I don't suppose so, as I never saw them there before, and we have been there eighteen days.

The prisoner Boodheelall Tewarry declines to cross-examine.

The prisoner Boohadoor Sing declines to cross-examine.

By the Court

*Question*—At what distance is the sentry from the subadar's room?

*Answer*—I have never measured it. I should say it was ten or twelve paces.

*Question*—Who was the sentry?

*Answer*—I don't know his name, but he is here. I have seen him outside the Court.

The witness withdraws.

*Sirdar Khan (Mussulman), Sepoy, No.—of the 34th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and duly affirmed.

*Question*—Are you acquainted with the prisoners now before the Court?

*Answer*—I saw them on that day, the day on which they were confined in the mint guard.

*Question*—State what occurred on the night they were confined?

*Answer*—I was sitting on my charpoy, which was about a couple of feet distant from that of the subadar. We were both reading. I saw these men come up to the subadar. They held up their hands to me not to speak. The subadar then turned round to them, and said—"Who are you?" One of them said—"I am a sepoy of the 2nd Regiment, Grenadiers." The subadar asked them what they wanted. He replied the havildar-major had sent a *salaam* to them. The subadar became angry, and said—"Why?" The sepoy said—"The Governor-General is going up to the cantonments at 10 o'clock to take the magazine; there will be a fight there. At 12 o'clock, the Calcutta Militia will come into the fort; you also bring your guard into the fort at the same hour." The subadar was very angry, and said—"What! Am I to receive orders from the havildar? Get out of this, you rascal!" The sepoys went out. The subadar followed them, and called to the naick to place them in confinement. While the naick went for a sentry, the subadar placed them under the sentry at the guard-room door. The naick came and posted the sentry over them.

*Question*—Was there a light in the room in which you and the subadar were sitting?

*Answer*—Yes, there was.

*Question*—Did only one of the prisoners speak to the subadar, or did they both address him?

*Answer*—Only one spoke.

*Question*—Which one?

*Answer*—I cannot say which.

*Question*—Was the one who remained silent close to his companion?

*Answer*—I only saw one sepoy in the room. I saw them both after they were confined.

*Question*—You have stated in your evidence that you saw these men (and you looked towards the prisoners in Court) come up to the subadar. How do you explain this with your last answer?

*Answer*—I saw only one.

631

BY THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE

*Question*—How long did the conversation last between the subadar and the sepoy?

*Answer*—About five minutes.

*Question*—Who were present in the room at the time of this conversation?

*Answer*—I saw one of the sepoys of the Grenadiers now in confinement, and the subadar only.

*Question*—Was Allahoodeen, Naick, in the room when the conversation took place between the subadar and the sepoy?

*Answer*—He remained in that room, but it was so dark over his bed that I could not see whether he was there.

*Question*—If it was dark, how could you see the sign made to you not to speak?

*Answer*—The sepoy came near me, and the light was beside me.

*Question*—What was the size of the room?

*Answer*—It was about the size of the half of this room (about 11 paces by 8).

*Question*—How do you know that the subadar ordered two sepoys to be put in confinement?

*Answer*—He spoke loudly to Allahoodeen, Naick, who was within the subadar's room, to bring a sentry to place over these men.

*Question*—Where were you when the subadar told Naick Allahoodeen to put the sepoys in confinement?

*Answer*—I was in the subadar's room.

*Question*—Then you and Allahoodeen were in the same room together?

*Answer*—Yes; but we have our beds on different sides of the room.

The Court is closed.

The Court is opened.

The witness is cautioned by the President to speak the truth.

BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Did the sepoy who spoke to the subadar mention whether it was the havildar-major of the reserve guards or any other havildar-major who had sent him?

*Answer*—He used the words "havildar-major," and said he had come from the fort.

*Question*—Did he state under whose instructions the Calcutta Militia were to come into the fort, and why the corps was to march at such an unusual hour?

*Answer*—No; the subadar hearing what was said got angry.

*Question*—Did he tell the subadar that he was to report himself to any authority in the fort, or to take any duty in garrison?

*Answer*—No, he did not.

*Question*—From what the prisoner stated to the subadar, were you led to suppose that the guard was called into the fort for any particular purpose?

*Answer*—I never troubled my head about it.

*Question*—Did either of the prisoners speak to you or to any other sepoys of the guard?

*Answer*—They said nothing to me, and I did not see them speaking to any one else.

*Question*—After the prisoners had been placed in confinement, did they make any petition to the subadar?

It now striking 4 o'clock, the Court adjourned until to-morrow morning, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

---

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

*Fort William, 19th March 1857.*

The Court re-assembled this day at 11 o'clock A. M., at their former place of meeting, the President, Members, Judge-Advocate, Interpreter, Prosecutor, and the prisoners being all present.

Sepoy Sirdar Khan, the witness last under examination, not being in attendance, a report having been made of his being ill, the Prosecutor calls another witness.

*Purmode Pandy (Hindu), Sepoy, 8th Company, 34th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and makes the prescribed solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Were you a sentry at the mint guard at Calcutta at any time on the night of the 10th instant?

*Answer*—I was posted as sentry at 10 o'clock.

*Question*—State what occurred during the time that you were on sentry duty on that occasion?

*Answer*—About half-past 10 o'clock, two men came to me. I asked them—"Why do you come here?" They replied by asking me whether it was a subadar's or jemadar's guard. I told them it was a subadar's guard. I again asked them why they came, and where they came from. They replied they had come from the fort, and

*Answer*—(concld.)

passed on to the subadar, Muddeh Khan. I don't know what passed there. When they came out, the subadar placed them in confinement, and put a sentry over them. I was relieved at 12 o'clock, and know nothing more.

By the Court

*Question*—Were you posted sentry at the guard-room door or at the further gate?

*Answer*—I was at the door of the guard-room by the sentry box.

*Question*—How far is the sentry box from the door of the guard-room?

*Answer*—About a pace from the door, and twelve or thirteen paces from the place where the subadar was.

By the Prosecutor

*Question*—Do you recognise the prisoners in Court as being the men, or either of them as being one of the men, who addressed you?

*Answer*—I recognise that man (witness points to prisoner Boodheelall Tewarry) as the man who spoke to me.

By the Judge-Advocate

*Question*—Was it a moonlight night?

*Answer*—Yes.

By the Prosecutor

*Question*—Was the other prisoner in Court present on that occasion?

*Answer*—Yes, they were both together.

*Question*—How far distant from one another were the two prisoners when they spoke to you?

*Answer*—As they are standing now; they were close together.

*Question*—After they passed you, did they proceed direct into the room in which the subadar was sitting, or did they enter any other part of the guard-house?

*Answer*—They went straight into the subadar's room.

*Question*—When they made their exit from the guard-house, and the subadar ordered them to be confined, did they make any petition to the Native officer?

*Answer*—At the time they said nothing.

*Question*—Was the night of the 10th instant the first occasion on which you had seen the prisoners at the mint guard?

*Answer*—I never saw the prisoners at the mint guard before.

*Question*—Have you heard of either of them having a particular friend amongst the men at the above guard ?

*Answer*—I have not heard that they had any particular friend at the mint guard.

By the Judge-Advocate

*Question*—From the place at which you were posted could you see into the subadar's room ?

*Answer*—I could not see into the subadar's room from the place where I was posted.

*Question*—Did you hear what the subadar said to the men ?

*Answer*—I did not hear anything the subadar said to them. I heard the subadar give the order to put them in confinement, and not to allow ony one to talk to them, or go near them.

*Question*—How long were the two men inside the subadar's room ?

*Answer*—A short time ; about five minutes.

*Question*—Who were inside the subadar's room when the men went in ? Do you know ?

*Answer*—There are five people who live in that room, but I do not know who were in it then.

*Question*—How were the two men dressed who came to you ?

*Answer*—They were dressed in native clothes.

*Question*—Where was the subadar when he gave the order for the men to be confined ?

*Answer*—He came out of the room into the compound.

The prisoner Boodheelall Tewarry declines to cross-examine.

The prisoner Boohadoor Sing cross-examines.

*Question*—Did not the man who addressed you say he had come for a letter ?

*Answer*—Nothing was said about coming for a letter.

By the Court

*Question*—Did you see both the prisoners go into the subadar's room ?

*Answer*—They both went in.

*Question*—Why did you let them go in ?

*Answer*—They told me they had come from the fort. There is no order to prevent the sepoys going in.

By the Judge-Advocate

*Question*—Did the men say anything when they were ordered into confinement ?

*Answer*—Yes; they said—"Why do you confine us?" The subadar replied—"Because you are scoundrels."

*Question*—Which of the two said this to the subadar?

*Answer*—Boodheelall Tewarry.

*Question*—Did the other man complain about being confined?

*Answer*—No; he remained silent.

The witness withdraws.

*Jyepall Sing (Hindu), Naick, 2nd Company, 2nd Regiment of Native Infantry (Grenadiers)*, is called into Court, and makes the prescribed solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Where were you doing duty on the night of the 10th instant?

*Answer*—I was on the Town-Major's guard.

*Question*—Where is the Town-Major's guard stationed?

*Answer*—Near the barrack occupied by the men off duty of the reserve guard.

*Question*—Did the prisoners belong to that guard?

*Answer*—Yes, they did belong to that guard.

*Question*—Were they present with the guard during the whole night of the 10th instant?

*Answer*—No, they were not present during the whole night. I relieved them both from sentry duty at 9 o'clock on that evening. At a quarter to 10 o'clock I took the roll-call. These two men were absent, and I reported them to the subadar-major and havildar-major. They were absent from their guard all night. I also told the Town-Major's sirdar bearer of their absence.

*Question*—Did you give them permission to leave the guard?

*Answer*—No; I gave them no leave.

*Question*—Were they relieved from their duty with your guard?

*Answer*—They were relieved from sentry duty, not from guard.

*Question*—Did you give them any orders to quit the fort or guard on the night of the 10th instant?

*Answer*—No, I gave no such orders.

*Question*—At what time did you report their absence to the havildar-major?

*Answer*—I reported it immediately I discovered their absence, at a quarter to 10 o'clock.

*Question*—Was any one present when you made the report?

*Answer*—The havildar-major and subadar-major only were present. There were no sepoys there.

*Question*—At what time did you make your report at the Town-Major's quarters?

*Answer*—It was passed 1 A.M.; near 2 o'clock on that night I awoke the sirdar bearer.

*Question*—When did you next see the prisoners?

*Answer*—I saw them when they were brought back about 7 o'clock next morning, prisoners, under a guard of the 34th Regiment.

BY THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE

*Question*—What was the reason for your delay in reporting at the Town-Major's quarters the absence of these two men?

*Answer*—I went to sleep, having told the sentry to awake me when these men returned. When I awoke, I asked the sentry on duty what o'clock it was. He replied, near 2 o'clock. I then ran off, and reported their absence at the Town-Major's quarters.

Both prisoners declined to cross-examine.

BY THE COURT

*Question*—At what time did you post the prisoners on sentry on the 10th March?

*Answer*—At 6 o'clock in the evening.

*Question*—How is it you kept them on sentry duty for three hours?

*Answer*—There are sixteen sepoys on the guard at night, and they supply four sentries.

BY THE PRISONER BOODHEELALL, BY PERMISSION

*Question*—Do you know if I received news of a letter having come for me at the mint guard?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Did I ask leave to go for a letter?

*Answer*—No.

The witness withdraws.

*Rambuksh Sing* (*Hindu*), *Havildar, Officiating Havildar-Major, 10th Company, 2nd Regiment of Native Infantry* (*Grenadiers*), is called into Court, and makes the prescribed solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—What guard did the prisoners belong to on the night of the 10th instant?

*Answer*—The town-major's guard.

*Question*—Do you know whether they absented themselves from their guard on that night?

*Answer*—The Naick, Jyepall Sing, reported the circumstance of their absence without leave to the subadar-major in my presence; thus much I know.

*Judge-Advocate*,—By this answer it should be understood that the witness speaks only to a rep rt having been made, and not to the absence of the men, of which this report is not evidence.

*Question*—Was any one else present at the time the naick of the guard, Jyepall Sing, made the report of the prisoner's absence?

*Answer*—No one else was present.

*Question*—At what hour did Jyepall Sing, naick, make the report as stated above?

*Answer*—At about a quarter to 10 o'clock.

*Question*—Did you give him any orders on hearing the report?

*Answer*—No, I did not; I do not belong to the guard.

*Question*—Where is the town-major's guard stationed?

*Answer*—It is situated in one of the new barracks in the ravelin, in front of the town-major's quarters.

*Question*—Did you send the prisoners with any message to the subadar of the mint guard on the night of the 10th instant?

*Answer*—No, I did not; they were on duty on another guard, and I neither saw them nor had anything to say to them.

*Question*—Did they obtain permission from you to leave their guard either with or without being regularly relieved?

*Answer*—The guard is not mine; I have no authority in it. I gave no leave.

*Question*—In the event of any change taking place in any of the guards in the fort, is not a report made to you?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Did you see the prisoners on the morning of the 11th instant?

*Answer*—I saw them at the main guard under charge of a guard of the 34th Regiment, just after they arrived, being made prisoners.

*Question*—Did you give any orders to Dabee Rai, naick, to leave the fort on the night of the 10th instant?

*Answer*—I gave him no order.

Sepoy Boodheelall Tewarry, prisoner, declines to cross-examine.

Sepoy Boohadoor Sing, prisoner, declines to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

*Subadar-Major Shaikh Gholam Mahomed, 2nd Regiment of Native Infantry (Grenadiers)*, is called into Court, and makes the prescribed solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Was any report made to you on the night of the 10th instant. regarding the absence of sepoys from the town-major's guard?

*Answer*—About a quarter to 10 o'clock at night on the 10th instant Jyepall Sing, naick, of the town major's guard, came and reported to me that two sepoys of his guard were absent. I asked him who they were, and he said, Boodheelall Tewarry and Boohadoor Sing, sepoys of the 4th Company.

*Question*—Was any one present when the report was made?

*Answer*—There were sepoys sleeping round about when report was made to me. I heard him report to the havildar-major, who was about five paces off.

The prisoners both declined to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

*Sungut (Hindu)* is called into Court, and makes the prescribed solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Whose servant are you?

*Answer*—The town-major's.

*Question*—Did any one come to you on the night of the 10th instant?

*Answer*—Before 2 o'clock, on the night of the 10th instant, a naick came to me and awoke me, and told me two sepoys were absent, and had been so since about a quarter to 10 o'clock. He told me to report it to my master. I replied, he was asleep. He went away.

Both prisoners declined to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

*Dabee Rai (Hindu), Lance-Naick, 8th Company, 2nd Regiment of Native Infantry (Grenadiers)*, is called into Court, and makes the prescribed solemn affirmation.

639

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—To what guard did you belong on the night of the 10th instant?

*Answer*—I was on the town-major's guard.

*Question*—Did the prisoners also belong to that guard?

*Answer*—They did.

*Question*—Do you know if they were present with the guard the whole of that night?

*Answer*—I was asleep and don't know.

*Question*—Were you absent from the fort or guard at any time during the night?

*Answer*—No, I was absent from neither the guard nor the fort.

*Question*—Did you receive any order from any one to leave the fort on the night of the 10th instant?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Were the prisoners present with the guard on the following morning?

*Answer*—Three or four days ago they were absent. I don't know the date.

Boodheelall Tewarry, prisoner, declines to cross-examine.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY BOOHADOOR SING

*Question*—Did you not come to the mint guard at 1 o'clock at night and see me there?

*Answer*—I did not go. I did not leave the fort.

BY THE COURT

*Question*—At what time did you relieve the sentries that night?

*Answer*—I was awake at 12 o'clock, and I heard that these two men were absent.

*Question*—How do you reconcile this statement with your answer, that you did not know whether they were present the whole night?

*Answer*—I did not clearly understand the first question.

The witness is warned by the Court that prevarication is liable to severe punishment.

The witness withdraws.

The prosecution is closed.

The prisoners are called on for their defence.

Sepoy Boodheelall Tewarry, prisoner, says:—

I was reading my accounts at about half-past 5 o'clock in the evening, when Boohadoor Sing, sepoy, came from the city and said to

me that Guness Gwala, who is of the same caste with myself, and with whom I am on intimate terms, and who is of this regiment, and was on the mint guard, had got a letter for me from my home. I said,—"It is now within half an hour of my tour for sentry duty; I shall not be able to get there in that time." I performed my tour of sentry. Boohadoor Sing was on duty at the same time in the guard-room. He had taken off his uniform, and I began to take off mine. He called me over and said—"Let us go and get the letter"; and I said—"Very good; let us go." The witness, the lance-naick, who says he was asleep, was sitting on his charpoy. Boohadoor and I went together to the mint guard. I asked the sentry if this is a subadar's or a jemadar's guard; so I went and made a *salaam* to the subadar and said—"There is a report that we shall have to go to a parade at Barrackpore." The subadar became angry and abused us, and I said—"Why do you abuse us? We have come for a letter, or would not have come at night." He then abused us and put us in confinement, and placed a sentry over us. I joined hands and begged to be let off; that I was on duty and I should lose my livelihood. About half-past 11 o'clock the Lance-Naick Dabee Rai came to the mint guard, and spoke to the other naick, Allahooddeen, to waken the subadar, and to get us let off as we were on duty. The subadar sent out word that they would come into the fort in the morning. Allahoodeen asked the Lance-Naick Dabee Rai, on his arrival, why he came running there at that time of night, and his reply was that he had come to seek two sepoys who were absent, and asked for us to be let off, as we were on duty. This is all. I don't tell falsehoods. Kill me, but I will not tell lies. I have no witness: God is my witness.

It being suggested to the prisoner that he might call Guness Gwala,

*Guness Gwala (Hindu), 10th Company, 2nd Regiment of Native Infantry (Grenadiers)*, is called into Court, and makes the prescribed solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER BOODHEELALL TEWARRY

*Question*—Did you receive a letter for me about the 10th instant?

*Answer*—On the 9th instant I got a letter for him.

*Question*—Were you on guard then at the mint guard?

*Answer*—Yes.

BY THE COURT

*Question*—Did you receive the letter by dak or from the hands of any private person?

641

*Answer*—Some relative of his gave it to me, and told me to forward it to Boodheelall Tewarry.

*Question*—Do you know the man who gave you the letter?

*Answer*—I don't know him.

*Question*—Then how did you know he was a relative?

*Answer*—I merely supposed that receiving the letter from him he was so.

*Question*—Did you give the letter to the prisoner before or after he was confined?

*Answer*—Before.

*Question*—When and where did you give it?

*Answer*—At about half-past 9 at night, on the 9th instant, I went out from the guard to make water in the lane near the guard, and I met the two prisoners in the lane. They asked me for the letter. I went into the guard-room and brought it out and gave it to them outside. I then went into the guard-room and they went away.

*Question*—Do you know on what day the prisoners were confined?

*Answer*—No, I don't recollect the date. I gave the letter before they were confined. I don't know when they were confined.

By the Prosecutor

*Question*—Where were you when the man gave the letter to you?

*Answer*—I was returning, from bathing, to the guard-room, when a man met me, and asked me if Boodheelall Tewarry was in the regiment. I said he was in the 4th Company. He gave me the letter, and asked me to forward it. This was on the 9th instant.

*Question*—Were you in uniform or in your Hindustani dress?

*Answer*—In my Hindustâni clothes.

*Question*—If you were in Hindustani clothes, how was it that a man should ask you about a sepoy of the 2nd Regiment?

*Answer*—He asked me in what regiment I was; I told him I was in the 2nd Regiment.

*Question*—Why did you not tell the man to take the letter to Boodheelall Tewarry?

*Answer*—I took it because it was a sepoy's letter; otherwise I should not have taken it.

*Question*—Why did you not take the letter to Boodheelall Tewarry?

642

*Answer*—After eating, I went into the bazar, when I met Boohadoor Sing, and told him to tell Boodheelall Tewarry to come and get this letter.

*Question*—At what o'clock, and at what place, did you meet Boohadoor Sing, sepoy ?

*Answer*—At 4 o'clock on the 9th instant, near the mint, in the bazar.

*Question*—At what o'clock did you come off sentry duty on that day ?

*Answer*—From 10 to 12 o'clock.

It now striking 4 o'clock, the Court adjourned until to-morrow the 20th March, at 11 o'clock A.M.

### Third Day's Proceedings

*Fort William, Friday, 20th March 1857.*

The Court re-assembled this day, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, at their former place of meeting. The President, Members, Judge-Advocate, Interpreter, Prosecutor, and prisoners are all present.

The cross-examination of the last witness, Sepoy Guness Gwala, is resumed.

### By the Prosecutor

*Question*—How many letters did you receive for Boodheelall Tewarry ?

*Answer*—One only.

*Question*—Was Boohadoor Sing in uniform ?

*Answer*—He was dressed in native clothes.

*Question*—Can you read and write ?

*Answer*—I can write a little, but I can't read a book.

*Question*—Did the address in the letter mention by whom it had been forwarded ?

*Answer*—I don't know what was written on it ; I did not read it.

*Question*—Could you recognise the letter if it was shown you ?

*Answer*—Yes ; of course I would.

*Question*—What was the size of the letter ?

*Answer*—About four or five inches in length.

*Question*—Was the writing on both sides of the envelope ?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Did the prisoner Boodheelall Tewarry read the letter in your presence ?

*Answer*—He did not read it in my presence.

643

*Question*—Did he take it away with him?

*Answer*—He took it away with him.

*Question*—Have you seen the letter since you delivered it to Boodheelall Tewarry?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—How long have you been acquainted with the prisoners?

*Answer*—I have not been on intimate terms with them; I merely know them to speak to.

*Question*—Why did you tell Boohadoor Sing to mention to Boodheelall Tewarry the circumstances of your having a letter for him?

*Answer*—Because they are both sepoys in the 4th Company.

*Question*—If you knew that the prisoners were in the same company, why did you not make the letter over to Boohadoor Sing, instead of requiring Boodheelall Tewarry to leave his guard and walk about two miles to obtain it?

*Answer*—I did not give it to him because I thought that the person for whom the letter was ought to take it himself.

The witness withdraws.

The prisoner Boohadoor Sing says:—

On the day of the night on which the *Holee* is burnt, at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, I met Guness near the mint. He told me to tell Boodheelall Tewarry that he had a letter for him, and that he was to come and take it away. I got back to the fort at half-past 5 o'clock, and saw Boodheelall Tewarry seated on his charpoy at the guard, looking over his accounts. I told him that there was a letter for him with Guness at the mint, and to go and get it. He said it was too late to get it then, as it was half-past 5 o'clock, and he was for sentry duty at 6 o'clock. I replied—"You may go now or to-morrow, just as you like, to get your own." We were both on duty together, and we were relieved at 9 o'clock. Boodheelall Tewarry said—"So a letter has come for me." I said—"Yes; and if you like you may go and get it." Boodheelall replied—"If you will come with me I will go." We went together to the mint guard, and Boodheelall asked the sentry if it was a subadar's or jemadar's guard. The sentry replied it was a subadar's. We then went into the compound, and went towards the door of the guard-room in which the subadar was. I stood at the

door, and Boodheelall Tewarry went in. He went up to the subadar and said—" What is this report which is going about, about a parade? I fancy we shall have to go to Barrackpore for it." The subadar then said—" Who are you?" Boodheelall replied—" I am a sepoy of the 2nd Regiment, Grenadiers." On this the subadar became angry. Boodheelall Tewarry said—" Why are you angry with me, subadar sahib? I came for a letter, and am now going away." The subadar was angry, and said—" Put both these men in confinement; they are a pair of scoundrels." They put us in confinement, and placed another sentry over us. About half-past 11 o'clock, Lance-Naick Dabee Rai came there. The sentry asked him who he was. He replied—" I am a sepoy, and have come to look for these men." He then asked us why we were sitting there. Boodheelall replied—" The subadar has placed us in confinement." He then told the sentry to tell the subadar that these sepoys are being absent without leave, and to tell him to let them go. Then the sentry called Naick Allahooddeen, and told him that the sepoy, pointing to the lance-naick, was come to look for these men, who were absent without leave. Allahooddeen replied—"The subadar is sleeping; I will not awake him." Dabee Rai said to Allahooddeen—"You are an officer; when there is anything to be done, will you not wake an officer?" On this he awoke him, and told him that a sepoy had come to look for these men, who were absent without leave. The subadar said—" Tell him they won't come to-night; they will come to-morrow morning." Dabee Rai went away, and we were reported absent without leave. In the morning, when we were being sent off, I joined my hands and said—" Subadar Sahib, why are you confining me? I never saw you before to speak to and have never spoken to you. How can you know me to be a *badmash* (scoundrel)?" He said—" Hold your tongue." This is all I have to say. I have no witness to call.

The defence is closed.

*Naick Jyepall Sing, 2nd Regiment* (*Grenadiers*), is recalled and examined on his former solemn affirmation.

BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Did the prisoners belong to your guard on the 9th instant?

*Answer*—They did.

*Question*—Were they absent at any time after gun-fire that night?

*Answer*—At no time were they absent.

The prisoners both decline to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

*Naick Allahooddeen, 34th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is recalled and examined on his former solemn affirmation.

By the Prosecutor

*Question*—Was Guness Sepoy present at the guard when the prisoners were confined?

*Answer*—I don't know whether he was on duty or in the guard-room.

*Question*—Did the prisoners, at any time subsequent to, or previous to, their confinement, mention to you, or to any one in your presence, that they had come to receive a letter from Guness?

*Answer*—I never heard them say anything of the kind to me or to any one in my presence.

Both sepoys decline to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

*Purmode Pandy, Sepoy, the fourth witness for the prosecution,* is recalled and reminded of his former solemn affirmation.

*Question*—On the 10th instant, did the prisoner, at any time subsequent to, or previous to, their confinement, mention to you, or to any one in your presence, that they had come to receive a letter from Guness?

*Answer*—I never heard them say anything of the kind.

Both prisoners declined to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

The Court rose for a quarter of an hour at ten minutes past 1 o'clock to enable the Prosecutor to prepare a reply, and at half-past 1 o'clock resumed their seats, all parties being present.

The following reply is read by the Prosecutor:—In closing this case, I consider it right to point out the enormity of the crime with which the prisoners have been charged, and of which I have every reason to believe that they will be found guilty. It has been distinctly stated by Subadar Muddeh Khan, and that officer's statement has been fully corroborated by other witnesses, that the prisoners endeavoured to induce him to leave the important post with which he had been entrusted, and to march his guard into the fort for the purpose of taking possession of

it. As to the object of this move there could be no doubt; it could only have been with the view of taking up arms against their officers, and subverting the authority of that State which they have solemnly sworn to defend; and although it is equally without doubt that this attempt would have signally failed, yet it would have cast upon the reputation of the Bengal Army a stigma that it would have required years to efface.

I am sure I need not remark upon the utter worthlessness of their defence, for no officer of any standing could for a moment suppose that there could have been a particle of truth in the assertion of the witness Guness, that a perfect stranger had made over to his charge a letter for a sepoy with whom he acknowledges that he had but a slight acquaintance; and even in the event of his improbable story being so far true, that he really had been addressed by this stranger, of whom he knew not the name or residence, he would certainly have directed the person so addressing him to take the letter to Boodheelall Tewarry, and not put that sepoy to the inconvenience of walking a distance of about two miles to receive a letter that might have been put into his hands by the man who had actually brought it from his home, and would therefore have been able to have given him information regarding his relatives and friends. Again, if Guness' evidence is to be believed, the letter was really given to Boodheelall on the night of the 9th instant, in a lane near the mint; hence there could have been no necessity for the prisoner's entering the guard-room, and their statement as to their having gone for the letter can only be a mere pretence.

I repeat the whole story is evidently unworthy of belief, and I consequently feel convinced that at the hands of the President and Members of this Court, composed as it is of officers who have served the Government for so many years with fidelity and devotion, the prisoners will be awarded a punishment commensurate with the offence of which they have been guilty.

The Court is closed for their finding.

*FINDING*

The Court are of opinion that the prisoners Boodheelall Tewarry and Boohadoor Sing, both sepoys of the 4th Company, 2nd Regiment of Native Infantry (Grenadiers), are guilty of both charges preferred against them.

The Court is re-opened, and the prisoners are again brought before it.

Ensign W. D. Shaw, 2nd Regiment of Native Infantry (Grenadiers) is called into Court and duly sworn.

EXAMINED BY THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE

*Question*—Have the prisoners been duly warned that evidence of previous conviction and general character would be given against them?

*Answer*—They have been warned. There are no previous convictions.

*Question*—What is their general character?

*Answer*—That of Boodheelall Tewarry is bad; that of Boohadoor Sing is good.

*Question*—What is their age and length of service?

*Answer*—I am not able to speak on these points.

*Question*—Is there any officer here in garrison of the regiment who can speak on these points?

*Answer*—I do not know.

The prioners both decline to cross-examine.

The Court is closed.

*SENTENCE*

The Court sentence the prisoners Boodheelall Tewarry and Boohadoor Sing, both sepoys of the 4th Company of the 2nd Regiment of Native Infantry (Grenadiers), to imprisonment with hard labour for the term of fourteen years.

(Sd.) JOWAHIR TEWARRY, *Subadar-Maj.*,
*43rd Regiment, Native Infantry*,
*President.*

(Sd.) W. M. GRIERSON, *Lieut.*,
*Interpreter to the Court.*

FORT WILLIAM,
*The 20th March 1857.* (Sd.) G. C. HATCH, *Capt.*,
*Dy. Judge-Advocate-General.*

Approved and confirmed.

SIMLA,
*The 1st April 1857.* (Sd.) G. ANSON, *Genl.*,
*Comdr.-in-Chief, East Indies.*

The Court adjourned at half-past 3 o'clock P. M. until 11 A. M. to-morrow, 21st March.

(Sd.) G. C. HATCH, *Capt.*,
*Dy. Judge-Advocate-General.*

648

*List of Witnesses on the Trial of Boodheelall Tewarry and Boohadoor Sing, both sepoys of the 2nd Regiment of Native Infantry, (Grenadiers).*

## *PROSECUTION*

1. Muddeh Khan, Subadar.
2. Allahooddeen, Naick.
3. Sardar Khan, Sepoy.
4. Purmode Pandy, Sepoy.
5. Jyepall Sing, Naick.
6. Rambuksh Sing, Havildar.
7. Shaikh Golam Mahomed, Subadar-Major.
8. Sungut, Sirdar-Bearer.
9. Dabee Rai, Lance-Naick.

## *DEFENCE*

1. Guness Gwala, Sepoy.

## Minute by the Commander-in-Chief

Death would be the appropriate punishment for the crime of which the prisoners have been convicted.

There is none of which a soldier can be guilty which more imperatively calls for the severest sentence which can be awarded by a court-martial, but fourteen years of disgraceful labour may be to some worse than death, and the Commander-in-Chief will not therefore call for a revision of the sentence.

He is disposed to believe that many of the Native officers who composed the Court would agree with him in this view, and he therefore has unhesitatingly approved and confirmed their award. The miserable fate which the prisoners have brought upon themselves will excite no pity in the breast of any true soldier.

The Commander-in-Chief has noticed with satisfaction the conduct of Subadar Muddeh Khan, who, when the prisoners first dared to speak to him of mutiny, at once ordered them into confinement and reported the circumstance without delay. It is in this prompt manner that the least approach to mutiny should invariably be met; and General Anson will have much pleasure in bringing the subadar's behaviour on the occasion in question to the favorable notice of Government.

*The 1st April 1857.* (Sd.) GEORGE ANSON.

*From Colonel* R. J. H. Brich, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India, to the Judge-Advocate-General,—(Dated Fort William, 20th April 1857).*

In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 2nd April 1857, forwarding proceedings of a general court-martial on the trial of two sepoys of the 2nd Regiment of Native Infantry, I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that it has been laid before Government.

2. The enclosure of your letter is herewith returned as requested.

## APPENDIX D

*From Major-General* J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., *Commanding the Presidency Division, to the Secretary to the Government of India,—dated Barrackpore, 5th May 1857.*

FOR the information of Government, I have the honor to report that in obedience to His Excellency's orders communicated to me by telegram on the 2nd instant, the charges, finding, and sentence in the case of Jemadar Salickram Sing, 70th Native Infantry, namely, dismissal from the service, were duly read and interpreted to all the Native troops at Barrackpore, at a parade, which was specially ordered for the purpose.

---

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* K. YOUNG, *Judge-Advocate-General, to the Secretary to the Government of India,—dated Simla, 4th May 1857.*

I have the honor, by direction of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, to transmit to you, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, the accompanying proceedings of a general court-martial on the trial of Salickram Sing, Jemadar, 70th Native Infantry, who has been convicted of mutiny, the return of which is requested when no longer required.

LIST OF WITNESSES UPON THE TRIAL OF JEMADAR SALICKRAM SING, 70TH REGIMENT, NATIVE INFANTRY.

*PROSECUTION*

1. Colonel J. D. Kennedy.
2. Major J. Bontein, 37th Regiment of Native Infantry.
3. First-Lieutenant M. E. Currie, Commissary of Ordnance.
4. Lieutenant H. Michell (Unattached).
5. Colonel A. Abbott, C.B., Inspector-General.

*PROSECUTION*—(concld.)

6. Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing.
7. Havildar Issuree Sing.
8. Subadar Homail Sing.
9. Subadar-Major Duriou Sing.
10. Drill-Havildar Sew Churn Missr.
11. Lieutenant P. H. F. Harris.
12. Havildar Davee Sing.
13. Havildar Poorun Roy.
14. Sepoy Issuree Ram.
15. Sepoy Gunness Tewarry.
16. Naick Latchmun Doobey.
17. Havildar Madho Sing.
18. Lance-Naick Rampersaud Ditchit.
19. Havildar Bhowany Bux Sing.
20. Sepoy Gunness Pandy.
21. Sepoy Issuree Sing.
22. Sepoy Buldeo Sing.
23. Sepoy Adhar Sing.

*DEFENCE*

1. Havildar Poorum Roy.
2. Boodhram Sing, Sepoy.
3. Subadar Gourie Sunkur.
4. Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing.
5. Mucdoom Bux, Abdar.
6. Rujjub Khidmatgar.
7. Lieutenant Harris.
8. Havildar Hyat Bux Khan.
9. Naick Mumrez Khan.
10. Sepoy Soobdhan Doobey.

(Sd.) G. C. HATCH, *Colonel,*
*Deputy Judge-Advocate-General.*

*Proceedings of a Native general court-martial assembled at Fort William, on Saturday, the 21st March 1857, by order of Major-General* J. B. Hearsey, c.b., *Commanding the Presidency Division, and with the sanction of the Right Hon'ble the Governor of the Fort, for the trial of Jemadar Salickram Sing, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry, who appears as prisoner in Court.*

President:

*Subadar-Major* Jewahir Tewarry, *43rd Regiment, Native Light Infantry.*

Members:

*Subadar* Bhola Opadia, *17th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* Hurruck Sing, *40th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* Ram Sing, *9th Battalion, Artillery.*
*Subadar* Amanut Khan, *37th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* Sewumber Pandy, *34th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* Durga Ram, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* Khooda Buksh, *2nd Regiment, Native Infantry, (Grenadiers.)*
*Subadar* Meerwan Sing, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* Sookhlall Missr, *43rd Regiment, Native Light Infantry.*
*Subadar* Ajoodhia Tewarry, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Subadar* Jalim Sing, *43rd Regiment, Native Light Infantry.*
*Jemadar* Dewan Alie, *9th Battalion, Artillery.*
*Jemadar* Mohun Sing, *65th Regiment, Native Infantry.*
*Jemadar* Lalla Ram Buksh, *8th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

In Waiting.

*Jemadar* Ramode Sing, *43rd Regiment, Native Light Infantry.*
*Jemadar* Sewram Missr, *70th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

Judge-Advocate.

*Captain* G. C. Hatch, *Deputy Judge-Advocate-General, Presidency Division.*

Interpreter.

*Lieutenant* W. M. Grierson, *Officiating Interpreter and Quartermaster, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant-Colonel J. D. Kennedy, Commanding 70th Regiment of Native Infantry, having been appointed Prosecutor on this trial, takes his seat in Court.

The names of the President and Members of the Court are read out in the hearing of the prisoner by the Judge-Advocate.

By the Judge-Advocate

*Question*—Jemadar Salickram Sing, do you object to being tried by the President, or any of the Members appointed to sit on this court-martial, whose names you have heard read?

*Answer*—I object to being tried by any of the Native officers of my own regiment.

I object to Durga Ram, Subadar, Meerwan Sing, Subadar, Ajoodhia Tewarry, Subadar, all of the 70th Regiment of Native Infantry.

BY THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE

*Question*—Will you state your reasons for your objections to these Members?

*Answer*—I don't think they will do me justice.

*Subadar Durga Ram, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry, to Court*—I have no enmity against the jemadar; I will do my duty to the Government.

*Subadar Meerwan Sing*—I have no spite against the jemadar. Perhaps he may have against me.

*Subadar Ajoodhia Tewarry to the Court*—I have no spite against the jemadar.

The Court is closed,—the members objected to withdrawing.

The Court is opened.

*President to Salickram Sing, Jemadar*—The Court have decided that your objection should not be allowed; you have assigned no reason for it.

*Jemadar Salickram Sing to the Court*—There is an ill-feeling against me in the regiment. My heart does not fancy them. It rests with the Court.

BY THE COURT

If you can state any reason why you conceive there is ill-feeling against you, or show that either of these sirdars has expressed an unfavorable opinion of you, the Court will hear the objection.

*Jemadar Salickram Sing to Court*—I don't think they have enmity against me, but I don't fancy their sitting. I withdraw the objection.

BY THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE

*Question*—Do you object to any one else?

*Answer*—No.

The Interpreter, President, Members, and Judge-Advocate make the prescribed solemn affirmation.

The following charges are read out:—

*CHARGES*

Jemadar Salickram Sing, of the 1st Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry, placed in arrest by order of Major-General J. B. Hearsey, C.B., Commanding the Presidency Division, on the following charges:—

*FIRST CHARGE*

For having begun a mutiny, and incited others to join in a mutiny in the regiment to which he belongs, in the following instances:—

*1st*—In having at Barrackpore, on the evening of the 5th March 1857, in presence of Issuree Sing, Havildar of the Light Company, addressed Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing, of the Light Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry, in words to the following effect:—"My only hope is in you; what do you say? The sepoys may bite the new cartridges if they like, but I will not bite them;" thereby endeavouring to persuade the said jemadar and havildar to combine with him in resistance to lawful authority.

*2nd*—In having at Barrackpore, on the evening of the same day endeavoured to persuade the men of his company to disobey the order they had received to thatch their huts without delay; informing them that they need be in no hurry in thatching their huts, as there would shortly be a disturbance, thereby inciting the men to resist authority.

*3rd*—In having at Barrackpore, on the evening of the 8th March 1857, had a meeting of non-commissioned officers and sepoys of his regiment at his hut in the lines of the 1st Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry in breach of the standing orders of the army and of the regiment.

*SECOND CHARGE*

For conduct unbecoming an officer, in having made no report to his commanding officer of any intended disturbance, although he informed the men that a disturbance was intended, as set forth in the second instance of the first charge.

By order of the Major-General Commanding the Presidency Division.

BARRACKPORE,
*The 16th March 1857.*

(Sd.) A. H. ROSS, *Major,*
*Asst. Adjt.-Genl., Precy. Division.*

655

By the Judge-Advocate

*Question*—Jemadar Salickram Sing, of the 1st Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry—How say you, are you guilty, or not guilty, of these charges?

*Answer*—Not guilty.

Judge-Advocate

Colonel Kennedy proposes to produce his evidence separately on each instance of the charge, and to close the evidence on each instance before proceeding to the next, which will be the most convenient way of recording the evidence.

*1st Witness*

Brevet-Colonel J. D. Kennedy, the Prosecutor, is sworn.

Examined by the Judge-Advocate

*Question*—You command the 70th Regiment of Native Infantry?

*Answer*—I do.

*Question*—Was the prisoner with the regiment in the present month at Barrackpore?

*Answer*—Since the 4th of the month, when he returned from garrison duty. I believe he returned on the night of the 3rd instant.

*Question*—Has there not been a great deal of excitement amongst the sepoys of the regiments at Barrackpore, arising from, or connected with, a new kind of cartridge issued by Government?

*Answer*—Yes; more or less in all the regiments.

*Question*—Will you state to the Court, what measures you know to have been taken by the authorities at Barrackpore in consequence of the excitement, and what measures you yourself took?

*Answer*—The Brigadier and General ordered a parade of the whole force. The General addressed the men, and explained to them how groundless their suspicions were regarding the preparation of these cartridges; that it was far from the intention of Government to interfere in any way with their religion and caste; and not to suppose that there was anything prejudicial to their caste in the paper of which the cartridges were made. The address appeared to have the desired effect upon the men. The men went to their lines, appearing to be perfectly satisfied with this explanation given

656

*Answer*—(concld.)

by the General. I myself went on two different occasions into my own lines, taking with me some cartridges and paper of which they were made, which I had received from the Brigadier Commanding. I showed them to the men in the lines, whom I had called out and collected near the bells-of-arms. The cartridges and the paper I distributed myself amongst the men, told them to examine them carefully, and to hand them round that all might see them. This I saw done in my presence, as I was standing surrounded by them. I then explained to them that those were the kind of cartridges which would be issued for the new rifle and that would be the paper of which they would be made; and to tell me what they thought, if there was anything prejudicial to their caste or religion in either the one or the other. They carefully examined the papers, and said that there was nothing; that they could see nothing that could injure their caste. I assured them there was no grease whatever in the paper. Had there been, it would have been very perceptible; indeed, the paper could not be made with grease in it, to the best of my belief. That Government would not, on any account now, as they had ever done before, interfere with their religion or caste; and I appealed to one or two old Native officers, who were standing near, to know if what I said was not the case. They all appeared quite satisfied with my explanation; and said they felt sure that my statement was perfectly true. I then collected from them the paper and cartridges, and returned with them to my quarters, and have kept them ever since.

*Question*—When did you make this explanation to the men of your regiment?

*Answer*—On the 3rd February, the day on which I received them from the Brigadier.

*Question*—From that time to the 5th of this month, did you have any dissatisfaction amongst your men on the subject of the cartridges?

*Answer*—No; I am not aware that my men were at any time dissatisfied.

*Question*—Will you show the Court the cartridges which you received from the Brigadier, and made over to your men to examine?

*Answer*—These are the cartridges and this is the paper. They are placed before the Court.

*Question*—Is there anything in the composition of this paper which can possibly be objectionable to the religion of any man, whether a Mussulman or Hindu?

*Answer*—Certainly not, to the best of my belief.

*Question*—Have the new cartridges, which you have produced, been generally issued out to the men?

*Answer*—No; they have not been issued at all.

*Question*—When was the second occasion of your speaking to the men on the subject of these cartridges?

*Answer*—It was about the end of February, when I proceeded into the lines as I had done before, showing the men the paper and the cartridges; and explained to them almost in the same words as on the previous occasion. Thinking I had not shown them the thick paper of which the cartridges are made, I went again and procured some of the thick paper from the depot at Dum-Dum. On showing them this paper, they said I had shown it to them already on a previous occasion. They, however, re-examined it, and the cartridges on that evening; and, to my mind, appeared just as satisfied as they were on the former occasion.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY JEMADAR SALICKRAM SING

*Question*—When you spoke to the sirdars at your bungalow on the subject of the cartridges, did I object to use them?

*Answer*—I cannot exactly say whether he was one of the Native officers present when they were at my quarters; but none of them made any objection; so, of course, if he were there he would be included.

BY THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE

*Question*—When was this occurrence at your bungalow?

*Answer*—I have had them to my house two or three times; it may have been in January, because I remember having the Native officers up there about a bad feeling which

658

*Answer*—(concld.)
appeared to exist amongst the troops at the station generally before I received the cartridges and paper from the Brigadier, which was on the 3rd February.

The witness resumes his seat as Prosecutor.

*2nd Witness*

*Major J. Bontein, 37th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and sworn.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—You command, I believe, the School of Musketry at Dum-Dum?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Will you be so good as to give the Court such information as you can as to the preparation of the cartridges used in the School of Musketry?

*Answer*—There are two kinds of paper used, specimens of which I have with me. The finer kind is the same which was formerly employed in making cartridges, to the best of my belief. The other is of a thicker quality, and forms the inner case or cylinder. The thick paper is known as what is generally called "cartridge paper". It is employed in making the present cartridges in consequence of its greater strength. I have tested it in a variety of ways by burning it and writing on it; and I can detect nothing beyond the ordinary cartridge paper.

*Question*—Is grease of any kind used with it?

*Answer*—The cartridge is made up; and the ball end of it should be dipped into grease. I mention this as the process of making the regular cartridge; but in the exercise of cartridge-making at the Dum-Dum School, we have not as yet employed grease of any kind, the object being simply to teach the men the process.

*Question*—Have greased cartridges ever been issued by Government to the depot at Dum-Dum?

*Answer*—Never.

*Question*—Will you produce the specimens you have brought of cartridges? Who are these cartridges made by?

*Answer*—Made by Mahomedans and Hindus, Native officers and men at Dum-Dum.

659

*Question*—Why has this process of making cartridges been taught to the Native officers and sepoys at the Dum-Dum Depot?

*Answer*—Because it is so ordered in the book of instructions, the object being simply that the men should understand the process as a part of their profession, and not with the smallest expectation that they would be called upon to practise it. The system of instruction includes a certain course of drills, of which cartridge-making is one.

*Question*—Is not this cartridge for a new kind of musket which is not in general use?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—What are your instructions regarding the use of grease for these new cartridges by the men at the Musketry School?

*Answer*—In consequence of some objection raised at the School of Musketry to the grease employed in the magazine, I reported the circumstance officially to Major-General Hearsey, and in due course I received orders to parade my men and explain to them that the Commander-in-Chief readily attended to their objection, and that instead of the grease then employed in the magazine for the purpose in question, they would be allowed to procure the materials in the bazar; provided, of course, that it in no way lessened the efficiency of the cartridge. The depot was accordingly paraded, and after I had myself explained to the men the decision of Government, they unanimously expressed themselves perfectly satisfied and ready to obey any orders that I might wish to give them.

Jemadar Salickram Sing declines to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

*3rd Witness*

*1st-Lieutenant M. E. Currie, Artillery,* is called into Court and duly sworn.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—You are, I believe, Commissary of Ordnance, and in charge of the arsenal of Fort William?

*Answer*—I am.

660

*Question*—Will you give the Court such information as you possess regarding the preparation and manufacture of the new cartridge ?

*Answer*—The cartridge is prepared with a particular sort of paper sent out from England. The directions are to prepare it with care, to keep the grease to fit the bore exactly, for which purpose paper of a uniform thickness is required. After the cartridge is finished, as you see it here (the witness takes up a cartridge already in Court), about two-thirds of the bullet is dipped in grease. The cartridge is then ready for use.

*Question*—Have greased cartridges ever been issued to the troops from your magazine ?

*Answer*—No cartridges have ever been issued from the arsenal here ; but some have been sent from the arsenal to Delhi, and to the depots of instruction up-country. None have been issued from the arsenal to any regiment ; but they have been sent to the Delhi magazine for the 60th Rifles, a European regiment.

*Question*—Do you issue any cartridges for the use of the Dum-Dum School of Musketry ?

*Answer*—The depot under my orders at Dum-Dum makes up the cartridges required for that place.

*Question*—Were the cartridges made there and issued from your magazine prepared with grease ?

*Answer*—I really cannot answer that without referring to the records in the office.

*Question*—Did you receive any orders from Government on the subject of grease for these cartridges ?

*Answer*—I got an order to supply cartridges for the use of the Dum-Dum depot free from any grease.

*Question*—When did you get that order ?

*Answer*—On the 27th of January last.

*Question*—Then since that date no greased cartridges have been made ?

*Answer*—No greased cartridges have been made at Dum-Dum since that date.

*Question*—In the paper used for the new cartridges is there any grease, to the best of your knowledge ?

*Answer*—To the best of my knowledge there is none.

The witness withdraws.

*4th Witness*

*Lieutenant H. Michell, Assistant Commissary of Ordnance,* is called into Court and sworn.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Are you employed in the arsenal of Fort William ?

*Answer*—I am.

*Question*—Will you look at the cartridge paper of which these cartridges are made, and say if there is any or the slightest appearance of grease in this paper (the cartridges in Court shown) ?

*Answer*—I should know from their outward appearance; I know there is nothing of the kind in them.

*Question*—Have you seen the manufacture of paper, and have you ever seen or known grease to be a material employed in the composition of paper ?

*Answer*—I have witnessed the whole process of making cartridge-paper at the Serampore Mills ; I saw no grease used of any kind. I believe that grease would be dangerous; I could give many reasons for it ; owing to the fear of spontaneous combustion, I should say that grease would be entirely discarded in the manufacture of paper ; the use of it would also cause the paper to rot.

Jemadar Salickram Sing, the prisoner, declines to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

It being ten minutes to 4 o'clock, the Court adjourns until Monday, the 23rd March, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

*Fort William, 23rd March 1857.*

The Court reassembled this day, at 12 o'clock, A. M., the President, Members, Judge-Advocate, Interpreter, Prosecutor, and prisoner being all present.

*3rd Witness*

*Lieutenant Currie, Commissary of Ordnance,* recalled and examined on his former oath.

BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—You stated in your evidence on Saturday, that before the 27th January, cartridges were issued to the Delhi

662

*Question*—(concld).
magazine from the arsenal, already greased; what are the orders you have received on the composition of grease for the use of cartridges?

*Answer*—The grease was to be made of six parts of tallow and one part of bees-wax.

*Question*—Of what ought that tallow to consist?

*Answer*—No inquiry is made as to the fat of what animal is used.

*Question*—You do not yourself know what fat is used?

*Answer*—No, I don't know.

*Question*—Is not the intention of Government that the tallow to be used in the preparation of grease should be mutton or goat's fat?

*Answer*—It is not the intention of Government that all grease used in any preparation in the magazine is to be made of goat's and sheep's fat only.

The witness withdraws.

*5th Witness*

*Colonel A. Abbott*, C.B., is called into Court and sworn.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—You are, I believe, Inspector-General of Ordnance?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Will you be so good as to state to the Court what the tallow used with the cartridge for the new musket was to be composed of?

*Answer*—The tallow is that which the contractor supplied; but I can't say positively what it consists of.

*Question*—Did you receive any information that an objectionable material was used in the grease supplied from the arsenal for the new cartridges in the first instance?

*Answer*—I heard on the morning of the 27th of January, I believe, I am not positive, that the sepoys objected to use the new cartridges because they were greased. I inquired at the arsenal what composition had been used, and was told that the composition was that which the Regulations prescribed, and that the tallow might or might not have contained the fat of cows or other animals.

*Question*—What did you do on receiving this report?

*Answer*—I went to my office immediately, and then I saw Major Bontein, who stated what had occurred at Dum-Dum. I told him to take any cartridges he liked from the depot, and to do anything he pleased to satisfy the men, and that the warrant officer there would comply with all his requisitions. I afterwards received the original correspondence, showing that the case had been submitted to Government, who had sanctioned the issue of cartridges free from any kind of grease.

*Question*—Did you accordingly give any instructions for the discontinuance of the issue of greased cartridges?

*Answer*—Decidedly; immediately, not only here but to all the magazines in the Upper Provinces.

*Question*—And what are the orders now for the use of grease for the new musket cartridges?

*Answer*—The orders are at present that they are to be made without any grease whatever.

*Question*—When did you give the order for the discontinuance of grease in the new cartridges?

*Answer*—I gave orders to stop the making of cartridges with grease on them immediately after I heard of the objection.

*Question*—Are you not aware that directly Government heard of the objection raised by the men that they immediately sanctioned the issue of cartridges free from grease of any kind?

*Answer*—Yes, I am aware.

The prisoner Salickram Sing declines to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

*6th Witness*

*Sewbuccus Sing (Hindu), Jemadar, Light Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry*, is called into Court, and makes the prescribed solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—On the evening of the 5th instant, did Salickram Sing, Jemadar, 1st Company, the prisoner in Court, go to you at your hut in the lines and converse with you on any particular subject, and what did he say?

*Answer*—About 10 o'clock on the day of the 5th March, I and Issuree Sing, Havildar, Light Company, were talking together in my hut regarding furlough. After

*Answer*—(concld.)

the usual salutations, I asked him to sit down; he then said—"Now tell me; I want only your opinion now, and I place great hope (tawakku*) in you." He said—"Tell us what is the state of your mind about it." I said—"About what?" He said—"About biting the cartridges." I replied—"I will bite cartridges if I get the order, and will obey whatever I get; I don't care if any one should say that I have lost my caste by biting them. I will still obey the Government, from whom I get my livelihood." He said—"I will not bite them; I will cut them with my sword." Subadar Ram Kissen was passing my door at the time, so Salickram got up and joined him. Issuree Sing and I were left alone. I reported the circumstance shortly afterwards to Homail Sing, Subadar, Light Company, in the presence of the Subadar-Major, Duriou Sing.

*Question*—What did you understand by the expression, "I place great hope in you?"

*Answer*—I understood that he wished me to side in his opinion regarding the cartridges, by doing which I should have been a guilty man.

*Question*—Did he say that he had spoken to any others on the subject, and whether they had agreed with him or not?

*Answer*—He said—"All the rest have taken cartridges in their hands; you only remain."

*Question*—Had you been on garrison duty with the prisoner Salickram Sing, and when did you both return?

*Answer*—He was on duty in the fort; I was on duty on the Governor-General's guard at Government House. We returned to Barrackpore on the 3rd of this month. This man came to me on the 5th of the month.

*Question*—During the time you were down here, did you see much of Jemadar Salickram Sing?

*Answer*—We met twice. He came to my guard once; and I came into the fort on business once, and met him and all the rest of the Native officers.

*Question*—Did Jemadar Salickram Sing say anything to you on these two occasions about the cartridge question?

*Answer*—He said nothing to me, or to any one else before me.

* See page lxxiv.

665

*Question*—What cartridges did you understand the prisoner to say he would not bite?

*Answer*—I understood him to mean those that had gone to Dum-Dum.

*Question*—Why did you understand this?

*Answer*—Because there had been a great deal of talk about these cartridges in the station, and the colonel had told us there was nothing wrong in them; that no one wished to take our caste from us; and that if there was anything said about it, no matter to what regiment the men belonged, we were to report it to him.

*Question*—Were you on intimate terms with the prisoner at the time he came to you?

*Answer*—We have known each other a long time, and we were on the usual terms of friendship.

*Question*—How long did he remain with you on the occasion in your hut?

*Answer*—About half an hour.

*Question*—What was the conversation about all this time?

*Answer*—We smoked and talked on general subjects, with the exception that I have above related.

*Question*—State to the best of your recollection what were the exact words spoken by the jemadar regarding the cartridges?

*Answer*—He said—"What do you say on the subject of the cartridges? Will you bite them or not?" I replied—"I will." He replied—"I will not cut them with my teeth; I will cut them with my sword."

*Question*—Did he use no other words whatever on the subject?

*Answer*—No, I told him not to talk about the cartridges, as it is forbidden; saying, what will people say if they hear that we have had a conversation on the subject in my hut.

*Question*—Was Havildar Issuree Sing, Light Company, in your hut during the whole time Jemadar Salickram Sing was there?

*Answer*—He was there the whole time.

*Question*—Did the Jemadar assign any reason for his not biting the cartridges?

*Answer*—He said there is some grease in them, and therefore I cannot bite them.

666

*Question*—You have been twice asked if Jemadar Salickram Sing said anything more about the cartridges than what you previously said; now you say that he said this; what explanation do you give?

*Answer*—You did not ask the reason for his not biting them, or I should have stated it.

*Question*—Do you now recollect whether he did or did not use any other words than those you have given in evidence about these cartridges, and on what subject?

*Answer*—I don't recollect any more.

*Question*—When you told Jemadar Salickram Sing not to talk about that subject, what did he say? Did he say anything?

*Answer*—He took his leave and went away.

*Question*—At what part of the visit to you did this conversation take place about the cartridges?

*Answer*—Shortly after he came in.

*Question*—You have said the visit lasted half-an-hour, and he went away when you told him not to speak about the cartridges. Are you quite sure that in all this time the jemadar said nothing more about them?

*Answer*—We had a smoke and chat, and it does not take long for half-an-hour to pass.

*Question*—Do you know whether, before the time of that conversation, there had been a feeling of dissatisfaction amongst the Native troops stationed at Barrackpore regarding the new cartridges?

*Answer*—There was a little dissatisfaction. The manner of the men was different from usual. It was the talk of the place. The people left the Sudder Bazar through some fear.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY JEMADAR SALICKRAM SING

*Question*—Did you not at first say that the conversation was in the evening and afterwards at 10 o'clock in the day?

*Answer*—I did not mention the word evening; it was in the question put to me; and when I was asked if it was in the evening, I said—"No, it was in the forenoon."

*Question*—Did you report the circumstance on the same day, and when?

*Answer*—I reported on that day, the 5th, at about 4 o'clock; I did not report before, because I wanted another officer to be present.

*Question*—Did you send for the subadar-major, or did he come himself to the subadar's hut ?

*Answer*—No, the subadar came of his own accord; and when I saw the two officers together, I went and reported.

*Question*—Why did you not report such a serious circumstance to the commanding officer direct, instead of reporting to Native officers ?

*Answer*—The subadar, my senior officer, was present in the lines, and it is my duty to report to him. Had he not been there, or had he not reported what I told him, I would have done so myself.

*Question*—Why did you not report a circumstance that occurred at 10 o'clock in the day time until 4 o'clock in the afternoon ?

*Answer*—I waited until I could see two officers together; there would have been no witness if I had gone and reported the circumstance to him while he was alone.

BY THE COURT

*Question*—Had any cartridges been distributed to any men of the regiment, that this jemadar should speak about them ?

*Answer*—No, none had been distributed to the regiment; but the colonel had taken some down, as well as the paper of which they were made, and showed it to the men. The Native officers took them in their hands and showed them to the men. I heard of this.

*Question*—Had any ever been distributed for use ?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—On the 5th, or about that day, had there been any new cartridges distributed to the men ?

*Answer*—No.

The witness withdraws.

*7th Witness*

*Issuree Sing (Hindu), Havildar, Light Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and makes the prescribed solemn affirmation.

BY THE PROSECUTOR.

*Question*—Were you at the hut of Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing, of the Light Company, at Barrackpore on the 5th instant ? If so, state what occurred there ?

*Answer*—Yes, I went there. I was going to bathe, when Sewbuccus called me in, and told me he was going to bathe too, and asked me to wait for him, when Jemadar Salickram Sing came from the 1st Company and said—"Brother, I have no one but you to hope in; if they will tell me, I will cut the cartridges with a sword, but will not bite them; the sepoys may do as they please."

*Question*—What did Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing reply?

*Answer*—He said—"You ought not to say such a thing; whatever is necessary to be done for Government that I will do."

*Question*—Did Jemadar Salickram Sing say why he would not bite them?

*Answer*—He said nothing more. The jemadar did not ask him for a reason.

*Question*—Did the jemadar say anything about there being grease on the cartridges, and assign that as a reason for not biting them?

*Answer*—I did not hear him say so.

*Question*—To whom were these words addressed?

*Answer*—To Sewbuccus Sing, in my presence.

*Question*—When Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing replied "he would do whatever was necessary for Government," what did Jemadar Salickram Sing say? Did he say anything?

*Answer*—No, he went away.

*Question*—What did you understand from what Jemadar Salickram Sing said about the cartridges?

*Answer*—I understood he alluded to the excitement amongst the troops. I only heard these words—"My only hope is in you and in no one else. If the Government shall order it, I will cut the cartridges with a sword, but not bite them with my teeth. The sepoys may do as they choose."

*Question*—What cartridges do you understand to have been meant?

*Answer*—The cartridges about which there was so much excitement.

The Court now adjourned at 4 o'clock, until 11 o'clock to-morrow in the forenoon.

### Third Day's Proceedings

*Fort William, Tuesday, 24th March 1857.*

The Court reassembled this day at their former place of meeting at 11 o'clock A.M., the President, Members, Judge-Advocate, Interpreter, the Prosecutor, and prisoner being all present.

The examination of Havildar Issuree Sing was resumed by the Prosecutor.

*Question*—What do you understand by the words—"My only hope is in you?"

*Answer*—That he wanted the Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing to join with him.

*Question*—About what time elapsed in this visit and conversation?

*Answer*—About half-an-hour.

*Question*—What were they doing all this time?

*Answer*—These words about the cartridges first passed between them, and they afterwards smoked and conversed.

*Question*—Was the word used by Jemadar Salickram Sing "tawakku," * or *bharosa*?

*Answer*—*Bharosa.*

*Question*—Did you remain in the hut with the jemadar after Jemadar Salickram Sing left?

*Answer*—The jemadar said to me—"Stop, Issuree Sing, I want to say something to you."

*Question*—What did he say?

*Answer*—"Recollect the words used by Salickram Sing. I shall report them."

*Question*—Did Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing tell Jemadar Salickram Sing not to talk about the cartridges?

*Answer*—Yes. "Don't talk about such a thing. Whatever work is ordered to be done by Government, that I will perform."

*Question*—Did Jemadar Salickram Sing give any and what reply?

*Answer*—He said—"You sirdars don't understand the thing; one says one thing, and one another."

*Question*—Did Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing make any and what reply to that?

*Answer*—He said—"I am not in the habit of running about in all directions to see people, and don't you do so. I sit in my house you sit in yours. We will see what happens."

*Question*—After this what was said?

*Answer*—The conversation on the subject ended, and Salickram said he would return to his hut. Sewbuccus asked him to sit down and take a smoke first, which he did.

*Question*—Did you join in the conversation about the cartridges?

*Answer*—They spoke together; I did not join in the conversation.

* See page lxix.

670

*Question*—Did Jemadar Salickram Sing address you at all on the subject?

*Answer*—No.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY JEMADAR SALICKRAM SING

*Question*—At what time did I go to Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing's hut and how long did I remain?

*Answer*—At half-past 9 o'clock in the morning. He remained until 10 o'clock.

*Question*—When this conversation took place, how far were you from us?

*Answer*—Sewbuccus Sing was seated at the head of his *charpoy* (bedstead); Salickram Sing was seated on the middle, and I was at one side of the charpoy.

BY THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE

*Question*—Did Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing appear to be angry when Salickram Sing spoke about the cartridges?

*Answer*—He was angry.

*Question*—How do you know he was angry?

*Answer*—He spoke sharply.

*Question*—On Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing speaking sharply, did Jemadar Salickram Sing excuse himself?

*Answer*—Salickram Sing made no reply, and dropped the subject.

BY THE COURT

*Question*—Did Jemadar Salickram Sing after this remain and smoke?

*Answer*—Yes; after this he smoked and then went away.

*Question*—When they were smoking, was there no conversation?

*Answer*—No; having finished smoking, Jemadar Salickram Sing went away.

*Question*—Do you know anything more on the subject than what you have stated?

*Answer*—I know nothing more.

The witness withdraws.

*8th Witness*

*Homail Sing (Hindu), Subadar, Light Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court and duly affirmed.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—On the 5th of this month did Sewbuccus Sing, Jemadar, Light Company, make any particular report to you and what?

671

*Answer*—Between 4 and 5 o'clock of that day he reported to me that Jemadar Salickram Sing had come to his hut and said—"I place great hope in you and in no one else; all the sirdars have taken the cartridges in their hands, and have consented to bite them. Tell me, will you bite them also." That Sewbuccus Sing said—"I will." That Salickram Sing said—"I will not bite them."

*Question*—Were you alone when this report was made to you?

*Answer*—Subadar-Major Duriou Sing was present.

*Question*—What steps did you take upon this report being made to you?

*Answer*—I said—"I would report the circumstance;" but the subadar-major said—"I, as senior, will report it."

*Question*—Did you report this affair to the adjutant?

*Answer*—When I was sent for next morning I related the circumstance to the adjutant.

The prisoner Salickram Sing declines to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

*9th Witness*

*Duriou Sing (Hindu), Subadar-Major, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and makes the prescribed solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Were you with Subadar Homail Sing of the Light Company at Barrackpore on the 5th of this month, when any particular report was made to him by any one?

*Answer*—On the 5th instant. I can't say whether it had struck 5 o'clock in the afternoon or not, but it was late. I had gone to the hut of the subadar to see them catching fish in the tank which is close beside it. Subadar Homail Sing was sitting on his *charpoy* in front of his door, looking on also. He called me to come and sit down, which I did, stating I had come to see the fishing. A little while afterwards, Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing, Light Company of the regiment, came and reported as follows:—"To-day Salickram Sing, Jemadar, of the 1st Company, came to my hut and said—'I place great confidence or hope in you all; the rest have agreed to bite the cartridges, what

672

*Answer*—(concld.)
do you say? Will you bite them? I never will.' Havildar Issuree Sing and I were both sitting in the hut. I said—'All the rest have agreed to bite them, and I will do so even if I do lose my caste by it; my relations will give me my food at the door and I will eat it there."

*Question*—On hearing such a report what steps did you take?

*Answer*—I reported it that evening to the adjutant. I went to the adjutant's house at about 7 o'clock in the evening of that day to make the report, but he was out, so I waited until he returned at about 10 o'clock at night.

*Question*—Did you wait from 7 o'clock on that evening until 10 o'clock that night at the adjutant's bungalow?

*Answer*—Yes, I was there three hours; I waited near the door of his house.

*Question*—Were you on garrison duty in the month of February last?

*Answer*—Yes, on the Government House guard in Calcutta. I came down on the 3rd February, and returned to Barrackpore on the 3rd March.

*Question*—Was a considerable portion of the 70th Regiment down on garrison duty?

*Answer*—Yes, somewhere about 500 men.

*Question*—Are you able to state what the feeling was at that time amongst the men of the 70th in garrison on the subject of the cartridges? You are not asked as to individual names or opinions, but as to the general feeling.

*Answer*—I was on the Government House guard, some distance from the fort. I never heard anything about the cartridges among the men of my guard.

*Question*—Were they men of the 70th Regiment?

*Answer*—Yes, the whole guard. There are 100 sepoys on the guard, with the proportion of the non-commissioned officers and others.

*Question*—Did you hear nothing about the cartridges when you were on Government House guard?

*Answer*—Yes; I think it was only from the barber who came down from the lines at Barrackpore.

673

*Question*—Before you came down on garrison duty in February last, was there any excitement amongst the troops at Barrackpore on the subject of cartridges, and what measures were taken in your regiment in consequence?

*Answer*—There was; on the subject of the cartridges. The colonel of our regiment, Colonel Kennedy, sent for the Native officers to his bungalow, and told us to tell him upon what points we had any doubt. The colonel said—"You think you are going to lose your caste, but I assure you there is no doubt in it." I explained this to the men of my company.

*Question*—Was the Jemadar, Salickram Sing, present on the occasion of the colonel speaking to the sirdars of the regiment?

*Answer*—I don't recollect; I should say there were about fifteen of us there.

*Question*—About what date was this?

*Answer*—I can't tell the date. It was some time in January, a day or two before the parade when Captain Impey, the Interpreter at that time of the regiment, read the order regarding the new cartridges, and explained to the men that Government would give the paper, and the men might supply their own grease, either oil or ghee.

By the Judge-Advocate

*Question*—Were you present at that parade?

*Answer*—I was.

*Question*—Was Jemadar Salickram Sing, the prisoner, present?

*Answer*—He is in the 1st Company, and I am in the 4th; I cannot say.

*Question*—Did the men appear to you to be satisfied with the explanation then given at the parade, and with what you told them to have been said by the colonel?

*Answer*—Yes; the men appeared to be satisfied and are so still.

*Question*—Will you state as nearly as you can recollect what Captain Impey, the Interpreter, said to the men on parade about the cartridges?

*Answer*—Captain Impey said—"The doubt, which you had in your minds regarding cow's or pig's fat being used in the grease, has been reported to Government, who have

*Answer*—(concld.)
no desire whatever that you should lose caste, and they have, therefore, forbidden the application of the grease to the cartridges. The paper and the powder will be supplied by Government, and oil and ghee or other greasy substance, according to their own wish, receiving payment for the same from the Government. Some twenty or thirty men, who will be taught here to make these cartridges, will make them up in conjunction with the *tindal*."

CROSS-EXAMINED BY JEMADAR SALICKRAM SING

*Question*—How is it that you, who knew everything that goes on in the regiment, cannot say whether or not I was present at that parade. Do we not always go up together to salute the commanding officer after parade ?

*Answer*—We do not go now; we used to do so, but Colonel Kennedy gave the order that after parade we should accompany our companies and dismiss them, and that if he should want to say anything to us that he would send for us.

The witness withdraws.

*10th Witness*

*Sewchurn Missr (Hindu), Drill Havildar, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry*, is called into Court, and makes the prescribed solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Do you remember the Native officers of the 70th Regiment being sent for to Colonel Kennedy's bungalow at Barrackpore in January last, when the colonel spoke to them about the cartridges ?

*Answer*—Yes, I do remember; the colonel sent his order through me; it might be some twelve or fourteen days before the reserve guard came down to garrison, which was on the 3rd of February.

*Question*—Did you accompany the sirdars to the colonel's bungalow, and can you name them ?

*Answer*—Yes, I know all, but I may forget one or two; all were there except five. There were fourteen sirdars.

*Question*—Was Jemadar Salickram Sing, the prisoner in Court, one of those Native officers who went to the colonel's?

*Answer*—He went with them to the colonel's and was present there.

*Question*—Do you recollect what the colonel said about the cartridge question? State as nearly as you can what the colonel said.

*Answer*—The colonel said—"Listen, sirdars! The character of this army has always been very good; now I hear that there is dissatisfaction among the men about these cartridges." The sirdars replied—"There is none in your regiment." The colonel said—"The noise and talk that there is about these cartridges is all false. Some bad character has circulated the lie; but if you have got any doubts on the subject make them known to the captains of your companies, or report it to me, and I will report it to Government, and let you know the reply." The colonel said—"When you require to load then the grease is to be applied. You seem to be afraid of losing your caste. What could I or Government gain by your losing your caste? Do not you all eat mutton and goat's flesh?" And the subadar-major said—"Some do and some do not."

BY THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE

*Question*—Were you at the parade when Captain Impey explained to the men that Government had ordered that new cartridges were to be served out dry, and that the men were to supply their own grease?

*Answer*—I was there.

*Question*—When was that parade?

*Answer*—In January. I don't recollect the date.

*Question*—Was it before the Jemadar Salickram Sing went down on duty to the garrison?

*Answer*—Yes, it was before.

*Question*—Do you know whether Jemadar Salickram Sing was at that parade?

*Answer*—I don't recollect.

*Question*—Were not all the Native officers present, except those who were on duty at that parade?

*Answer*—All were there except those who were on duty,

676

*Question*—Were any Native officers on the sick list when that parade was held ?

*Answer*—Two Native officers, jemadars, in hospital, Shaikh Noor Mahomed, Jemadar, and Rambuccus Missr, Jemadar. Subadar Hardeen Ditchit was on sick leave.

*Question*—What officers were on duty ?

It striking 4 o'clock, the Court adjourned until 11 o'clock A.M., to-morrow, the 25th March.

FOURTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

*Fort William, Wednesday, 25th March.*

The Court reassembled this day at their former place of meeting at 11 o'clock A.M., the President, Members, Judge-Advocate, Interpreter, Prosecutor and prisoner all being present.

*Sewchurn Missr, Drill Havildar,* is recalled, and his examination by the Prosecutor is resumed, the witness being reminded of his affirmation.

*Question*—The question last put and unanswered repeated.

*Answer*—Subadar Duriou Sing The witness says—"I made a mistake ; Subadar Ramkissen Dooby was the Native officer of the day."

*Question*—What was the feeling among the men of the regiment on the subject of the new cartridges before the Government order directing the use of ungreased cartridges was read out to them on parade ?

*Answer*—I never heard them say anything about it.

*Question*—Since the reading out of that order have you heard of any murmuring or discontent ?

*Answer*—They appeared to be particularly well satisfied with what they heard on parade, and remained so ever since.

Jemadar Salickram Sing declines to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

*Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* called again.

BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Were you present at the parade when Captain Impey read out the orders of Government about the cartridges to the men ?

*Answer*—I was there.

*Question*—Were you one of the Native officers carrying the colors at that parade, and who was the other ?

*k*

677

*Answer*—I was one, and Jemadar Salickram Sing was the other.

BY THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE

*Question*—As far as you can judge, did you consider that the men appeared to be satisfied or pleased with what they heard read out about the cartridges?

*Answer*—They appeared satisfied, and I heard the men talking among themselves to that effect.

*Question*—Do you know on what day that parade was held?

*Answer*—On the 28th of January.

The prisoner declines to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

*11th Witness*

*Lieutenant P. H. F. Harris, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court and duly sworn.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—You are the adjutant of the 70th Regiment of Native Infantry?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Do you recollect a parade being held in January when an order was read out to the men of the regiment by the Interpreter on the subject of the cartridges?

*Answer*—Yes, I do.

*Question*—On what day was that parade held?

*Answer*—On the evening of the 28th January.

*Question*—What was the order then read out to the men?

*Answer*—It was with reference to certain objections which had been made by sepoys at the station expressing an unwillingness to touch the greased new Enfield cartridges, and assuring them that in future the cartridges would be served out without being previously greased, and that they were at liberty to procure grease, whether bees-wax (*momrogan*), or oil, or ghee from any bazar they wished, and that they might grease the cartridges themselves.

*Question*—Was the order read out to the men as the instructions of Government on the subject?

*Answer*—Yes, it was.

*Question*—Did you observe any and what effect was produced amongst the men by hearing that order?

*Answer*—I did not remark any. The order was explained to them in a most clear and distinct manner, and they seemed to be pleased.

By the Judge-Advocate

*Question*—When was Jemadar Salickram Sing placed in arrest?

*Answer*—On the morning of the 9th of this month.

The prisoner declines to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

Colonel Kennedy states that this is his evidence on the first instance of the first charge. Colonel Kennedy, the Prosecutor, examined on his former oath.

By the Judge-Advocate

*Question*—Will you state if any and what orders were given to the men of the regiment in January last about thatching their huts?

*Answer*—Shortly after the arrival of the regiment at Barrackpore on the 1st January, a regimental order was issued forming a committee of Native officers to report on the state of the lines. The opinion of the committee was that the huts were in a dilapidated state, and that as they were in such bad order the committee strongly recommended that the half-hutting money allowed by Government should be distributed in the rates allowed to the whole regiment. Orders were then issued for the men to receive half-hutting money, and to commence immediately upon the repairs of the huts.

*Question*—Was this order in the regimental books?

*Answer*—No; but I wrote the orders myself and gave them to the Interpreter, Captain Impey, to explain to the regiment. I was in Calcutta at that time for a few days, otherwise I should have published it in the books.

*Question*—You have not that order?

*Answer*—No; I made it over to the Interpreter, and have never seen it since.

*Question*—What was the date of the order as near as you can recollect?

*Answer*—Between the 8th and 11th January, I think.

Cross-examined by the Prisoner.

*Question*—Were not the huts of my company thatched as the colonel had ordered?

*Answer*—On the morning of the 18th of March, this month, the jemadar was repairing his hut. I went through the lines of the 1st Company that morning after a full-dress parade, and saw the repairs of his hut going on, and I also saw that some of the huts of the sepoys and non-commissioned officers of the company had been repaired.

*Question*—Did I commence repairs on that day, or had I not already repaired one and was erecting a second hut?

*Answer*—One hut in which the Native officers were sitting appeared to be in good repair, and there were people at work in his compound with materials for repairs or rebuilding the other.

By the Court

*Question*—Before the prisoner was put in arrest was this hut in proper repair?

*Answer*—I cannot say when that hut was completed in which the jemadar was, but the repairs were going on in the compound, as I have said, on the 18th March, nine days after he had been placed in arrest?

The Prosecutor resumes his seat.

*Lieutenant Harris recalled* and examined by the Prosecutor.

*Question*—Are you in charge of the 1st Company of the regiment?

*Answer*—Yes, I am.

*Question*—Did you give any orders to have the huts of your company repaired, and what were they?

*Answer*—I had given orders on several occasions myself, personally, in the lines both for the speedy thatching of the huts, and for making the fireplaces in the manner laid down in regimental orders.

*Question*—To whom did you give these orders, and about what date?

*Answer*—I gave them to the pay-havildar of my company repeatedly, and on the occasion of my going to the lines, I gave them to the orderly-havildar at the time on duty.

*Question*—What were the orders about thatching the huts which you gave in the company?

*Answer*—That they were to lose no time in thatching, having received their half-hutting allowance

680

*Question*—In what month did you give this order?

*Answer*—I gave the order from time to time throughout February.

*Question*—Did the men of the 1st Company accordingly proceed in the repairs of their huts?

*Answer*—Those who were present did, and I gave strict orders that those who were on garrison duty should, on their return, immediately comply with my orders.

*Question*—Were many men of the 1st Company on garrison duty in February?

*Answer*—Yes; between fifty and sixty men.

*Question*—On their return in March, did the men proceed with the repairs as ordered?

*Answer*—Yes; they did, with the exception of a few men who were sick.

*Question*—On the 5th March were the repairs of the huts still going on?

*Answer*—Yes; they were, but slowly, on account of the scarcity of thatchers (*ghurramees*).

The prisoner declines to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

*12th Witness*

*Davee Sing (Hindu), Havildar, 1st Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and makes the prescribed solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Did you receive any and what orders from Lieutenant Harris, the officer commanding your company, about thatching the huts of your company, and when?

*Answer*—I did, when the regiment was on garrison duty, receive from Lieutenant Harris orders to have the fireplaces put to rights, and to have the huts thatched?

*Question*—Did you communicate this order to the men of the company.

*Answer*—Yes; I gave the order three times.

*Question*—Was the thatching then commenced?

*Answer*—Yes; it was commenced.

*Question*—How many men of the 1st Company were on garrison duty in February last?

*Answer*—Fifty-seven.

68

*Question*—When did the men who were on garrison duty commence to thatch their huts?

*Answer*—They returned on the 3rd March, and had two days' leave to get their accoutrements in order. They were ordered to commence on the 6th March. Some did so, some did not, because they could not get work-people.

*Question*—Did you, after the men returned from garrison duty, let them know what the orders were about thatching the huts?

*Answer*—I went through the lines and told them the orders. I did so also at roll-call in the evening.

*Question*—What day was that?

*Answer*—On the 4th and 5th March, I gave the orders constantly.

*Question*—Did you inform the jemadars what the orders were?

*Answer*—Yes; I myself told them about 10 o'clock on the 5th or 6th March.

*Question*—Did you give orders to the men of the company that there was to be no delay in thatching?

*Answer*—Yes; I told them to do it quickly.

*Question*—Try and recollect on what date it was when you communicated the order to Jemadar Salickram Sing?

*Answer*—I cannot say positively.

*Question*—Do you know if Jemadar Salickram Sing said anything in the lines about thatching the huts?

*Answer*—I don't know. I had no report of that.

*Question*—On the 5th of this month was the thatching of the huts of the men who remained in the lines going on?

*Answer*—Yes, it was going on.

*Question*—Was any one present when you told Jemadar Salickram Sing that there was an order to thatch the huts?

*Answer*—No, I went alone; he was inside his hut; I stood at the door.

*Question*—What answer, if any, did the jemadar give?

*Answer*—"Tell the orders you have received in the lines to the men."

*Question*—Were the orders communicated at every roll-call to the men?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Did you, on the 4th March, the day after the return of the men from garrison, go down the lines and give out the orders about thatching?

682

*Answer*—Yes; I did on that day.

*Question*—Do you recollect if on that day you told Jemadar Salickram Sing about thatching the huts?

*Answer*—Yes, I did; the night before, when they returned from garrison duty, about 8 o'clock, I went and reported. Next morning early I went and told the Subadar and Jemadar of No. 1 Company of all the orders that had been issued, and amongst them I told them the orders about thatching.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—Did you hear me and the subadar give any order about thatching the huts on the 5th March, in the evening about 5 o'clock?

*Answer*—I did not hear any orders; I was at drill on that evening on the parade.

RE-EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—What drill did you attend?

*Answer*—I had been lately promoted, and I was learning my duty with four others lately promoted.

*Question*—Are you quite sure that it was the evening of the 5th March when you were at drill?

*Answer*—I was at drill for every evening for two months, and therefore I was there at drill on the 5th March.

The witness withdraws.

*13th Witness*

*Poorun Roy (Hindu), Havildar, No. 1 Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and makes the prescribed solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Do you know of any orders being issued in the lines of your company for the men to thatch their huts?

*Answer*—I do.

*Question*—State what you know?

*Answer*—I was sick in hospital until about the 18th January. I had then a week's leave to remain in the lines, and heard the orders daily given to the men to repair their huts.

*Question*—By whom did you hear the orders given?

*Answer*—By the orderly-havildar.

*Question*—Did you hear Davee Sing give these orders?

*Answer*—Yes; and the other havildars giving the order when they were on duty.

*Question*—Did you hear the orders given after the men had returned from garrison duty?

*Answer*—The orders were daily given after the return of the men from garrison.

*Question*—Did you hear Jemadar Salickram Sing say anything in the lines about the repairing of the huts a day or two after his return from garrison duty?

*Answer*—I heard the jemadar say to the men that it was the colonel's orders to get the huts repaired quickly. This was about six days after the return from garrison duty.

*Question*—Was the jemadar in arrest when you heard him say this?

*Answer*—No; not then.

*Question*—Do you know when the jemadar was placed in arrest?

*Answer*—No; but the arrest occurred some two or three days after I heard him say this.

*Question*—At what time of the day did you hear the jemadar say this?

*Answer*—About 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning.

*Question*—On the 5th March, were you not orderly-havildar at your colonel's quarters?

*Answer*—I was on duty, but I don't know whether it was in the forenoon or afternoon.

*Question*—Did you see the colonel on that day?

*Answer*—The colonel had left the station, and we, the orderlies, did not go to his quarters until he returned. I am not sure whether this was the 5th of March or not.

*Question*—To whom did the jemadar say this, that it was the order to thatch the huts quickly?

*Answer*—He said this in the lines.

*Question*—After he said that the order was to thatch the huts quickly, did the jemadar say any thing else?

*Answer*—I was in my hut. The jemadar went down the lines telling the men.

*Question*—Did you hear the jemadar on any occasion tell the men not to be in a hurry about thatching the huts?

*Answer*—I never heard him say so.

*Question*—What is the name of the orderly you relieved?

*Answer*—Sewchurn Ram, Havildar, 3rd Company.

*Question*—On the day when you were orderly and relieved Sewchurn Ram, did you see the colonel at his quarters ?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—At what hour ?

*Answer*—At 11 o'clock.

It striking 4 o'clock, the Court adjourned until 11 o'clock in the forenoon of to-morrow, the 26th March.

FIFTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

*Fort William, Thursday, 26th March 1857.*

The Court reassembled this day at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, at their former place of meeting, the President, Members, Judge-Advocate, Interpreter, Prosecutor, and prisoner all being present. Examination of Havildar Poorun Roy continued.

BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Was it on the day when you relieved Sewchurn Ram and saw the colonel at his quarters at 11 o'clock that you heard Jemadar Salickram Sing say it was the colonel's orders to thatch the huts quickly ?

*Answer*—It was not on that day; I don't know on what day it was ?

*Question*—How then do you know that it was before the jemadar was placed in arrest.

*Answer*—He would not have given the orders if he was under arrest.

*Question*—Try and give the Court the exact words you heard spoken by the jemadar on that occasion ?

*Answer*—I heard the jemadar say it is the colonel's orders to get the huts ready quickly.

*Question*—Did you see the jemadar when he said this ?

*Answer*—I did not see him; I was in my hut employed in making my fireplace.

*Question*—Was that all you heard the jemadar say ?

*Answer*—That was all.

*Question*—You are quite sure that you did not hear the jemadar tell the men to thatch their huts or not ?

*Answer*—No ; I only heard what I have stated.

Jemadar Salickram Sing, the prisoner, declines to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

*14th Witness*

*Issuree Ram (Hindu), Sepoy, 1st Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry*, is called into Court and makes the prescribed solemn affirmation.

By the Prosecutor

*Question*—Were you in the lines of the 1st Company of the regiment at Barrackpore on the 5th March, and did you hear anything said by Jemadar Salickram Sing about thatching the huts?

*Answer*—I was in the lines; I heard Jemadar Salickram Sing say something about thatching the huts.

*Question*—What did you hear him say?

*Answer*—On the 5th of this month I was in my hut arranging the screen over my fireplace. Between 5 and 6 o'clock, the jemadar, Salickram Sing, came along the lines, saying—"The order is very strict; get your fire-screens ready. You can thatch your houses four or five days hence. In two or three days there will be a riot (ghulbah)." The jemadar was going from the direction of the bells-of-arms to his own hut.

*Question*—Did you see the jemadar at the time?

*Answer*—Yes, I saw him.

*Question*—Did you hear him say this once only, or how often?

*Answer*—He repeated it as he went along through the lines.

*Question*—Did he speak loudly?

*Answer*—Loud enough for me to hear it.

*Question*—Did you hear him from any distance from your hut?

*Answer*—I did not hear him when he got at a distance from me. I heard him repeat when he was about twenty yards from me, after which I could not hear him.

*Question*—What did you understand by the words you heard spoken by the jemadar?

*Answer*—I understood there was to be a disturbance such as that which occurred at Barrackpore, on the night of the 28th January, and therefore not to thatch the huts until it was over.

*Question*—Did the words you heard spoken by the jemadar strike you particularly at the time?

*Answer*—Yes, I was surprised, as I had been told repeatedly to get my hut quickly finished.

*Question*—What men of the company were near you when the jemadar said this?

*Answer*—I did not see any one; I was in my hut, and I don't know where the other men of the company were. Some may

*Answer*—(concld.)
have been at the bells-of-arms, some may have gone to the rear, and some may have been in their huts.

*Question*—Did you mention what you had heard to any one ?

*Answer*—I did not speak to any one about it until I was asked.

*Question*—Why did you not speak about it to any one ?

*Answer*—How could I report an officer; perhaps he might have received orders.

*Question*—Did you go outside your hut when the jemadar passed by saying this ?

*Answer*—No; if I had gone out I should have seen plenty of men about.

*Question*—Do you live alone in your hut ?

*Answer*—No; Leela Ram, Sepoy, lives with me.

*Question*—Was Sepoy Leela Ram at that time in the hut ?

*Answer*—No; I had sent him to buy some bamboos.

*Question*—Did you mention to Leela Ram, Sepoy, what you had heard the jemadar say ?

*Answer*—No, I did not; but I kept it to myself, not knowing whether there was any truth in what the jemadar said about a disturbance.

*Question*—Who occupy the huts opposite to yours ?

*Answer*—Sepoys Seeam Sing and Hummut Sing live directly opposite. On the left of their hut Khoodabux and Moonna Khan (sepoys) live. On the right of the first hut is the road.

*Question*—Who occupy the huts on the right of your hut ?

*Answer*—Jullasur Sing, Sepoy, and Sewraj Ram, Sepoy.

*Question*—Do you know where these sepoys were when the jemadar spoke what you told us about the huts ?

*Answer*—Jullasur Sing was on garrison duty. The other one had gone to the bazar; I knew this by his telling me that if the havildar should ask about him, I was to say he had gone to the bazar to get bamboos.

*Question*—Were any of these sepoys, Seeam Sing, Hummut Sing, Khoodabux and Moonna Khan, at that time in their huts?

*Answer*—I could see into the hut of Seeam Sing and Hummut Sing. There was nobody there. I did not come out of my hut, and I cannot say with regard to the other two. I cannot see into their hut from mine.

*Question*—What was the disturbance on the night of the 28th January which you allude to?

*Answer*—It was a panic. Reports of all kinds were flying about the station; some said there was a regiment coming; some said there would be fighting; some said there was a dacoity; and some said there was a fire. The men were all assembled near their bells-of-arms.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—Did the men give over thatching their huts after what you say I said, or continue to repair them?

*Answer*—The thatching went on.

The witness withdraws.

*15th Witness*

*Gunness Tewarry (Hindu), Sepoy, 1st Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and makes solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Were you in the lines of the 1st Company of the regiment on the 5th March, and did you hear anything said by Jemadar Salickram Sing about the huts?

*Answer*—Yes; I was in the lines on that day and heard the jemadar.

*Question*—What were the words you heard?

*Answer*—"Get your fire-screens ready; the order is very strict. You can thatch your huts four or five days hence. In four or five days there will be a disturbance." This is all I heard.

*Question*—Where were you when you heard this?

*Answer*—I was inside my hut.

*Question*—Where is your hut?

*Answer*—In the rear.

*Question*—How far from the hut of Sepoy Issuree Ram?

*Answer*—Four huts distant, and on the opposite side of the street. It is nearer the jemadar's by that distance.

*Question*—In what direction was the jemadar going?

*Answer*—From the bells-of-arms towards his own hut.

*Question*—At what time was this?

*Answer*—About half-past 5 or a quarter to 6 o'clock in the evening.

*Question*—Did the jemadar remain opposite your hut, or did he pass on?

*Answer*—He passed on.

*Question*—Did he speak the words you heard loudly?

*Answer*—In a full tone. I heard him distinctly; others might have heard.

*Question*—Did he say these words once, or more than once?

*Answer*—He repeated them as he went along.

*Question*—At what distance from you did you hear him?

*Answer*—At the distance of three or four huts on either side of me.

*Question*—Did you see the jemadar?

*Answer*—Yes, I saw him.

*Question*—How were you occupied inside your hut?

*Answer*—I was sitting down, doing nothing.

*Question*—Did you go out of your hut?

*Answer*—I did not then. I did when the roll was called.

*Question*—From where you were sitting in your hut, could you see any distance on either side of your hut?

*Answer*—To the distance of five or six huts on either side.

*Question*—Were you at the door of your hut?

*Answer*—In the doorway.

*Question*—Did you not just now say you were sitting in the centre of your hut?

*Answer*—I said I was in the centre of the doorway.

*Question*—Did you hear Jemadar Salickram Sing say these words before he came up to your hut?

*Answer*—Before he came opposite my hut he was saying these words.

*Question*—Did you see any men of the company near you at the time?

*Answer*—I did not see any, but I heard them talking in their huts. All those in my rear had gone on garrison duty.

*Question*—Did you see no sepoy sitting at the door, or near the door of his hut at that time?

*Answer*—I saw no one, but I heard them talking.

*Question*—Whom did you hear talking?

*Answer*—I heard Kaleedeen Pattuck, Sepoy of the 1st Company, and Pudarut Ram of the same company, and Sepoy Salickram Sing. Two of these, Kaleedeen Pattuck and Pudarut Ram, were in one hut. Salickram Sing was in his own hut.

*Question*—Did you hear Salickram Sing talking?

*Answer*—No; he was alone.

689

*Question*—How do you know he was in his hut ?

*Answer*—I saw him go in about 5 o'clock. I did not see him come out until roll-call.

*Question*—Did you tell any one what you heard the jemadar say ?

*Answer*—At about 7 o'clock on that day I told Lutchman Doobey, Naick, Grenadier Company, at his hut.

*Question*—Why did you tell it to this man, who is not in your company ?

*Answer*—I had gone to visit him, and he mentioned to me that the orders of the officer commanding his company were very strict regarding the finishing of the huts, so I told him what the jemadar had said.

*Question*—You said at first you heard Sepoy Salickram talking. How do you explain this ?

*Answer*—I meant I knew the other men to be in their huts by hearing them talking. Salickram Sing was alone, but I had seen him go in.

*Question*—What did you understand by the word "Ghulbah," spoken by Jemadar Salickram Sing ?

*Answer*—A disorderly meeting of the men, as there had been before.

*Question*—Are you quite sure that Jemadar Salickram Sing made use of the exact words you have stated in evidence ?

*Answer*—I am quite sure of those words.

The prisoner declines to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

*16th Witness*

*Lutchman Doobey* (*Hindu*), *Naick, Grenadier Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry*, is called into Court, and makes solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Did Sepoy Gunness Tewarry of the 1st Company of the 70th Regiment come to you on the evening of the 5th March, and did any conversation take place between you ?

*Answer*—He did about 7 o'clock in the evening, and we had some conversation.

*Question*—What did he say ?

*Answer*—He said there is a strict order in my company to get our fireplaces and screens ready as quick as possible. He then said (in reply to an observation from Madho

*Answer*—(concld.)

Sing, Havildar, Grenadier Company, who was present),—"The jemadar of my company has told us to get the fireplaces ready at once, but to wait for five or six days before we thatch the huts, as there will be a disturbance (ghulbah.)"

The prisoner declines to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

*17th Witness*

*Madho Sing* (*Hindu*), *Pay-Havildar*, *Grenadier Company*, is called into Court, and makes solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Did you on the 5th March hear anything said by Sepoy Gunness Tewarry, of the 1st Company, at the hut of Lutchmun Doobey, Grenadier Company of the regiment, on the subject of thatching the huts?

*Answer*—Yes; I heard him say—"We in our company have got a very strict order to finish our fire-screens. The jemadar of the company has told us to put off thatching for five or six days, as on the day of the Holee there would be a serious disturbance (pukka ghulbah.)"

*Question*—What time was this?

*Answer*—It was after 7 o'clock.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—Is Gunness Tewarry in the habit of going to Lutchmun Doobey's hut, or did he go only on this occasion?

*Answer*—I cannot answer that; Lutchmun Doobey can answer.

The witness withdraws.

COLONEL KENNEDY TO THE COURT

I have concluded my evidence on the second instance of the first charge, with the exception of the evidence of three witnesses who are not in attendance. I will, therefore, proceed now upon the third instance of the first charge, and take the evidence of these witnesses when they arrive.

*1st Witness*

Colonel Kennedy, the Prosecutor, examined on his former oath.

BY THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE.

*Question*—Will you produce the Standing Orders regarding assemblies of men in the lines?

*Answer*—I refer to section 10, para. 3 of the Standing Orders of the Bengal Native Infantry, which I produce.

The Order is read to the Court by the Interpreter, as follows :—

"Should any meeting of Native officers or others for the discussion of matters connected with their duty as soldiers take place in or near the lines, he will report it immediately to the European officer of the day with such circumstances connected with the meeting as he may be able to learn. Any neglect of duty on this head will be deemed a disobedience of orders, and will be dealt with accordingly."

*Question*—Whom does this Order more especially apply to ?

*Answer*—The Native officer of the day, the section being so headed.

*Question*—What other Army Standing Orders are there ?

*Answer*—I refer to section 11, headed "Non-commissioned Officers," para. 8, as follows:—

"Non-commissioned officers, though not on duty, are to check irregularities and neglects which are prejudicial to good order and discipline, and to be particularly careful not to permit any assemblies of men in or near the lines at unreasonable hours, or for the discussion of any points connected with the service, and should any irregularity of this description, or discontent of any kind, come to their knowledge, they are to report it without loss of time to the officer commanding their company."

*Question*—What orders have you in the regiment on the subject of meetings being held in the lines ?

*Answer*—These Army Standing Orders are translated and entered in order books of companies, and are read weekly, or oftener, if necessary, to companies.

It being now close upon 4 o'clock, the Court adjourns until 11 o'clock A. M. to-morrow.

SIXTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

*Fort William, Friday, 27th March 1857.*

The Court reassembled this day at 11 o'clock in the forenoon at their former place of meeting, the President, Members, Judge-Advocate, Interpreter, Prosecutor, and prisoner being present.

COLONEL KENNEDY

Two of the three witnesses whom I propose to call on the second instance of the first charge, as I yesterday stated to the Court, have arrived, but as they do not appear to have any evidence to give for the prosecution, I shall not call them. They are, however, at hand, and the prisoner can examine them on his defence if he pleases.

*Poorun Roy, Havildar, 1st Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is recalled and examined on his former solemn affirmation.

692

BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—What are the orders read out to your company on the subject of meetings or assemblies of the men in the lines?

*Answer*—This order is read out sometimes weekly, sometimes once a fortnight, or whenever directed. The witness reads out from the Order Book of the 1st Company a translation of para. 3, section 10 of Army Standing Orders, as entered already on the Court's proceedings.

The witness withdraws.

*Lutchmun Doobey, Naick, Grenadier Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* recalled and examined on his former solemn affirmation.

BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Were you in the lines of the 1st Company on the evening of the 8th March, and did you observe anything unusual going on?

*Answer*—Yes; I was in the lines, and at about half-past 7 or 8 o'clock I was passing by the hut of Jemadar Salickram Sing, alongside of which there is a road, and saw in the enclosure round the jemadar's hut an assembly of fifteen to twenty men. As I returned to the rear-guard, where I was on duty, I met the havildar-major; and as I had been called on to give evidence before Captain Greene on that day regarding what I had been told—the jemadar said about the thatching of the huts—I was afraid they were plotting against me, and reported it to the havildar-major.

*Question*—Was it not your duty to report it whether you considered it might concern yourself or not?

*Answer*—Yes; the orders are to the effect that meetings are to be reported.

*Question*—Who were the men whom you saw at the meeting?

*Answer*—I did not recognise any one. I was passing along, and did not stop. They were sitting wrapped up in the sheets (*chaddars*) which Natives usually wear as a protection against cold.

*Question*—Were their faces covered so that you could not see them?

*Answer*—No. If I had stopped I might have seen them so as to recognise them.

*Question*—Was there any light at that time?

*Answer*—I could not see faces about six paces off, but I could see persons at some considerable distance, about twenty-five paces off.

*Question*—At what distance were you from the jemadar's hut when you passed along?

*Answer*—About twenty or twenty-two paces.

*Question*—Which side of the jemadar's hut did you pass?

*Answer*—I passed the jemadar's hut on my left.

*Question*—Did you hear any voices among the assembly?

*Answer*—Yes; but they were speaking in a low tone. I did not hear anything said. If I stopped I might have heard.

*Question*—Did you recognise the voice of any one in that assembly?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Was there a moon at that time?

*Answer*—The moon had just risen then.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—Did you go by the street between my hut and that of Abdoollah Beg, Naick of the 1st Company?

*Answer*—I did, leaving Abdoollah Beg's hut on the right.

*Question*—Was there around my hut any enclosure, or was it open space?

*Answer*—The posts of an enclosure were there, but no mat screens were up.

RE-EXAMINED BY THE COURT

*Question*—What distance is there between the hut of Naick Abdoollah Beg?

*Answer*—One of the two huts is about six to eight paces distant, but where the men were assembled was about twenty paces from Abdoollah Beg's hut.

*Question*—Will you explain this?

*Answer*—There are huts of the jemadar, the farthest some twenty paces distant from the nearest. The men were sitting in the space between the huts.

The witness withdraws.

*Sewchurn Missr, Havildar-Major, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* re-called.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Did you receive a report from Naick Lutchmun Doobey of a meeting in the lines on the 8th March, and what steps did you take?

*Answer*—At about a quarter to 8 o'clock on that evening Naick Lutchmun Doobey came to my hut and reported that there was an assembly of men, from twenty to twenty-five, at the hut of Jemadar Salickram Sing of the 1st Company. I sent off Rampersaud Ditchit, Lance-Naick, of the 3rd Company, to the hut to see if this report was true. He returned and confirmed the report. I then took him, the lance-naick, and Bhowany Bux Sing, Lance-Naick of the 7th Company, who was with me, to the hut, and myself saw that there was an assembly.

*Question*—Did you recognise any one at that assembly?

*Answer*—I recognised four men, Hyat Bux Khan, Pay-Havildar, 1st Company, and Ramchurn Sing, Havildar, 4th Company, and Jhoomuck Sing, Drill Lance-Naick, of the Grenadier Company, and Kootub Ally Khan, Drill-Naick, 4th Company.

*Question*—How did you manage to recognise these four men in particular?

*Answer*—Three were sitting down, and Jhoomuck Sing standing; these men having been reported to me as being there by Lance-Naick Rampersaud Ditchit, I more particularly noticed them.

*Question*—Did you recognise any other person?

*Answer*—I recognised no one else.

*Question*—Where are these four men whom you recognised?

*Answer*—They are all in confinement for being present at the meeting.

*Question*—How near did you go to the spot where the assembly was?

*Answer*—I went to within four or five paces.

*Question*—Did you stop there or pass on?

*Answer*—I did not stop. I went straight on to the sergeant-major to report.

*Question*—What was the state of the evening as to light?

*Answer*—It was not very dark; there was some light.

*Question*—How many men do you think you saw there?

*Answer*—About twenty or twenty-five.

*Question*—Did you hear any talking going on?

*Answer*—I heard them talking, but could not hear what they said.

*Question*—Did you recognise the voice of any person?

*Answer*—I did not recognise any voice.

*Question*—Describe the position of the four men whom you recognised?

*Answer*—Three of these men were sitting close together, and Jhoomuck Sing was walking about two or three paces off.

*Question*—Did you notice whether any of the men had clothes (*chaddars*) drawn over their bodies?

*Answer*—Yes; some had.

*Question*—Did you notice the dress of any of the four men whom you recognised?

*Answer*—Hyat Bux Khan had a coloured padded long coat reaching to the knees, and Jhoomuck Sing had on a short white jacket (*mirzai*); I do not know how the other two were dressed.

*Question*—Was there a moon or not at that time?

*Answer*—Yes; it had risen, but did not give much light.

*Question*—When you reported to the sergeant-major, what time was it?

*Answer*—Just as I got to the sergeant-major and had commenced my report, the gun fired. The sergeant-major then told me to go and receive the reports of the roll-call of the different companies; and then I accompanied the sergeant-major to the adjutant's quarters to report the meeting. Lance-Naick Rampersaud Ditchit and Lance-Naick Bhowany Bux Sing accompanied us.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—Did you recognise me there at the hut?

*Answer*—I did not see you.

*Question*—Was there an enclosure around my hut or open space?

*Answer*—There was a fence of some kind for about two paces, and about four paces open.

RE-EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Were the men you saw assembled in the open space?

*Answer*—The fence was so low that a passer-by can see all over the enclosure.

By the Judge-Advocate

*Question*—When you arrived at the adjutant's bungalow what time was it; and how long did you remain there?

*Answer*—We arrived there at about half-past 8 o'clock, and left at a little after 9 o'clock.

*Question*—Where did you go after you left the adjutant's bungalow?

*Answer*—I went over with the sergeant-major and the two lance-naicks to the mess of the regiment, hearing that the adjutant was there.

*Question*—How long did you stay at the mess-house?

*Answer*—About seven minutes.

*Question*—Where did you go then?

*Answer*—We returned to the adjutant's quarters.

*Question*—When you were at the mess, did you see Hyat Bux Khan, Pay-Havildar, No. 1 Company?

*Answer*—Yes; he was there. I did not see him when I first arrived; I saw him after.

*Question*—How long after you arrived?

*Answer*—A short while; some three or four minutes.

*Question*—Did you see any one else of the regiment at the adjutant's quarters when you arrived?

*Answer*—I saw no one of the regiment.

*Question*—When you returned to the adjutant's quarters from the mess-house, did you see any one?

*Answer*—Yes; I saw Jemadar Salickram Sing.

By the Prisoner

*Question*—Did I not accompany you from the adjutant's house to the mess-house when you crossed over?

*Answer*—He did not accompany me.

*Question*—Where did you first see me, and from what direction was I coming?

*Answer*—I saw him close to the adjutant's door, when I returned from the mess-house. I do not know from whence he came.

By the Court

*Question*—If the jemadar had been at the adjutant's bungalow when you first arrived there, must you have seen him?

*Answer*—Yes; if he had been at that side of the house, the front. The compound is open, and it was moonlight.

The witness withdraws.

*18th Witness*

*Rampersaud Ditchit (Hindu), Lance-Naick, 3rd Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and makes solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Did you receive any orders from the havildar-major on the evening of the 8th instant to go into the lines of the 1st Company, and when did you go ?

*Answer*—I received orders from the havildar-major to go and see if a report, which was made to him in my presence by Naick Lutchmun Doobey, of the Grenadier Company, of a meeting being held at Jemadar Salickram Sing's hut, was correct. I was told to go quickly, and did so. I went down the road in front of where the Native officers reside, and saw, as far as I can guess, as many as twenty to twenty-five men at the hut.

*Question*—How near did you go ?

*Answer*—I went round the hut, and returned, having gone to within six or seven paces.

*Question*—Did you recognise any one ?

*Answer*—I recognised Pay-Havildar Hyat Bux Khan, 4th Company ; Kootub Ally Khan, Drill-Naick, 4th Company ; and Jhoomuck Sing, Drill Lance-Naick, Grenadier Company, was outside on the road.

*Question*—How far was he from the other men ?

*Answer*—He was four or five paces off.

*Question*—What was he doing ?

*Answer*—He was standing there.

*Question*—Did he speak to you or you to him ?

*Answer*—No ; he did not recognise me.

*Question*—Did you hear any conversation amongst the people there ?

*Answer*—I heard them talking, but not what they said.

*Question*—What was the light at the time ?

*Answer*—It was moonlight ; I could recognise people at ten paces.

*Question*—How was Hyat Bux Khan, Havildar, dressed ; did you observe ?

*Answer*—He had on a long padded coloured coat, chintz.

*Question*—How was Kootub Ally Khan dressed, did you observe ?

*Answer*—He was dressed in white.

*Question*—Did you notice Jhoomuck Sing's dress ?

*Answer*—He was in white.

*Question*—Did you recognise any one else?

*Answer*—I did not.

*Question*—Did you recognise the voice of any one?

*Answer*—No, I did not.

*Question*—Did you go back to the havildar-major?

*Answer*—Yes; I went and reported.

*Question*—What occurred then?

*Answer*—The havildar-major took Bhowany Bux Sing, Lance-Naick, and we went along the road to the jemadar's hut, but I saw the people there as I saw them before.

*Question*—Where was Jhoomuck Sing then?

*Answer*—He was standing when we came up, but sat down on the havildar-major coming up. He was then outside the jemadar's compound, and sat down as making water.

*Question*—Where did you go to after that?

*Answer*—We went to the sergeant-major's.

*Question*—From thence where did you go?

*Answer*—To the adjutant's bungalow.

*Question*—What time was it when you arrived at the adjutant's?

*Answer*—It would be about half-past 8 o'clock.

*Question*—Did you see Jemadar Salickram Sing at the adjutant's bungalow when you arrived there?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Did you go over to the mess-house and return again to the adjutant's bungalow?

*Answer*—Yes; in a few minutes.

*Question*—Did you see Jemadar Salickram Sing at the adjutant's bungalow on your return?

*Answer*—No; but he came two or three minutes afterwards.

*Question*—Did you see him come into the compound?

*Answer*—I did not see him coming in; I was standing at the door of the house when he came up.

*Question*—Was the jemadar alone when you saw him come up?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—When you were at the mess-house, did you see Jemadar Salickram Sing?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—What is the distance from the jemadar's hut in the lines to the adjutant's bungalow?

*Answer*—A quarter of an hour's distance, or half a quarter, according as you travel.

The Court adjourns at 4 o'clock P. M. until 11 o'clock A. M. tomorrow, the 28th March.

### Seventh Day's Proceedings

*Fort William, Saturday, 28th March 1857.*

The Court reassembled this day at 11 o'clock A. M. at their former place of meeting, the President, Members, Judge-Advocate, Interpreter, Prosecutor, and prisoner being present.

*Lance-Naick Rampersaud Ditchit, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is recalled.

### Cross-examined by the Prisoner

*Question*—Did you see the assembly of people inside my hut, or in the enclosure about the house ?

*Answer*—In the enclosure. I don't know whether there was any one inside the hut.

The witness withdraws.

*19th Witness*

*Bhowany Bux Sing (Hindu), Sepoy, 7th Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and makes solemn affirmation.

### Examined by the Prosecutor

*Question*—Did you accompany the havildar-major and Lance-Naick Rampersaud Ditchit to the lines of the 1st Company of the regiment on the 8th of this month, and what did you see ?

*Answer*—I went and saw about twenty to twenty-five people sitting in the enclosure of Jemadar Salickram Sing's hut.

*Question*—Did you recognise any one ?

*Answer*—I recognised Hyat Bux Khan, Pay-Havildar, 1st Company, and Ram Churn Sing, Havildar, 4th Company, and Kootub Ally Khan, Drill-Naick, 4th Company, and Jhoomuck Sing, Drill Lance-Naick, Grenadier Company. I recognised no other person.

*Question*—How do you account for recognising these four men in particular ?

*Answer*—My eyes fell on them, and therefore I recognised them. Jhoomuck Sing was standing outside.

*Question*—Can you describe the dress of any of these men ?

*Answer*—Hyat Bux Khan had on a coloured long padded chintz coat: the rest were dressed in white.

*Question*—At what time was this?

*Answer*—It was close upon 8 o'clock in the evening.

*Question*—You say Jhoomuck Sing was outside; was he with this party, or how far from it?

*Answer*—He was standing at the entrance; I can't say whether he was one of the assembly or not.

*Question*—Did you hear talking going on and anything said?

*Answer*—I heard voices, but I could not distinguish the words.

*Question*—Was there any light at that time?

*Answer*—It was evening, and there was a moon, but not much light.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—What sort of enclosure is there round my hut, or is there any?

*Answer*—On that day there was a kind of fence round it; but opposite the entrance it was open.

RE-EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Could you see over the fence into the compound?

*Answer*—Yes; the fence was about as high as my middle.

*Question*—Were there lathes at all round the enclosure?

*Answer*—There were lathes up.

BY THE COURT

*Question*—Did you see Salickram Sing, Jemadar, there?

*Answer*—I did not recognise him.

The witness withdraws.

*20th Witness*

*Gunness Pandy (Hindu), Sepoy, 3rd Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and makes solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Were you sentry near the hut of Jemadar Salickram Sing, on the evening of the 8th March, this month?

*Answer*—Yes; my beat extended from the Grenadiers to the 2nd Company.

*Question*—At what time were you sentry?

*Answer*—From 6 to 8 o'clock in the evening.

*Question*—How near to the jemadar's hut did your beat extend?

*Answer*—About five paces.

*Question*—Did you see any people there during the time you were on sentry?

*Answer*—Yes; I saw from ten to twenty people there.

*Question*—Did you see Jemadar Salickram Sing there?

*Answer*—Yes; I saw him.

*Question*—About what time did you see him?

*Answer*—About half-past 7 o'clock.

*Question*—What was the jemadar doing?

*Answer*—He was sitting in his hut, talking.

*Question*—To whom was he talking?

*Answer*—He was inside his hut. I don't know to whom he was talking.

*Question*—Did you hear what he said?

*Answer*—I did not hear what he said.

*Question*—How do you know he was in his hut?

*Answer*—I know it from this,—Jhoomuck Sing was with an assembly of people in the compound, and I heard Jhoomuck Sing speak to the jemadar by name, and the jemadar answer.

*Question*—What did Jhoomuck Sing say to the jemadar?

*Answer*—I did not notice. I was walking up and down on my beat; I heard the jemadar's answer.

*Question*—Did you see the jemadar at any time while you were on duty there?

*Answer*—Yes; just after the havildar-major, and Bhowany Bux and Rampersaud Ditchit had passed from the left wing towards the Grenadiers, the gun fired, and the men of the assembly broke up and went away. I saw Hyat Bux Khan come out of the compound with the Jemadar, Salickram Sing.

*Question*—In what direction did Salickram Sing go?

*Answer*—He went towards the front of the lines.

*Question*—When did the assembly first meet?

*Answer*—From half-past 6 the men began to come in.

*Question*—Where was the jemadar when the men began first to come in?

*Answer*—Before half-past 6 o'clock the jemadar went out from his hut to the front; about half-past 7 o'clock he returned, and after him Hyat Bux Khan.

*Question*—Did they both enter the jemadar's compound?

*Answer*—Yes; both went in.

*Question*—Between half-past 7 o'clock, when you saw him go in, and gun-fire, did the jemadar leave his hut?

*Answer*—I don't know; I saw him leave at about gun-fire.

*Question*—Did you give evidence before the court of inquiry held on the 10th March on the subject?

*Answer*—Yes; I gave different evidence. I was afraid,—the jemadar having come to me at half-past 2 o'clock on that night, and told me that if any one should ask me if I had seen any assembly at his hut, I was to say—" No, that I had seen nothing."

*Question*—Where were you when the jemadar came to you and said this?

*Answer*—I was again on sentry at the same place; the jemadar came out and called me to him, and threatened me if I told anything about the meeting.

*Question*—Did you tell any one that the jemadar had threatened you about giving evidence of the meeting?

*Answer*—I did not tell any one then; I told the colonel down here about the 10th* of this month.

The prisoner declines to cross-examine.

By the Court

*Question*—At that meeting what sort of talking was there? Was it carried on in the usual tone of voice, or in an undertone?

*Answer*—They were not speaking loudly, but in a subdued tone.

The witness withdraws.

By the Judge-Advocate

To Colonel Kennedy, the Prosecutor, on his former oath.

*Question*—Did the last witness report to you that the jemadar had spoken to him about the evidence he was to give, and when?

*Answer*—Yes; he did, about the 20th of this month.

*Question*—In any one's presence?

*Answer*—In the presence of the subadar-major and the Judge-Advocate.

The prisoner declines to cross-examine. Colonel Kennedy resumes his seat.

*21st Witness*

*Sepoy Issuree Sing (Hindu), Grenadier Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and makes solemn affirmation.

* It should be 20th of this month.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—On the 8th instant, did you hear it mentioned in the lines that certain men had been reporting to the colonel about Jemadar Salickram Sing?

*Answer*—Yes; Issuree Dutt Tewarry (Sepoy), Grenadier Company, had been the colonel's orderly that day; I heard him say, when he was hanging up his belt, he having just returned from the colonel's, and in the presence of Hyat Bux Khan, Havildar, 1st Company, and Jhoomuck Sing, Sepoy, Grenadier Company,—"Madho Sing, Pay-Havildar of the Grenadiers, has gone and reported to the colonel that Jemadar Salickram Sing, 1st Company, has been telling the men not to have their huts thatched, as there would be a disturbance at the end of the *Holee*."

*Question*—At what hour was this?

*Answer*—At sun set roll-call.

*Question*—What day was this?

*Answer*—I don't know the day, but it was the same day when the meeting was held at the Jemadar's hut.

The prisoner declines to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

*22nd Witness*

*Sepoy Buldeo Sing (Hindu), Grenadier Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry*, is called into Court, and makes solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Did you hear Issuree Dutt say in the lines that Madho Sing, Pay-Havildar of the Grenadier Company, had reported Jemadar Salickram Sing's conduct to the colonel.

*Answer*—I heard Issuree Dutt say to Hyat Bux Khan in the presence of Jhoomuck Sing, that Madho Sing had been making reports to the colonel about the state of the regiment, but I did not hear the jemadar's name mentioned.

*Question*—When was this, and where?

*Answer*—At about sun-set roll-call on the 8th instant, in the lines, between the bells-of-arms of the Grenadier Company and No. 1 Company.

704

*Question*—What things did Issuree Dutt say Madho Sing had reported?

*Answer*—About the thatching of the huts of the 1st Company.

*Question*—Were any men of the 1st Company about when this was said by Issuree Dutt Tewarry?

*Answer*—Only Issuree Sing, Sepoy, Grenadier Company. There were none of the 1st Company there, except Hyat Bux Khan. Jhoomuck Sing of the Grenadiers was there.

*Question*—Did you hear Issuree Dutt say that anything should be done?

*Answer*—No, I did not.

The prisoner declines to cross-examine.

By the Court

*Question*—How were these men talking, openly or secretly?

*Answer*—They were close together, talking in a low tone of voice. I was some way off.

The witness withdraws.

*Subadar-Major Duriou Sing*, called again.

By the Prosecutor

*Question*—Have you heard Sepoy Gunness Pandy say to his commanding officer that he had been told not to give evidence against the jemadar about the meeting?

*Answer*—I have heard him. I heard him say in presence of the colonel that at 2 o'clock in the night when he was on sentry, the jemadar came to him and persuaded and threatened him not to say that he had seen the assembly at his house.

Cross-examined by the Prisoner

*Question*—When Gunness Pandy made this report why were you at the colonel's? Were you sent for, or did you go of your own accord?

*Answer*—I went of my own accord. I am in the habit of calling every two or three days.

*Question*—Were you there in uniform, or Native dress?

*Answer*—In Native dress.

By the Prosecutor to the Court

I may as well explain that I had been authorised by the General to offer a free pardon to any one who was concerned in that meeting, if he spoke the truth and would acknowledge all he knew. Gunness

705

Pandy was brought to me by the havildar-major, and the subadar-major also came.

The witness withdraws.

*23rd Witness*

*Sepoy Adhar Sing (Hindu), 1st Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called, and makes a solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—On the evening of the 8th March, did you pass near the hut of Jemadar Salickram Sing of the 1st Company?

*Answer*—Yes, I did, in returning from the Grenadier lines.

*Question*—Did you hear any conversation in the hut, and anything said? If so, state it.

*Answer*—I heard talking. I heard the jemadar say,—"What I have done has been exposed; now what is to be done?—*Jo bat humne kissoe kholker-jagya; iska kya bundobust kurna hoga.*

*Question*—Did any one reply?

*Answer*—Jankee Sing (1st), of No. 5 Company, replied—"It is no great matter; we will arrange it."

*Question*—Did you see any one at the hut?

*Answer*—It was night; I saw some twenty or twenty-two people there.

*Question*—Did you recognise any one?

*Answer*—I saw Hyat Bux, Pay-Havildar, 1st Company, and Ram Churn, Havildar, 4th Company, and Kootub Ally, Drill Naick, and Goordut Sing, No. 1 Company, and Jhoomuck Sing was standing outside, and Jankee Sing (1st), No. 5 Company.

*Question*—Did you see the jemadar?

*Answer*—I did not see him, but recognised his voice; he was inside his hut, the others were in the court-yard.

*Question*—At what hour was this?

*Answer*—A little before gun-fire.

*Question*—Was it light enough at that time to enable you to see people?

*Answer*—Yes, at about six or eight paces.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—How long did you remain there that you heard this?

*Answer*—I stopped for a minute on hearing what I did.

*Question*—Do you say whether I was inside or outside the hut ?

*Answer*—He was inside; the hut is made of matting, and sound passes through it.

The witness withdraws.

COLONEL KENNEDY

This is my evidence on the third instance of the first charge, and I now proceed to the second charge.

COLONEL KENNEDY EXAMINED BY THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE ON HIS FORMER OATH—

*Question*—On or after the 5th of this month was any report made to you of any intended disturbance ?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Did Jemadar Salickram Sing, the prisoner, make any report to you whatever of that nature ?

*Answer*—Not any.

*Question*—Did your adjutant make to you any such report ?

*Answer*—No, not of any intended disturbance. The only report made to me by the adjutant on this subject was the conduct of the jemadar, which having enquired into myself, I placed the jemadar in arrest, and ordered the assembly of a Special Court of Inquiry without loss of time. The jemadar was placed in arrest on Monday morning, the 9th instant, and the Court assembled on that morning.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—If there was no disturbance, and if I knew of none, was it my duty to report it ?

*Answer*—Certainly not.

Colonel Kennedy resumes his seat.

COLONEL KENNEDY

The adjutant not being in attendance, and having much to do at Barrackpore, I do not think it necessary to keep open the prosecution in order to examine him whether any report was made to him by the jemadar regarding an intended disturbance. I have given evidence to show that no such report was received by me.

The prosecution is closed.

DEFENCE

Jemadar Salickram Sing, being called upon for his defence, says—"I require the evidence of the adjutant, the Mess Abdar, Mucdoom Bux, and Shaik Rujjub, the *khidmatgar* of the adjutant, who are not in attendance; my other witnesses are present."

*1st Witness*

*Davee Sing, Havildar, called, but not being present, Poorun Roy, Havildar, 1st Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* recalled.

EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—Have you ever heard me give any order to the men that they should not thatch their huts?

*Answer*—No.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Were you present in the lines of your company through the whole of the 5th instant?

*Answer*—I don't know the date.

BY THE PRISONER, BY PERMISSION

*Question*—Did you not hear me tell the men to thatch their huts?

*Answer*—I heard the jemadar on one occasion, going through the lines with the subadar, telling the men to thatch their huts.

BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—What time of the day was that?

*Answer*—Eight or nine o'clock in the morning.

The witness withdraws.

There being no other witnesses in attendance, and it being now 4 o'clock, the Court adjourns until 11 o'clock on Monday next, the 30th March.

EIGHTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

*Fort William, Monday, 30th March 1857.*

The Court re-assembled this day at their former place of meeting at 11 o'clock A.M., the President, Members, Judge-Advocate, Interpreter, Prosecutor, and prisoner being all present.

*2nd Witness*

*Boodhram Sing (Hindu), Sepoy, 4th Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court and makes solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—Did I go to Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing's hut on the morning of the 4th instant?

*Answer*—I was going along the road on that morning in rear of the Native officer's huts, when I heard Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing call out to Salickram Sing to come to him. I looked round and saw that Salickram Sing was coming along the same road as I was. Salickram said—"I have pressing business and cannot come just now." He

*Answer*—(concld.)

came on after me towards the bazar, and I then asked him why he did not go to Sewbuccus Sing; he replied—"One ought not to go to an enemy (*muddai*)."

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—What time of the day was this ?

*Answer*—It was between 9 and half-past 9 o'clock.

*Question*—Do you know whether this Native officer and Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing were on friendly terms ?

*Answer*—I do not know.

*Question*—Was any one near when this was said to you by Jemadar Salickram ?

*Answer*—No one was near.

*Question*—Did you ask what cause there was of enmity ?

*Answer*—No.

The witness withdraws.

*3rd Witness*

*Gowrie Sunker Tewarry (Hindu), Subadar, 70th Regmient of Native Infantry*, is called into Court, and makes solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—On the 8th of this month did I go to the adjutant's at about a quarter to 7 o'clock in the evening ?

*Answer*—I was sitting at the wrestling-shed, (*akhara*) about a quarter to 7 o'clock on that evening, when Jemadar Salickram came from the direction of his company's lines. I asked him to come and sit down; his reply was—"There has been a complaint made against me; will you be an evidence ?" I said,—"Idon't know anything about it; I cannot give evidence."

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Do you know whether the jemadar left the lines after speaking to you ?

*Answer*—He went in the direction of the quarter-guard; I do not know where he went after that.

*Question*—What complaints did he say had been made against him ?

*Answer*—He did not tell me.

*Question*—Then Jemadar Salickram Sing asked you to be a witness for him without stating to you on what subject ?

*Answer*—Yes; I did not ask him what evidence he wanted me to give. I said—"I will not be a witness because you ask

o

709

*Answer*—(concld.)
me to give evidence ; I don't know anything about your case."

*Question*—Did he say to you he was going to the adjutant's ?

*Answer*—No, he did not say so.

The witness withdraws.

*4th Witness*

*Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry*, is recalled.

BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—On the 8th of this month, did you hear me, about a quarter to 7 o'clock in the evening, tell Subadar Gowrie Sunkur Tewary that I was going to the adjutant's ?

*Answer*—I did not hear the jemadar say anything to Gowrie Sunkur, but at that time he came up to me at the quarter-guard, where I was on duty, and told me that some one had been back-biting him, and he was going to the adjutant's quarters.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Is not the adjutant's bungalow on the opposite side of the parade to the quarter-guard, and at what distance ?

*Answer*—Yes, the adjutant's bungalow is on the opposite side of the parade, and about two thousand, or less, paces distant.

*Question*—Is there no other way of getting to the adjutant's from the lines but by crossing the parade ?

*Answer*—No other way.

*Question*—Did the jemadar cross the parade after he had spoken to you?

*Answer*—I don't know where he went.

*Question*—Was any sepoy with the jemadar when he came to you?

*Answer*—Jankee Sing (1st), Sepoy, 5th Company, was with him.

BY THE PRISONER, BY PERMISSION

*Question*—In what direction did I go when I left you ?

*Answer*—He turned to the right, and by going in that direction he might either be going to his own hut or to the adjutant's house. I saw him for a few paces only.

BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Did Sepoy Jankee Sing leave with the jemadar, and go along with him ?

710

*Answer*—Yes, they both went together.

The witness withdraws.

*5th Witness*

*Mucdoom Bux (Mussulman)*, is called into Court, and makes solemn affirmation.

By the Prisoner

*Question*—Are you the *Abdar* of the 70th mess?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—On the 8th of this month did I not come to the mess and ask for the adjutant?

*Answer*—Yes, the jemadar did.

*Question*—At what hour was this?

*Answer*—At about a quarter to 7 o'clock. Seven o'clock had not struck.

*Question*—Did I ask you to tell the adjutant anything?

*Answer*—The jemadar asked me to tell the adjutant he was come.

*Question*—Did you tell the adjutant?

*Answer*—I did not tell. I said—"The officers are at dinner. I will tell the adjutant when they have finished; wait till then." I told the adjutant the jemadar was there just before dinner was over.

*Question*—Did the adjutant give any order?

*Answer*—He told me to tell the jemadar to wait.

Cross-examined by the Prosecutor

*Question*—When the jemadar first arrived at the mess, and said he wished to see the adjutant, were the gentlemen at dinner?

*Answer*—They had not sat down.

*Question*—How long after did they sit down?

*Answer*—Immediately afterwards.

*Question*—Did they sit down before it struck 7 o'clock?

*Answer*—After 7 o'clock.

*Question*—How long after?

*Answer*—A very little after; not five minutes.

*Question*—You said the gentlemen were at dinner, and that you would tell the adjutant when they had finished. You now say that they had not sat down to dinner. How do you explain this?

*Answer*—I said—"Let them eat dinner first."

*Question*—If the gentlemen had not sat down to dinner, why did you not tell the adjutant?

*Answer*—I was engaged in my work.

*Question*—Where were you when the jemadar said this to you?

*Answer*—I was going into the *abdar khana* to get some soda water which had been called for, when the jemadar spoke to me from the door as I passed.

*Question*—What officers were there at that time?

*Answer*—I did not notice. I noticed that there were Colonel Harris and Lieutenant Harris, the Adjutant.

*Question*—You did not see any one else?

*Answer*—I did not notice.

*Question*—Then why did you not tell the adjutant.

*Answer*—I did not know that there was anything pressing.

*Question*—Did the jemadar tell you what he had come to report to the adjutant?

*Answer*—No, he did not.

*Question*—What time was it when you told the Adjutant?

*Answer*—About half an-hour after the jemadar had come.

*Question*—Did the jemadar remain all this time?

*Answer*—Yes, near the entrance; on the steps under the portico.

*Question*—How was the jemadar dressed?

*Answer*—In Hindustani clothes.

*Question*—When the jemadar came, was he alone?

*Answer*—No; Pay-Havildar Hyat Bux Khan and Jankee Sing, Sepoy, 5th Company, came with him.

*Question*—Do you know if Pay-Havildar Hyat Bux Khan and Jankee Sing had any business that they came to the mess?

*Answer*—They all came together.

*Question*—Did they remain with the jemadar the whole time he was at the mess-house?

*Answer*—Yes, they remained with the jemadar.

*Question*—When you informed the adjutant that the jemadar had come, what then took place?

*Answer*—I told the jemadar to wait, as directed by the adjutant. I do not know whether he waited or not.

*Question*—How do you know it was a quarter to 7 o'clock when the jemadar first came.

*Answer*—The first mess bugle had sounded, and dinner was being served, when I heard it strike 7 o'clock.

The witness withdraws.

*6th Witness.*

*Rujjub* (*Mussulman*) is called into Court, and makes solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—On the 8th of this month, did you see me at the mess-house?

*Answer*—I don't know the date. But the jemadar came as dinner was going on table.

*Question*—Did I get an order to go over to the adjutant's bungalow?

*Answer*—The adjutant told me to tell the jemadar to go over to his house. I told the jemadar.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—At what hour does the second bugle sound?

*Answer*—About 7 o'clock.

*Question*—Did you see the jemadar come into the compound?

*Answer*—I saw him at the door first; at the portico entrance.

*Question*—Did the jemadar speak to you, and what did he say?

*Answer*—He did not speak to me.

*Question*—Was the jemadar alone, or was any one with him?

*Answer*—He was not alone; there were two others with him.

*Question*—When you first saw the jemadar, what time was it?

*Answer*—It was about 7 o'clock.

*Question*—Do you know who were with the jemadar?

*Answer*—I did not notice at first who they were, but when I gave them the adjutant's message, I recognised Hyat Khan, Pay-Havildar, and Jankee Sing, Sepoy.

*Question*—When did you give the adjutant's message?

*Answer*—The adjutant was eating his curry and rice at the time he gave the order for them to go to the bungalow.

*Question*—Was the jemadar there before the gentlemen sat down to dinner?

*Answer*—He was.

*Question*—When you first saw the jemadar, was the adjutant then at the mess?

*Answer*—No, he was not.

*Question*—You are the adjutant's servant, are you not?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Did the adjutant come into dinner on that day before or after the other gentlemen had sat down to dinner?

*Answer*—They had sat down to soup when the adjutant came in.

*Question*—Did you see your master come in and take his seat at the table?

*Answer*—Colonel Harris and his son, the adjutant, came in together, and sat down to table. I saw them enter from the east side of the house.

*Question*—How came you to give an order from the adjutant to tell the jemadar to go over to his, the adjutant's, house?

*Answer*—I can't say, but I was told to give the order.

*Question*—Did you hear any one report to the adjutant that the jemadar had come?

*Answer*—No; I was continually moving about.

*Question*—When you gave the order, did the jemadar tell you why he had come to report?

*Answer*—He merely said—"When will the adjutant come?"

*Question*—When did the adjutant go over to his house?

*Answer*—Not till after 8 o'clock.

The witness withdraws.

*7th Witness*

*Lieutenant Harris* recalled.

EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—On the evening of the 8th of this month, did you get a report that I had come to the mess-house?

*Answer*—Yes, I did.

*Question*—Did you not order me to go over to your quarters direct?

*Answer*—Yes. About ten minutes after I received the first message from him, I requested him to go over to my bungalow, and told him to wait there until I came over.

*Question*—When you came to your bungalow, was I there?

*Answer*—Yes.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—On that day, did you come into dinner at the mess before or after the other gentlemen had sat down?

*Answer*—I was at the mess with my father a quarter of an hour before any one else had arrived.

*Question*—In what room were you?

*Answer*—A portion of the time in the mess-room, and for a few minutes in the room occupied by Captain Greene.

*Question*—Was the dinner hour at the usual time that night?

*Answer*—Yes, it was.

714

*Question*—At what hour did the second mess bugle sound on that day?

*Answer*—It usually sounds from between twenty minutes and half-past seven.

*Question*—Is the dinner hour later on Sundays?

*Answer*—No, I think not.

*Question*—When you first got the news of the jemadar's having come, was it before, or after, or during dinner?

*Answer*—It was rather after the middle of dinner.

*Question*—Who reported to you the jemadar had come?

*Answer*—My *khidmatgar*, Shaikh Rujjub. I am not certain whether it was he or Mucdoom Bux, the *abdar*.

*Question*—What time elapsed between your receiving the report of the jemadar having come and your going over to your bungalow?

*Answer*—From the time of my first hearing of his arrival, about twenty-five minutes.

*Question*—When you got to your bungalow, whom did you see there?

*Answer*—I found Jemadar Salickram and Havildar Hyat Bux Khan, of the 1st Company, Sergeant-Major Booth, the Havildar-Major, Sewchurn Missr, and, I think, Rampersaud, Lance-Naick. I don't know if it is Rampersaud Ditchit or Tewarry.

*Question*—Were these people all together in one place?

*Answer*—Yes, I found them all in my office inside.

*Question*—What report did Jemadar Salickram make to you that night?

*Answer*—I took him into my room separately, and questioned him why he came. He said some one had been telling tales against him he had heard, and that he immediately came to me, as the officer in charge of his company, for protection.

*Question*—To the best of your judgment was the report of the jemadar's arrival made to you before or after 8 o'clock on that evening?

*Answer*—To the best of my judgment I believe it was a little before it.

BY THE COURT

*Question*—You did not refer to a watch to see what time it was?

*Answer*—No, I did not.

*Question*—Do you recollect to have heard the gun fire on that evening?

*Answer*—I don't recollect to have heard the gun.

BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—Will you state my character to the Court?

*Answer*—As a Native officer with respect to his duties, I have had no fault to find with him whatever. I have only had charge of his company for a very short time.

*Question*—But being adjutant, can you not say what my character is?

*Answer*—In my own opinion, I am sorry I cannot give him generally a good character. He has on several occasions displayed a litigiousness which has shaken my good opinion of him considerably; my former answer was merely with reference to the performance of his duties as a Native officer in the 1st Company.

*Question*—In what respect have you had occasion to find fault with me?

*Answer*—I have never had occasion to find fault with him in the performance of any duty matter; but his manner on many occasions has induced me to feel but little confidence in him.

The witness withdraws.

*8th Witness*

*Hyat Bux Khan (Mussulman), Pay-Havildar, 1st Company, 70th Regiment of Native Ifnantry*, is called into Court, and makes solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—Did you hear me give any order to the sepoys of No. 1 Company about thatching their huts, on the 5th March?

*Answer*—Yes, on the 5th March, at half-past 4 o'clock, the jemadar and sudadar came from their huts in the rear to mine in the front; on hearing them outside, I came out of my hut and joined them, and said the orders of the colonel and the adjutant are very strict on the subject of thatching the huts and preparing the fire-screens. They said that they were obedient to orders, and told me to go with them. They both said—"Come with us, and let us examine the huts." We went from the

*Answer*—(concld.)
front to the rear, and they went along saying to each sepoy—"You have received your hutting allowance; get your fire-screens ready, and thatch the huts, so that the lines may appear neat."

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—Are you not now under arrest on a charge of having attended a meeting at the jemadar's hut?

*Answer*—Yes, I am.

*Question*—How do you know that the date was the 5th March when you heard the subadar and jemadar say this about the huts?

*Answer*—The men returned from garrison duty on the 3rd March; orders had been given that they were to get their huts and fire-screens prepared at once, but the men said, "Let us have a day to get grass, &c." The order was given peremptorily the day after that,—that is, on the 5th March.

*Question*—Was Issuree Ram, Sepoy, at that time in the lines?

*Answer*—Issuree Ram was there, and Gunness Tewarry, Sepoy, was there.

*Question*—You were merely asked the question whether Issuree Ram, Sepoy, was in the lines, and you have told us in reply that Gunness Tewarry was there also; why did you mention Gunness Tewarry?

*Answer*—I know all the men of my company, and I named him.

*Question*—Why have you particularly named Gunness Tewarry?

*Answer*—It occurred to me to name him.

It strikes 4 o'clock: the Court adjourns.

The Major-General commanding the Division having desired the attendance of the Native officers forming the Court at a general parade to be held at Barrackpore either to-morrow or Wednesday, the 1st proximo, the Court adjourns until Thursday, the 2nd proximo, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

NINTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

*Fort William, 2nd April 1857.*

The Court reassembled this day at their former place of meeting at 11 o'clock A.M., the President, Members, Judge-Advocate, Interpreter, Prosecutor, and prisoner all being present as before.

The cross-examination of the witness Pay-Havildar Hyat Bux Khan continued on his former solemn affirmation.

By the Prosecutor

*Question*—Why did you particularly name Sepoy Gunness Tewarry, when you were not asked about him ?

*Answer*—I fancied that in the question both names were asked.

*Question*—Were Kaleedeen Pattuck and Pudarut Ram, Sepoys, then in the lines ?

*Answer*—I don't know.

*Question*—At a little after 8 o'clock, on the evening of the 8th March, did you not in company with another person pass between the bells-of-arms of the 1st and 2nd Companies running ?

*Answer*—No.

The witness withdraws.

*9th Witness*

*Mumrez Khan (Mussulman), Naick, 1st Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court and duly affirmed.

Examined by the Prisoner

*Question*—Were you in the lines on the 5th of last month, and did you hear me say anything about the huts of the men ?

*Answer*—Yes, I heard him say—" The colonel's and adjutant's orders are very strict about the huts and fire-places: I don't know when they may come to see if they are ready, so get them done quickly."

Cross-examined by the Prosecutor

*Question*—When did this take place, and at what time ?

*Answer*—In the morning, at about 10 o'clock, and again in the afternoon, the subadar and jemadar came from the rear to the front repeating the order.

*Question*—Where were you at the time when the subadar and jemadar went down the lines in the afternoon ?

*Answer*—I was outside my hut, near it.

*Question*—How far is your hut from those of Sepoys Gunness Tewarry and Issuree Ram, of the 1st Company ?

*Answer*—It is a long way ; mine is in front, and theirs in the rear.

*Question*—Then you could not hear, could you, what the jemadar said, if he said anything in front of the huts of these sepoys ?

*Answer*—No, it is far off.

718

BY THE COURT

*Question*—On what side of the lines of the 1st Company is your hut?

*Answer*—On the side of the 2nd Company's lines.

*Question*—On what side of the lines are the huts of Issuree Ram, Sepoy, and Gunness Tewarry?

*Answer*—I think the hut of Issuree Ram is on the proper right, and I don't know where Gunness Tewarry's is, but I think it is on the right also.

The witness withdraws.

*10th Witness*

*Soobdhan Doobey (Hindu), Sepoy, No. 1 Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry,* is called into Court, and makes solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—Were you in the lines of the 1st Company of the regiment on the 5th of last month, and did you hear me give any order about the huts?

*Answer*—I was. I heard the subadar and jemadar tell the men to put their huts in repair, and to arrange their fire-screens.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

*Question*—At what time of the day was this?

*Answer*—About half-past 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

*Question*—To whom did the jemadar say this?

*Answer*—They were looking at the huts, and were giving the orders at the same time.

*Question*—Did you hear the jemadar give this order?

*Answer*—Yes, I did.

*Question*—Where were you at that time?

*Answer*—I was inside my hut making up clay for the fire-screen.

*Question*—Did you come out from your hut at that time?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—In what part of the lines is your hut?

*Answer*—It is the fifteenth from the front, and the third in the rear of the non-commissioned officers.

*Question*—Could you see from inside your hut down the lines of the company?

*Answer*—I could not; I could see just out in front of the door.

*Question*—How far is your hut from the huts of Sepoy Issuree Ram and Gunness Tewarry?

*Answer*—The first one is five or six huts off; that of Gunness Tewarry is farther still; some three or four huts farther.

*Question*—Was the jemadar alone when he gave the order?

*Answer*—The jemadar, subadar, and Pay-Havildar Hyat Bux Khan were together.

*Question*—Were you in the lines at 10 o'clock that morning?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Did the jemadar come through the lines at that time, and say anything about the huts?

*Answer*—I did not hear him.

*Question*—When you heard the jemadar give the order about the huts in the afternoon, do you know what orders he gave in other parts of the lines?

*Answer*—I only heard what I have said.

*Question*—How do you know that this was the 5th March?

*Answer*—I was in the lines on the 5th March.

*Question*—Were you not in the lines on the 4th and 6th March?

*Answer*—I was.

*Question*—Did the jemadar and subadar come through the lines on these days and give any orders, and what?

*Answer*—I did not hear him on those days.

*Question*—You were in the lines on the 4th, 5th and 6th March; how can you particularise the 5th as the day on which the order was given by the jemadar?

*Answer*—I know it.

*Question*—Whom did you hear give the order, the subadar or jemadar?

*Answer*—I heard them both at different times.

*Question*—Did you see these three men as they went through the lines?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—If the jemadar had come in the morning of that day through the lines, and said anything about the huts, would you also have heard him?

*Answer*—I should have heard of course.

*Question*—At what time were you in the lines on the morning of that day?

*Answer*—I was employed in my hut in the morning, and went out at about between 10 and 11 o'clock to bathe.

*Question*—Did you see the jemadar when you were going out to bathe?

720

*Answer*—I did not see him.

*Question*—Do you know where he was?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Do you know whether Sepoys Issuree Ram and Gunness Tewarry were in the lines when you heard the jemadar give the order about the huts?

*Answer*—I do not know.

*Question*—Were Sepoys Kaleedeen Pattuck and Pudarut Ram in the lines?

*Answer*—They might have been. I did not go to their huts.

By the Court

*Question*—Was there any one with you in the hut?

*Answer*—No one. There are three living in the hut; one was in the hospital and one on garrison duty.

The witness withdraws.

The prisoner declines to call any more witnesses, and makes the following statement:—

When the regiment was at Delhi, the havildar-major died, and the colonel appointed another one. From that day to this moment there has been an ill-feeling against me.

We are all under the orders of the colonel, but I am always found fault with; and called out whenever the slightest duty is to be performed. The call is—"Where is the jemadar?" Whenever I go out, even to perform the calls of nature, I am always watched by certain men, drill lance-naicks, Pay-Havildar Madho Sing, and others.

As to the accusation about cartridges, I arrived in the lines at half-past 6 o'clock on the evening of the 3rd March from garrison duty. On the morning of the 4th, at about half-past 9 o'clock, I went with my boy servant towards the bazar to get grass and other materials for thatching. I had thatched one of my huts before I went away on garrison duty. Boodheram Sing was going along in the same direction, about ten paces in front. When we came near the lines of the Light Company, Jemadar Sewchurn Sing called me to him. Subadar-Major Duriou Sing, Subadar Homail Sing were sitting on the same charpoy. Aman Sing, Pay-Havildar of the 6th Company, and Thakore Sing, Pay-Havildar of the 4th Company, and Issuree Sing, Havildar, Light Company, these three were also together on a charpoy; and Madho Sing, Pay-Havildar of the Grenadier Company, was standing with a book under his arm. I told the jemadar, I had no time to come then; but

the reason was, I was afraid they might catch some word of mine, so as to bring it up against me. When I got near the bazar, Boodheram asked me why I had not gone when the jemadar called me; I replied—"Because they are my enemies, and only asked me to go to them that they might catch me." I made my purchases and went home, and did not leave my hut again that day.

On the 5th March, at about 8 o'clock in the morning, the subadar of the 2nd Company, who is now in Court, called out to me—"Here is your son arrived." He had been away to Juggernath. I did not leave my hut that day after his arrival, but remained in attendance upon my son.

As to the cartridge accusation, we were never told to bite them, neither on the parade ground nor at the colonel's house, on the two occasions. But people took my name from reasons of enmity to try and get my name cut. Send for cartridges, and bring in a musket, and see who will bite the cartridges, and who will not; and let those who will not bite them be dismissed.

On the second occasion of going to the colonel's bungalow, did any one refuse, or did any one agree, to bite the cartridges? I would ask if I have disobeyed any orders of the colonel on the subject. The colonel, on receiving such a report, ought to have asked me, whether I would obey orders or not; and if I had not, then it was proper to punish me. For thirty-three years I have served the Government and obeyed all orders I have received and had intended to do so; and I am still in hopes that my enemies may be brought before the Court and directed to bite the cartridges, and that I may be placed alongside them and told to do so too; and if I refuse, then punish me.

When the colonel first called us up, he said that in the grease there was only sheep's and goat's fat; and that that would do no harm to our religion. All the Native officers agreed that there was nothing objectionable; and I among the rest. On the second occasion, when we were at the colonel's bungalow, he told us the manner of using the new cartridges; and then said—"Look; some enemy has made a report against the subadar-major, and here, I have just got it." We had a conversation about duty matters, and then returned to our lines.

On the 5th of March, Madho Sing, Pay-Havildar, Grenadier Company, took a sepoy of my company to Captain Greene's quarters. I don't know what occurred there or what this was for, but I know the fact. In the evening, after roll-call, he took him and another one to the colonel's on the 8th March. I was cleansing my water-vessel about half-past 6 o'clock, when some sepoys came to me and said—"What

are you sitting there for, while Madho Sing is setting a trap for you? He took a sepoy during the day to Captain Greene's, and now he is taking two to the colonel's." I then started to go to the adjutant's, but it being late, I was afraid that if I was found absent I might be reported again; so I went up towards the quarter-guard to tell them where I was going. I saw Gowrie Sunkur Tewarry of the 5th Company sitting near the wrestling place, and told him they are making up a case against me—"Will you be my witness? I am going up to the adjutant's." The subadar said—"I don't know anything about your case, but I will be a witness that you are going up to the adjutant's." I then went up to the quarter-guard, and told Sewbuccus Sing, jemadar on duty there, that they were making false accusations against me, and that two men had gone up to the colonel's with Madho Sing, and that I was going up to the adjutant's, and that he was to be a witness.

As I was going on, I saw Jankee Sing and called him to me, and took him along with me to the adjutant's. When we got up to the tank near the magazine, we came up to Hyat Bux Khan, pay-havildar, and I told him what I heard was going on against me, and said—"You are a pay-havildar; what do you know about it?" He replied—"I will take an oath I know nothing about it whatever." We all three went straight to the mess-house. Just as we went up the steps to the door, it struck 7 o'clock. The servants were taking in dinner. I told the *abdar* two or three times to inform the adjutant that I was there on particular business. He said—"Dinner is just coming on to the table and the gentlemen are arriving; let them eat their dinner, and then I will tell the adjutant." In about twenty minutes after the *abdar* came and told me that the adjutant saheb's order was that I was to wait about a quarter to 8 o'clock. The *khidmatgar* Rajjub told me that the adjutant had sent word to me to go over to his house. Jankee Sing then said—"It is near 8 o'clock; I have to be present at roll-call,"—and went to the lines; Hyat Khan and I then went over to the adjutant's house, and waited at the door on the side opposite the mess-house, which is not the principal entrance, but on the opposite side of the house. About half-past 8 o'clock the sergeant-major, the havildar-major, Bhoowany Buccus, and Rampersaud Ditchit, Lance-Naick, came into the compound, and went round to the front of the house. We followed them at twenty paces off, and just then the adjutant came over from the mess walking rapidly, and went into the house from the rear where we had been waiting. When we got to the front, I went up and saluted him; Hyat Khan

did the same, and so did the others. About a minute afterwards Colonel Harris also came. We were all examined separately by the adjutant, and I overheard the havildar-major state that I had a meeting at my hut. The adjutant asked him if he had reported it to the sergeant-major. He said he had. The sergeant-major was then called in, and asked if he had gone to see if there was a meeting. He said—"No." Just as he was going it had struck 8 o'clock, and he did not go. We all returned from the adjutant's to our lines at half-past 9 o'clock.

With regard to what Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing reported, there are plenty of Native officers in the regiment, the captain of my company, and subadars in the regiment, what misfortune had befallen me that I should go to him, a jemadar like myself, and say that my only hope was in him! Whoever is not a fool can tell who is his enemy. Is it likely that I should go to my enemy to talk any such thing?

With regard to the case of thatching the huts, how is it that the report should be made direct to the commanding officer, and that the captain of the company, the subadar, and the orderly-havildar should know nothing about it, but that a havildar of another company should take a sepoy of my company to the colonel's to complain.

As to the meeting, the havildar-major knows very well who is the subabar of the day, and that it is his duty to tell him first; and if he did not bring him, the subadar of my company was on that day in the lines.

The orderly-havildar was there also; he did not say anything to any of them, but according to his choice, he brought men from the 3rd and 7th Companies, lance-naicks, and men of the same caste, as witnesses. There are plenty of Native officers in the lines whom he might have made witnesses instead of these men. I complain of men having been called as witnesses during the course of the trial,—men who had been mentioned to the colonel by the subadar-major and havildar-major day by day, but who had not been warned. With regard to the evidence about that meeting, some witnesses say that the meeting was in the court-yard, some in the house; some say that there are tatties (enclosure) round the compound, some say it was open; the Native officers of my regiment who are in the Court can give evidence about that; ask them. They can also give information as to whether four of my family came on that day or not. Another thing I wish to state is, that since I joined the regiment on its being raised, there have been fourteen commandants, seven adjutants, and eight havildar-majors. I have always had a good character with all of these. If the character book is referred to, this will be shown. I have only got a bad

character now by the back-biting and false complaints made against me by the subadar-major and the havildar-major, and to which the colonel listens.

On the 20th of March the subadar-major made the four prisoners who are to be tried on the charge of being at the meeting sit down on his bed and told them that if they would confess that they were at this meeting, whether they mentioned the names of others or not, he would get them promoted to be naicks and havildars, and have them released from confinement.

The subadar of the 37th Regiment now in this Court and many other officers can speak to my character when I was naick of the 3rd Company, 37th Regiment, before this was raised.

I again urge upon the Court that I have served 33 years, and have always done my duty, and would also do my duty; but I have been ruined by false reports being made of me, and throw myself upon the consideration of the Court. I have no more witnesses.

The defence is closed.

It being near 4 o'clock, the Court adjourned until 11 A.M. to-morrow, the 3rd April.

### TENTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

*Fort William, 3rd April 1857.*

The Court reassembled this day at their former place of meeting, at half-past 11 o'clock in the forenoon, the President, Members, Judge-Advocate, Interpreter, Prosecutor, and prisoner, being all present.

The Prosecutor not having his reply prepared, the Court did not commence proceedings until near 1 o'clock p.m.

At the request of the prisoner, Lieutenant W. M. Grierson, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry, the Interpreter to the Court, is sworn.

### EXAMINED BY THE PRISONER

*Question*—Will you state to the Court what you know of my character?

*Answer*—It is now three years since I left the regiment, at which time the jemadar was a pay-havildar. I believe he accompanied me once on treasure escort duty, during which time I had no fault to find with him. I know nothing further personally of him, he not having been in my company, but I always considered him a smart non-commissioned officer.

Lieutenant Grierson resumes his seat in Court.

Colonel Kennedy hands in the following reply, which is read by the Interpreter:—

*To the President and Members of the Native general court-martial.*

SIRDARS,—

I request your particular attention to a few remarks I wish to make on the defence made yesterday by the prisoner, Jemadar Salickram Sing, and would at the same time refer in a few instances to certain parts of the evidence for the prosecution which have not in any way been contradicted or disproved by the witnesses for the defence.

The first instance of the first charge, I conceive, has been as clearly and satisfactorily proved as it is possible to prove anything. A Native commissioned officer (a jemadar) and a havildar have both sworn to having heard the prisoner make use of the mutinous expressions with which he is charged; a report of the same is made a short time after to the subadar of the company in presence of the subadar-major of the regiment; these two respectable Native officers have sworn to the report made by the Native officer, to whom it is addressed by the prisoner. The prisoner has not attempted to disprove the statement he is charged with having made regarding the biting of the cartridges, and I think there can be no doubt in the minds of the members of this Court that the statement was made, and this, too, the Court will recollect, after I had had a parade of the regiment, at which the Interpreter, Captain Impey, explained to the men, in my presence, the whole of the cartridge case, pointing out that no grease was upon any that had been issued; that none would be put upon them; that the paper was clean and free from grease; and that the whole of the material used in the preparation of the cartridge was unobjectionable to either Hindu or Mussulman. This explanation, it has been shown in evidence, satisfied the minds of the men.

This Native officer, Salickram Sing, was also present at that parade, and carried the colours. He was well aware of the disaffection and bad feeling existing amongst the troops at Barrackpore; he also saw that the regiment to which he belonged was perfectly satisfied with the explanation that had been made to them, and with what Government proposed doing, so that there would not be the slightest interference with caste or the religious prejudices of the sepoy, and this I myself more than once fully and satisfactorily explained to both Native officers and men; and yet a month or so afterwards here is a Native commissioned officer of about thirty-three years' service, who evidently must be one of the disaffected,

726

but without any real cause, as has been shown, instead of endeavouring to soothe and allay any groundless fears that might still be lurking in the minds of any of the men of his regiment, doing all he could to foster and foment disaffection amongst them, and endeavouring to incite them to join in his mutinous and unauthorised conduct; but fortunately, the men were too staunch and too true to their colours and their Government to allow themselves to be led away by one disaffected individual, where they saw there was no just cause for complaint.

The prisoner has said in his defence that he was in his hut the whole of the day of the 5th March 1857, from 8 o'clock in the morning, attending upon his son, who had returned from Juggernath; whereas his own witnesses have sworn that he went through the lines of his company once at ten o'clock in the morning, and again at half-past 4 in the afternoon of that day, telling the men as he passed along to repair their huts; this he did twice on the very day he has stated in his defence that he did not leave his hut after 8 o'clock in the morning. Two sepoys of the 1st Company have also sworn that they saw the prisoner passing through their lines on the afternoon of the 5th March, and heard him tell them not to hurry in repairing their huts, as there would be a disturbance in three or four days or so; this too said at a time when the sepoys of some of the regiments at Barrackpore were more or less disaffected, and showed every disposition to join in a disturbance.

The prisoner's witnesses have sworn that they heard the jemadar, Salickram Sing, give orders to repair the huts and cooking-places at the time that he states he was in his hut, but these witnesses have not said that they did not hear the jemadar also give orders to delay repairing them, for the reasons stated in the second instance of the first charge.

With reference to the third instance of the first charge, the jemadar is not charged with being himself present at a meeting of non-commissioned officers and others at his hut, but with having a meeting of non-commissioned officers and sepoys of the 70th Regiment at his hut, in the lines of his company, and this, I think, the Court will allow has been most satisfactorily proved by no less than six witnesses, who have all sworn to the fact, and who have given the names of some of the men they saw there, describing minutely the very clothes some wore. There surely could not have been any mistake in this evidence, for no six witnesses could have so correctly given evidence had they really not been eye-witnesses to what they stated. The jemadar in his defence wishes to show that he was not present at this meeting, but that he was at the mess. If it should appear to the Court that

727

there is any uncertainty about the exact time at which the jemadar was present at that meeting, there is no uncertainty of the fact of his presence. He was both seen and heard. The sentry, Gunness Pandy, saw him, and Sepoy Adhar Sing heard his voice.

But if even he were not present, he would be equally culpable under this charge. The fact of the meeting having taken place is unquestionable, and it is impossible to suppose that twenty or twenty-five persons should assemble at the jemadar's hut without his connivance.

What the subject discussed at that meeting was, has to a certain extent been shown, and that the assembly was held for illegal purposes is beyond a shadow of a doubt; if not for such purpose, how is it that none of those have come forward who were present at the assembly, although a pardon was offered by the Major-General commanding the Division to any one who would speak the truth; and, if not, why should the jemadar have threatened and persuaded the sentry, Gunness Pandy, to deny there had been a meeting? There can be no other conclusion than that the meeting was of an illegal nature, and the evidence itself in some measure explains its nature. Sepoy Adhar Sing has sworn that he heard the jemadar say—"What I have done has been exposed; and now what shall I do?" What had the jemadar done? Is it not shown that he had, on the 5th of March, used seditious language about the cartridges and the huts? Here was something to be exposed, and did not the jemadar know that his conduct had been exposed? The answer to this is clear. The evidence shows that my orderly had at 6 o'clock in the evening of the 8th of March informed Hyat Bux Khan, Pay-Havildar, the constant companion of the jemadar on that evening, as shown both by the evidences for the prosecution and the defence, that Madho Sing had reported the jemadar's misconduct to me, and that an enquiry had that day been made by me. It is impossible to conceive that Hyat Bux Khan did not tell that to the jemadar, so that the meaning of the words heard to be spoken—"What I have done has been exposed, and now what shall I do?"—is clear, and is in itself sufficient to show the unlawful character of the meeting.

Having now disposed of the charges, I will proceed to remark upon the style of defence adopted by the prisoner Jemadar Salickram Sing. He evidently wishes the Court to think him an ill-treated man, and that there is a strong party feeling against him in the regiment, for he talks of his enemies in the corps, and lays great stress upon the names of the subadar-major and drill-havildar of the regiment, whom he implies

having maligned him to me, and that I (he also says) have listened to tales, back-bitings, and false complaints from these two men. I now solemnly assure this Court that the first I ever heard of there being enmity between the prisoner and any one in the regiment was at one of the sittings of this very Court, and not before. Indeed, I had not the slightest idea that he was not on the same friendly terms in the regiment as the other Native officers appear to be; and I would also here inform the Court that neither the subadar-major nor the havildar-major has ever told me any tales against the prisoner, or made any false complaints against any other persons in the regiment. Indeed, I would not have allowed it. I never encourage tale-bearing and tittle-tattle. I never have done so, and I never will, either from a subadar or from a sepoy.

In explanation of what the prisoner complains as having taken place on the 20th of March, I will state to the Court exactly what occurred. On or about the 20th of March, Major-General Hearsey, Commanding the Presidency Division, authorised me to offer a free pardon to any one of the prisoners who would come forward and speak the whole truth regarding the meeting at the jemadar's hut, if he were there, what was the subject of conversation that was carried on there, and so forth. This I made known at the head-quarters of my regiment through my adjutant, and when I came down to Fort William to act as prosecutor on this trial, by order of the Major-General commanding, I made the same known through the subadar-major and drill-havildar, who were down here as witnesses for the prosecution; going myself to the encampment of the evidences, and prisoners near the tank, and myself telling them to make known the General's orders, and my offer, with his sanction, of a free pardon to any one who would turn Queen's evidence. So much for the prisoner's insinuation that the other prisoners were attempted to be bribed into confessing.

Jemadar Salickram Sing has merely given his own testimony of false complaints having been made against him, and has also stated that there are persons at enmity with him in the regiment, without proving a single instance; and he has not attempted even to show why they are at enmity with him, or given any reasons for it throughout his statement, or attempted even to support it by evidence. I believe his assertion to be without the least foundation, and wholly untrue, for, as I have before said, I never heard of it until it was put forward in this Court.

The jemadar talks of his good character, and says he has always done his duty, and would do so again. Having been thirty-three years in the

service, it is, I think, a pity he should so far have forgotten his position in the regiment, and lost sight of his duty to his Government, as to have attempted at the time he did, and when there was disaffection abroad amongst the troops at the station, to have persuaded others in his own regiment, which had been so steady and well-behaved, to combine with him against the lawful authority of his superiors, and by such an act to blast the good name of his own regiment.

The jemadar would also wish the Court to think that I have some ill-will towards him, and think I listened to complaints against him. I assure the Court I knew no more of this Native officer than I did of the others in the regiment, and I never heard from his comrades (Native officers or men) any complaint against him. I only joined this regiment, the 70th Native Infantry, at the end of last July, and on the very day I took the command, the havildar-major, I believe, died. Before appointing his successor, I consulted the ablest and best officers in the regiment, and when two or three good and smart men had been pointed out to me. I myself examined them in their duty on parade, and then selected the man I considered best fitted for the situation.

The jemadar thinks and says I ought, on receiving a report against him, to have sent for him, and asked him whether he would obey orders. My duty is to issue orders to those under my command, and to see them obeyed; not to ask my subordinates "if they will obey them."

On receiving reports against the prisoner of so serious a nature as mutiny, and holding a meeting at his hut, particularly at a time when the troops at the station were more or less disaffected, I directed my adjutant to place the jemadar in arrest, and I ordered, without delay, a special Court of Inquiry.

Before concluding, I would make a remark concerning the jemadar's complaint that men were called as witnesses during the course of the trial, men who had been mentioned to me by the subadar-major and havildar-major day by day, but who had not been warned. The Court may recollect, and I have no doubt the Judge-Advocate does, that on one or two occasions during the trial, some particular points to which answers were made elicited the name or names of one or two men whom I had not heard of as knowing anything of the case under investigation; it was then thought in Court that these men would be material witnesses for the prosecution. The Court may also recollect having seen me on these occasions writing to my adjutant to send these witnesses down on the following morning early; these notes were

written by me in Court, and given immediately the proceedings of the day were closed; on one occasion, to the havildar-major to send up to Barrackpore, and on another, I think I gave the note to the adjutant himself, as he was in Court on that day. This explanation will, I hope, fully satisfy the Court that the jemadar's insinuations that witnesses for the prosecution were first told what to say by the subadar-major and havildar-major, and then metnioned to me as men necessary to be sent for, are groundless and malicious, put forth evidently in hope of making the Court believe that he, the prisoner, has not had justice done him, and that party feeling was at work against him, the whole being a fabrication of his own and utterly untrue.

I will now leave the serious charges against the prisoner in the hands of the Court, to be dealt with as the members may see fit, feeling convinced that fifteen Native officers who have served the State faithfully and honourably, some from thirty to forty years, will show their Government that they know their duty, and will perform it; that notwithstanding the prisoner is a Native officer of about thirty-three years' service, they will not permit the good name and bearing of a steady and well-behaved regiment to be even tarnished by the machinations of one disaffected and contumacious officer.

FORT WILLIAM, *The 3rd Apr. 1857.* (Sd.) J. D. KENNEDY, *Lieut.-Col. and Col., Comdg. 70th Regt. of Nat. Infy.*

The Court was closed.

## *FINDING*

The Court find the prisoner, Jemadar Salickram Sing, of the 1st Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry, guilty of the first charge, in every instance, and guilty also of the second charge.

## *SENTENCE*

The Court sentence the prisoner, Jemadar Salickram Sing, of the 1st Company of the 70th Regiment of Native Infantry, to be dismissed from the service.

(Sd.) JOWAHIR LALL TEWARRY, *President.*

(Sd.) G. C. HATCH, *Capt., Dy. Judge-Adv.-Genl.*

(Sd.) W. M. GRIERSON, *Lieut., Interpreter to the Court.*

The Court adjourned at 3 o'clock P. M. until further orders.

(Sd.) G. C. HATCH, *Capt.*,
*Dy. Judge-Adv.-Genl.*

---

*From Lieutenant-Colonel* K. YOUNG, *Judge-Advocate-General of the Army, to the Deputy Judge-Advocate-General, Presidency Division,—dated Simla, 11th April 1857.*

I have the honor, by direction of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, to return, for revision of the sentence, the proceedings of the trial of Jemadar Salickram Sing, of the 70th Regiment of Native Infantry.

2. General Anson concurs with the Court in their verdict, and it seems fully proved that the prisoner has disgracefully broken the oath he took to behave himself as "becomes a good soldier, and faithful servant of the Company," having himself fomented the mutinous feeling that existed in a portion of his regiment, instead of reporting the matter at once to the European officer of his company and at the same time exerting his own influence to check the spirit of disaffection.

3. You will be good enough to explain to the Court the serious nature of the offence of which the prisoner has been convicted, and point out to them the impossibility of maintaining discipline in the army, if the crime of mutiny in a Native officer is allowed to be visited by mere dismissal from the service.

4. The Commander-in-Chief trusts that, having taken these remarks into their consideration, the Court will be prepared to award such a sentence as His Excellency can approve.

---

*Barrackpore, 24th April 1857.*

The Court reassembled this day with closed doors, at the mess-house of the 34th Regiment of Native Infantry, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, the President, and all the members detailed in the heading of these Proceedings being present. The Interpreter is also present.

The orders for the reassembly of the Court were read, and the Judge-Advocate read to the Court the letter of instructions for revision, marked A, and attached to these Proceedings, and explained also the serious nature of the offence of which the prisoner has been convicted, as directed in paragraph 3 of this letter.

*REVISED SENTENCE*

The Court having maturely considered the remarks of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, most respectfully beg to adhere to their former sentence.

(Sd.) JOWAHIR LALL TEWARRY,
*Presdt. of the Court.*

(Sd.) G. C. HATCH, *Capt.,*
*Dy. Judge-Adv.-Genl.*

(Sd.) W. M. GRIERSON, *Lieut.,*
*Interpreter.*

The Court closed their proceedings, on revision, at 1 o'clock P.M. and adjourned until further orders.

(Sd.) G. C. HATCH, *Capt.,*
*Dy. Judge Adv.-Genl.*

Approved and confirmed.

*Simla,*
*The 1st May 1857.* (Sd.) GEORGE ANSON, *Genl.,*
*Comdr.-in-Chief, East Indies.*

*REMARKS*

The Commander-in-Chief returned these proceedings for a revision of the sentence, considering mere dismissal from the service an inadequate punishment for the crime of mutiny.

The Court have, however, adhered to their original sentence, representing that there is a marked difference between the case of Jemadar Salickram Sing, and those of Sepoy Mungul Pandy and Jemadar Issuree Pandy of the 34th Regiment of Native Infantry, on each of whom the Court has passed a capital sentence. General Anson, agreeing in much that has been advanced by the Court, is still of opinion that a very lenient view has been taken of the misconduct of Jemadar Salickram Sing, but out of deference to the President and Members of this court-martial, who, faithful to their duty to the State, have not shrunk from awarding a sentence of death when they conscientiously considered it deserved, General Anson has accorded his approval and confirmation of the present sentence, and he has the more readily done so, as the 70th Regiment, to which Jemadar Salickram Sing was a disgrace, is a well-conducted body of men, and requires no severe example in its ranks to mark the heinousness of the crime of mutiny.

(Sd.) GEORGE ANSON.

*From Colonel* R. J. H. Birch, c.b., *Secretary to the Government of India, to the Judge-Advocate-General of the Army,—dated Fort William, 27th May 1857.*

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th May 1857, forwarding the original proceedings of a general court-martial on the trial of Salickram Sing, Jemadar of the 70th Regiment of Native Infantry, who has been convicted of mutiny, and sentenced to be dismissed the service, and to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that the same has been laid before Government.

2. The original enclosures of your letter are herewith returned as requested.

734

## APPENDIX E

*Memorandum of the circumstances which led to the trial of Mattadin Sing, Havildar, and eighty-four others, naicks and troopers of the 3rd Light Cavalry.*

On the 24th April 1857, Brevet-Colonel Smyth, commanding the 3rd Light Cavalry, addressed the following letter to the Major of Brigade at Meerut:—

"I have the honor to report, for the information of the officer commanding the station, that yesterday I ordered a parade to take place this morning for the purpose of showing the men the new mode by which they might load their carbines without biting their cartridges; and late in the evening I received information from the havildar-major that the men of the first troop would not receive their cartridges (which were the same that they always used), and my adjutant received a letter from Captain Craigie, copy of which is enclosed.

This morning I explained to the men my reason for ordering the parade, and I first ordered the havildar-major to show them the new way of loading, which he did, and fired off his carbine. I then ordered the cartridges to be served out, but with the exception of the men noted in the margin, they all refused to receive them, saying they would get a bad name if they took them, but that if all the regiment would take their cartridges, they would do so. I explained to them that they were not new cartridges, but the very same they had always been using, and once more called on them to receive the cartridges, but with the exception of the men above mentioned, they all still refused, after which I ordered the adjutant to dismiss the men, as they were too large a party to send to the guard. The party consisted of ninety men."

Heera Sing, Havildar, 4th Troop.
Persaud Sing, Havildar, 5th Troop.
Golam Nubbie Khan, Havildar, 5th Troop.
Shaikh Golam Mahomed, Naick, 6th Troop.
Delawar Khan, Naick, 6th Troop.

2. On the receipt of this letter, a court of inquiry was assembled by Major-General Hewitt, commanding the Meerut Division with the view to elicit facts, if possible, to elucidate the cause of the refusal of the men of the 3rd Light Cavalry to use the cartridges on the 24th April, and to ascertain if there was anything objectionable in them.

3. The Court of Inquiry, which was held on the following day (25th April), was composed of the following native officers:—

Subadar-Major Thakoor Awustie, 20th Native Infantry.
Subadar Gungadeen Doobey, 20th Native Infantry.
" Ramchurn, 3rd Light Cavalry.
" Gunness Sing, 20th Native Infantry.
" Golab Khan, 3rd Light Cavalry.
" Buxees Sing, 20th Native Infantry.
Jemadar Fyze Khan, 3rd Light Cavalry.

4. This shows three cavalry and four infantry officers (the 11th Regiment had not reached Meerut, it is believed) as composing the Court; and there were two Mahomedans, two Brahmins, two (apparently) Chuttries, and one (apparently) inferior caste Hindu. The late Captain Macdonald, 20th Native Infantry, was Interpreter.

5. Before this Court, the quartermaster-havildar, the regimental tindal and the senior havildar, and the senior Mahomedan trooper of each troop were examined. The quartermaster-havildar, a Hindu, knew nothing of ihe making up of the particular cartridges, but he stated: "I know of nothing which should prevent either Hindu or Mussulman using them. The cartridges are unobjectionable; they are the same as have been in use with the regiment for years. There is no grease in them." Hereupon the witness was directed to produce some of the cartidges; he did so without hesitation. The members of the Court examined them, and observed that "they are exactly similar to what have been in use in the service for thirty and forty years."

6. The havildar, a Hindu, who superintended the making up of these very cartridges, said: "There is nothing whatever about them that either Hindu or Mussulman can consider objectionable; they are precisely the same as have been in use for years with the regiment; they were made in the regimental magazine, as heretofore, by the regimental *khalasis*."

7. The tindal, a Hindu, states: "The present cartridges were made up by myself and the *khalasis* of the regiment; they are precisely the same in paper and in all materials as they have been ever

since I have been in the regiment, and that is thirty-three years. Till now I never heard an objection of any kind against them, and even now I cannot understand what point in particular is objected to. I have never heard anything beyond general rumour, which no one is able to particularise."

8. Of the twelve troopers examined, not one could point out anything objectionable in the cartridges; they spoke of the suspicion of impurity of some kind, though of its nature not one knew anything. Moolah Bux (Mahomedan) when questioned on the subject, insolently replied: "I have doubt about the cartridges; they apparently look like old ones, but they may, for aught I know, have pigs' fat rubbed over them." The next witness, a Hindu, voluntarily handled the cartridges to show that he considered them perfectly unobjectionable. It may be here remarked that not only had no objectionable cartridges been served to the 3rd Regiment of Light Cavalry, but, so far as is known none fit for carbines had been received at Meerut when the mutiny occurred.

9. The opinion of the Court of Inquiry is contained in the following words:—

"The Court, having attentively weighed the evidence given before them, are of opinion that no adequate cause can be assigned for the disobedience of Colonel Smyth's orders by the men of the 3rd Regiment of Light Cavalry in refusing to receive and use the cartridges that were served out. The only conclusion the Court can arrive at in regard to this point is that a report seems to have got abroad which in some vague form attaches suspicion of impurity to the materials used for making these cartridges, but the Court are unanimously of opinion that there is nothing whatever objectionable in the cartridges of the 3rd Regiment of Light Cavalry, and that they may be freely received and used as heretofore without in the slightest degree affecting any religious scruple of either a Hindu or Mussulman, and if any pretence, contrary to this, is urged, that it must be false."

10. When the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry reached the late Commander-in-Chief, General Anson, accompanied by Colonel Smyth's report, His Excellency ordered the mutinous soldiers (of whom forty-nine were Mahomedans and thirty-six were Hindus) to be tried by a native general court-martial on the following charge:—

For having, at Meerut, on the 24th April 1857, severally and individually, disobeyed the lawful command of their superior officer, Brevet-Colonel G. M. C. Smyth, Commanding the 3rd Regiment of

737

Light Cavalry, by not having taken the cartridges tendered to each of them individually for use that day on parade, when ordered by Colonel Smyth to take the said cartridges.

11. The Court sat on the 6th, 7th, and 8th of May, and was composed of six Mahomedan and nine Hindu native officers taken from the following corps :—

| | | Mahomedans. | Hindus. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Artillery, 3rd Company, 7th Battalion | ... | 0 | 1 |
| 3rd Light Cavalry ... | ... | 1 | 1 |
| 11th Native Infantry ... | ... | 3 | 2 |
| 20th Native Infantry ... | ... | 0 | 2 |
| 38th " " ... | ... | 1 | 1 |
| 54th " " ... | ... | 1 | 1 |
| 74th " " ... | ... | 0 | 1 |

12. At the trial the evidence of Colonel Smyth was as follows:—

EXAMINED BY JUDGE-ADVOCATE

*Question*—On the 24th April 1857, were you commanding the 3rd Regiment of Light Cavalry ?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Had you any of the troopers of your regiment on parade that morning?

*Answer*—Yes; including non-commissioned officers and troopers, ninety men.

*Question*—Were the prisoners in Court amongst those ninety men?

*Answer*—Yes, they were.

*Question*—Did they, on that occasion, disobey any lawful command you gave; if so, state the circumstances?

*Answer*—Yes, they did disobey my lawful command. Each of the troopers, on being ordered by me to take their cartridges from the kot-dafadars, who tendered them to them, refused to do so, saying: "If all will take the cartridges, we will take them." I then separately and individually ordered each of the prisoners to take the cartridges; each man refused, saying—"I shall get a bad name if I do so."—This was the only plea that any of them urged; not one of them alleged any scruple of religion, but simply declared that he would get a bad name among his comrades if he took them. Previous to ordering the men to take their cartridges, I made the havildar-major load and fire off his carbine, to

738

*Answer*—(concld.)

show them how it could be loaded without putting the cartridge to the mouth; this the havildar-major did before them. When they had all refused the cartridges, I pointed out to them that the havildar-major had used these cartridges; that there was no grease of any kind on them, and that they were the same as they had always used, and that they had better take them. With these men on parade were five others, non-commissioned officers, who made no objection to taking the cartridges. I made these five men, who had obeyed my orders, advance a short distance in front of the prisoners, to follow the example those men had set them, but not one of them would do so (*sic*). The prisoners, one and all, ended by disobeying the orders I gave them on parade; and as this was the case, I caused the parade to be dismissed, and reported the circumstance for the information of the officer commanding the station.

CROSS-EXAMINED

Meer Kudrut Ally, Naick, No. 232, puts the following questions:—

*Question*—Did you show us the cartridges that we might see whether they were old ones or new ones?

*Answer*—The kot-dafadars had them in their hands; you might have examined them in any way, but you refused to touch them.

*Question*—Were the cartridges, which we refused, put aside and confined with us?

*Answer*—No, all the cartridges of the regiment are precisely the same; there are not two kinds.

The other prisoners decline to cross-examine.

EXAMINED BY THE COURT

*Question*—Why did you tell the men they would have to fire, instead of merely ordering them to do so?

*Answer*—The parade was in orders the day before, and entered in the order-book as usual, and each man was ordered to receive three cartridges. I wished to show them the new way of loading without putting the cartridges to the mouth, and attended the parade for the purpose.

*Answer*—(concld.)

When I came on parade, the adjutant informed me that the men had not taken their cartridges, and it was on that account I ordered the havildar-major to take a cartridge and load and fire before them; and it was then also that I said, when the whole army heard of this way of loading, that they would be all much pleased, and exclaim "Wah, Wah!"

13. The defence of the prisoners made by Mattadin, Havildar, on behalf of himself and others, was in the following words:—

"On the evening of the 23rd ultimo, at about half-past 7 o'clock, about five or six men of the 3rd troop were standing in the lines; they were saying to each other that Brijmohun Sing had just said that he had that day fired off two of the new greased cartridges; there will be a parade to-morrow morning; the colonel and the adjutant will be present, and the new cartridges are to be used; we shall then see whether any one, Hindu or Mussulman, will refuse to use them. After this a number of us said to each other: If we use the greased cartridges we shall lose our caste, and shall never again be able to return to our homes. We then consulted as to what was to be done, and came to the conclusion that we ought to report the circumstances to the captains of our troops, so that something might be done to save our caste. The native officers of troops reported the circumstances to the captains commanding troops. We all went to our respective huts. Early in the morning, as we were ordered to turn out for parade, we all went there without knowing what had been done or said the night before by captains of troops. The adjutant came down to parade shortly afterwards, and then the colonel stood in front of the skirmishers and said: "I have invented something; listen to what I am about to say. If you will fire off these cartridges, the Commander-in-Chief will be much pleased, and you will have a great name, and I shall likewise get great praise, and I will have the whole affair published in the papers." The colonel called the havildar-major to the front, and said to him: "Take a carbine, load and fire it off in the way I showed you yesterday," and then he said to us that we should have to load and fire in the same manner. The havildar-major brought his carbine to his side, and having handled his cartridges, was about to bite off the end, when the colonel stopped him, saying: "Tear it with your hands." He loaded and fired. The colonel then said: "Where are the cartridges; bring them here." Kot-dafadars brought the cartridges tied up in cloth.

The colonel went to the right and said: "Will you take those cartridges?" All said—"No, we won't take them." We would not take them as we had great doubts about them; so the colonel had to induce us to take them, a thing he had never done before. When the colonel had put us 'threes about' to dismiss us from the parade, we begged to make a statement to him. He fronted us, and we said—"If the other regiments will fire one cartridge, we will fire ten." The colonel said—"There are no other cartridges for other men." We said—"There are pistols." The colonel then again put us 'threes about' and dismissed us."

14. By the votes of fourteen out of the fifteen native officers, the whole of the prisoners were convicted and sentenced to imprisonment with hard labor for ten years each. But the Court solicited favorable consideration for the prisoners, on account of the good character which they had hitherto borne, as testified to by their commanding officer, and on account of their having been misled by vague reports regarding the cartridges.

15. Major-General Hewitt approved and confirmed the sentence, and made the following remarks:—

"I would willingly attend to the recommendation of the Court if I could find anything in the conduct of the prisoners that would warrant me in so doing. Their former good character has been blasted by present misbehaviour; and their having allowed themselves to be influenced by vague reports, instead of attending to the advice and obeying the orders of their European superiors, is the gist of the offence for which they have been condemned. It appears from these proceedings that these misguided men, after consultation together on the night of the 23rd of April 1857, came to the resolution of refusing their cartridges, having so far forgotten their duty as soldiers. Their next step was to send word to the troop captains that they would not take cartridges unless the whole of the troops in the station would do so likewise. Some of them even had the insolence to desire that firing parades might be deferred till the agitation about cartridges among the native troops had come to a close. In this state of insubordination they appeared on parade on the morning of the 24th, and then consummated the crime, for which they are now to suffer, by repeatedly refusing cartridges that had been made as usual in their regimental magazine, when assured, too, by Colonel Smyth that the cartridges had no grease on them; that they were old ones, and exactly similar to what had been in use in the regiment

for thirty or forty years. Even now they attempt to justify so gross an outrage upon discipline by alleging that they had doubts of the cartridges. There has been no acknowledgment of error, no expression of regret, no pleading for mercy.

"To the majority of the prisoners no portion of the sentence will be remitted. I observe, however, that some of them are very young, and I am willing to make allowance for their having been misled by their more experienced comrades; and under these circumstances, I remit one-half of the sentence passed upon the following men, who have not been more than five years in the service;" and then follow the names of eleven troopers.

16. The prisoners having been delivered over to the civil power on the 9th of May, the native cavalry and infantry at Meerut mutinied on the evening of the following day, and proceeded to Delhi, where they were joined by the native troops at that station. It will be seen that the general court-martial was formed of native officers from all the corps that mutinied on the 10th and 11th of May, and the President of the court-martial, the Subadar-Major of the 38th Light Infantry, was afterwards, it has been said, one of the principal leaders of the mutineers.

17. When a report of the result of the trial was made to the late General Anson, it was intimated that the mutineers, before being made over to the civil power, were put in irons on the parade ground in the presence of their regiment. His Excellency approved of the sentence that had been passed upon the prisoners, but expressed his regret at this unusual procedure. Nothing more was heard regarding the mutineers till the receipt of the telegraphic message giving information of the mutiny, and of their release from jail.

JUDGE-ADV.-GENL.'S OFFICE,
SIMLA;
*The 21st Oct. 1857.*

(Sd.) KEITH YOUNG, *Lieut.-Col.,*
*Judge Advocate-Genl. of the Army.*

742

## APPENDIX F

*Numerical Return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the Field Force under the command of Major-General Sir* H. BARNARD, K.C.B., *during the operations of the 27th June 1857.*

| Corps. | Killed. | | | | | | | Wounded. | | | | | | | Missing. | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Natives. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Natives. | Horses. | Field officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Non-commissioned officers. | Drummers, rank and file. | Natives. | Horses. |
| *Artillery Force.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Head-quarters and 1st, 2nd and 5th Troops, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery ... ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Head-quarters and 2nd and 3rd Troops, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery ... ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 3rd Company, 3rd Battalion, and 14th Light Field Battery ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1st and 4th Companies, 4th Battalion ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4th Company, 6th Battalion, and Field Artillery ... ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Detachment, Artillery recruits ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Cavalry Brigade ... ... ... | None | | | | | | | None | | | | | | | None | | | | | | |
| *1st Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 75th Regiment .. ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 1st European Bengal Fusiliers ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4th Sikh Infantry ... ... .. | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 1* | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| *2nd Infantry Brigade.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Her Majesty's 60th Royal Rifles ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... | 5 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | ... |
| 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 12 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Sirmoor Battalion ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | .. | ... | 1† | ... | ... | 10 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Engineer Brigade ... ... ... | None | | | | | | | None | | | | | | | None | | | | | | |
| *Guide Corps.* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cavalry ... ... ... ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Infantry ... ... ... ... | ... | ... | 1† | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | 1* | 1 | ... | 9 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Total ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | 6 | 5 | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 1 | 24 | 20 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Grand Total ... | 13 | | | | | | | 49 | | | | | | | ... | | | | | | |

* Native officer.
† Subadar.

CAMP DELHI;
*The 28th June 1857.*

(Sd.) H. W. BARNARD, *Maj.-Genl., Comdg. Field Force.*

Examined.

(Sd.) R. S. EWART, *Maj., Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.*

*Nominal Roll of Officers killed and wounded on the 27th June 1857.*

Lieutenant Harris, 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers, wounded.

(Sd.) H. W. BARNARD, *Maj.-Genl.,*
*Comdg. Field Force.*

## APPENDIX G

*List of officers killed, died of wounds, or wounded in the Operations near and before Delhi, including the actions on the Hindun and at Badli-ki-Serai, from the 30th May 1857 to the final capture of the place on the 20th September 1857.*

KILLED, OR DIED OF WOUNDS.

Brigadier-General J. Nicholson, commanding 4th Infantry Brigade, wounded in the assault, September 14th; died of his wound, September 23rd.

Colonel C. Chester, Adjutant-General of the Army, killed at Badli-ki-Serai, June 8th.

Captain C. W. Russell, 54th N. I., Orderly Officer to Brigadier Wilson, at Badli-ki-Serai, June 8th.

Captain J. W. Delamain, 56th N. I., Orderly Officer to Brigadier Wilson, at Badli-ki-Serai, June 8th.

Captain R. C. H. B. Fagan, Artillery (wounded June 30th), killed in a breaching battery, September 12th.

Lieutenant E. H. Hildebrand, Artillery (wounded June 30th), killed in a breaching battery, September 7th.

Lieutenant H. G. Perkins, Artillery, in action at the Hindun,* May 31st.

Lieutenant T. E. Dickins, Artillery, wounded July 20th; died of wound, July 27th.

Second-Lieutenant F. L. Tandy, Engineers, in the assault at the Cashmere Gate, September 14th.

Second-Lieutenant E. Jones, Engineers, wounded July 18th; died of wounds, July 24th.

Captain T. M. Greensill, 24th Foot, Assistant Field Engineer, accidentally shot while on duty in front of the Metcalfe Picquet July 20th, and died on following day.

Assistant-Surgeon S. Moore, 6th Dragoon Guards, wounded at the Hindun,* May 31st; died of wound, June 2nd.

Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel R. A. Yule, 9th Lancers, in the rear attack, June 19th.

---

* Ghazi-ud-din-Nuggur.—*Vide London Gazette* (Supplement), December 15th 1857.

Lieutenant W. W. Pogson, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, wounded July 23rd; mortally wounded in the breach, and died September 17th.

Lieutenant W. R. Webb, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, mortally wounded in the assault, and died September 15th.

Lieutenant W. H. Mountsteven, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment (previously slightly wounded), July 9th.

Lieutenant J. H. Bradshaw, Her Majesty's 52nd Light Infantry, in the assault.

Captain F. Andrews, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, at the Hindun, May 30th.

Ensign W. H. Napier, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, wounded in action at the Hindun, May 30th;* died of wound, June 4th.†

Lieutenant M. A. Humphrys, 20th Regiment, N. I., attached to Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, wounded June 19th; died of wound, June 20th.

Ensign E. A. L. Phillipps, 11th N. I., attached to Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, slightly wounded, June 12th; killed at the Bank House, September 16th.

Lieutenant T. Gabbett, Her Majsty's 61st Regiment, at Najafgarh, August 25th.

Ensign S. B. Elkington, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, mortally wounded at Najafgarh, August 25th, and died a few days after.

Captain E. W. J. Knox, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, at the Flag Staff Battery, June 12th.

Lieutenant J. R. S. FitzGerald, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, wounded slightly, June 8th, at Badli-ki-Serai; killed in the breach, September 14th.

Lieutenant A. Harrison, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, at Badli-ki-Serai, June 8th.

Lieutenant E. V. Briscoe, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, in the attack on the Lahore Gate, September 18th.

Lieutenant W. Crozier, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, in the Subzee Mundee, July 18th.

Major G. O. Jacob, 1st European Fusiliers, slightly wounded at Najafgarh, August 25th; killed in the assault, September 14th.

Captain G. G. McBarnet, 55th N. I., attached to 1st Fusiliers, in Kissengunge, September 14th.

* 31st May<br>
† 6th June } —*Vide London Gazette* (Supplement), December 15th 1857.

Lieutenant E. Speke, 65th N. I., attached to 1st Fusiliers, in the assault, September 14th.

Lieutnant S. H. Jackson, 2nd Fusiliers, in the right flank attack, June 23rd.

Second-Lieutenant D. F. Sherriff, 2nd Fusiliers, mortally wounded at the capture of the Ludlow Castle Battery, August 12th; died of wound, August 14th.

Lieutenant C. H. FitzRoy Gambier, 38th Light Infantry, attached to the 2nd Fusiliers.

Ensign O. C. Walter, 45th N. I., attached to the 2nd Fusiliers, died of sun-stroke while in action, July 18th.*

Ensign C. E. Wheatley, 54th N. I., attached to Sirmoor Battalion, at the main picquet, June 17th.

Lieutenant J. H. Browne, 33rd N. I., attached to the Kumaon Battalion, August 6th.

Lieutenant J. Yorke, 3rd N. I., attached to 4th Sikh Infantry, wounded June 30th; died of wound, July 1st.

Brevet-Captain W. G. Law, 10th N. I., attached to 1st Punjab Infantry, killed July 23rd.

Lieutenant E. J. Travers, 2nd-in-command, 1st Coke's Rifles, slightly wounded, July 21st; killed, August 2nd.

Lieutenant W. H. Lumsden, Adjutant, 1st Coke's Rifles, at Najafgarh, August 25th.

Ensign J. T. Davidson, 26th N. I., attached to 2nd Punjab Infantry, in the assault, September 14th.

Lieutenant R. P. Homfray, 17th N. I., attached to 4th Punjab Infantry, in Delhi, September 16th.

Lieutenant Quintin Battye, Commandant of Cavalry, Guide Corps, mortally wounded under the walls, June 9th; died the next day.

Lieutenant A. W. Murray, 42nd N. I., attached to Guide Corps (previously severely wounded), in the assault, September 14th.

Lieutenant C. B. Bannerman, 1st Bombay N. I., attached to Beluch Battalion, September 7th.

Lieutenant R. W. Alexander, 3rd Regiment N. I., in the rear attack, June 19th.

WOUNDED.

Brigadier-General N. B. Chamberlain, Adjutant-General of the Army, July 14th, severely.

* 8th July.—*See London Gazette* (Supplement), December 15th 1857.

747

Colonel A. M. Becher, Quartermaster-General of the Army, June 19th, severely.

Lieutenant F. S. Roberts, Officiating Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, July 14th, slightly.

Brigadier H. Garbett, C. B., Artillery, August 8th, slightly.

Brigadier St. G. D. Showers, commanding 1st Infantry Brigade, August 12th, severely.

Captain H. E. H. Burnside, Her Majesty's 61st, Brigade-Major, 3rd Infantry Brigade, July 9th and September 14th.

Lieutenant F. C. Innes, 60th N. I., July 12th, slightly.

Lieutenant-Colonel T. Seaton, C. B., 35th N. L. I., July 23rd, severely.

Lieutenant-Colonel R. Drought, 60th N. I., July 23rd, severely.

Major J. H. Campbell, Artillery, September 11th, severely.

Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel M. Mackenzie, Artillery, July 2nd, severely.

Captain E. K. Money, Artillery, July 23rd, severely.

Captain J. Young, Artillery, June 18th, slightly.

Brevet-Major H. Tombs, Artillery, June 17th and September 14th.

Captain T. E. Kennion, Artillery, August 6th, severely.

Captain A. Light, Artillery, June 8th, slightly.

First-Lieutenant A. Bunny, Artillery, July 23rd, slightly.

First-Lieutenant H. P. Bishop, Artillery, June 19th, slightly.

First-Lieutenant G. Baillie, Artillery, August 10th, slightly.

First-Lieutenant A. Gillespie, Artillery, September 11th, slightly.

First-Lieutenant E. L. Earle, Artillery, September 11th, slightly.

First-Lieutenant A. H. Lindsay, Artillery, August 12th, slightly.

Lieutenant C. Hunter, Artillery, June 8th, slightly.

Second-Lieutenant J. Hills, Artillery, July 9th, severely.

Second-Lieutenant M. Elliot, Artillery, July 9th, severely.

Second-Lieutenant P. Thompson, Artillery, July 14th, severely.

Second-Lieutenant A. H. Davidson, Artillery, June 8th, severely.

Captain E. B. Johnson, Artillery, at the Hindun, May 31st, slightly.

Second-Lieutenant E. Fraser, Artillery, August 7th, slightly.

Second-Lieutenant R. T. Hare, Artillery, June 8th, slightly.

Second-Lieutenant H. Chichester, Artillery, July 18th, slightly.

Lieutenant and Riding-Master S. Budd, Artillery, September 8th, slightly.

Assistant-Surgeon W. W. Ireland, Artillery, August 25th, at Najafgarh, dangerously.

Lieutenant-Colonel R. Baird Smith, Engineers (Chief Engineer), September 12th, slightly.

Lieutenant W. W. H. Greathed, Engineers, September 14th, in the assault, very severely.

Lieutenant J. T. Walker, Bombay Engineers, July 14th, severely.

Lieutenant F. R. Maunsell, Engineers, August 12th and September 14th.

Lieutenant J. G. Medley, Engineers, September 14th, severely.

Lieutenant P. Salkeld, Engineers, September 14th, dangerously.

Lieutenant E. Walker, Engineers, September 14th, slightly.

Lieutenant G. T. Chesney, Engineers, (Brigade-Major), September 14th, severely.

Lieutenant W. E. Warrand, Engineers, September 14th, dangerously.

Lieutenant H. A. Brownlow, Engineers, September 14th, dangerously.

Lieutenant M. G. Geneste, Engineers, July 18th, slightly.

Lieutenant J. St. J. Hovenden, Engineers, September 14th, severely.

Lieutenant Æ. Perkins, Engineers, June 17th, slightly.

Second-Lieutenant R. C. B. Pemberton, Engineers, September 14th, slightly.

Second-Lieutenant J. U. Champain, Engineers, June 17th, slightly.

Second-Lieutenant P. Murray, Engineers, September 10th, slightly.

Second-Lieutenant H. A. L. Carnegie, Engineers, July 14th, slightly.

Ensign (local) L. Gustavinski, Punjab Sappers, September 14th, severely.

Ensign (local) C. Anderson, Punjab Sappers, September 14th, slightly.

Captain C. P. Rosser, Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards, September 14th, dangerously.

Lieutenant A. A. de Bourbel, Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards, at the Hindun, May 30th, severely.

Captain the Hon'ble A. H. A. Anson, Her Majesty's 84th Regiment, attached to Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, September 14th, slightly.

Lieutenant B. Cuppage, 6th Light Cavalry, attached to Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, September 14th, slightly.

Lieutenant J. Watson, 1st Punjab Cavalry, September 14th, slightly.

Lieutenant H. H. Gough, 3rd Light Cavalry, attached to Hodson's Horse, September 14th, slightly.

Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. Brooke, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, September 14th, severely.

Captain E. G. Daniell, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, July 9th, severely.

Brevet-Major R. S. Baynes, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, September 14th, dangerously.

Brevet-Captain D. Beere, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, September 14th, severely.

Brevet-Captain E. N. Sandilands, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, August 10th and September 14th, slightly.

Lieutenant G. F. Walker, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, September 14th, in the assault, severely.

Lieutenant W. F. Metge, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, September 14th, slightly.

Colonel G. Campbell, Her Majesty's 52nd Light Infantry, September 14th, in the assault, slightly.

Captain J. A. Bayley, Her Majesty's 52nd Light Infantry, September 14th, in the assault, severely.

Lieutenant W. Atkinson, Her Majesty's 52nd Light Infantry, September 14th, in the assault, slightly.

Ensign T. Simpson, Her Majesty's 52nd Light Infantry, August 16th, slightly.

Captain H. F. Williams, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, June 19th, severely.

Captain C. Jones, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, June 23rd, severely.

Captain G. C. H. Waters, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, August 7th, slightly; September 14th, severely.

Lieutenant H. P. Eaton, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, September 10th, dangerously.

Lieutenant J. D. Dundas, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, June 19th, slightly.

Lieutenant H. G. Deedes, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, June 12th, slightly.

Lieutenant P. J. Curtis, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, June 12th, slightly; September 14th, severely.

Lieutenant J. S. D. M'Gill, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, June 19th, slightly.

Ensign W. G. Turle, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, August 10th, severely.

Lieutenant Pemberton, Engineers, September 14th, severely.

Ensign A. S. Heathcote, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, June 17th, slightly.

Surgeon J. H. K. Innes, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, May 30th, slightly.

Captain W. E. D. Deacon, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, September 14th, severely.

Lieutenant T. M. Moore, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, September 14th, slightly.

Lieutenant W. H. W. Pattoun, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, July 18th, severely; died of dysentery at Simla in November.

Lieutenant A. C. Young, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, September 14th, severely.

Lieutenant C. J. Griffiths, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, July 9th, severely.

Lieutenant T. B. Hutton, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, July 9th, slightly.

Lieutenant R. Hutton, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, August 10th, severely.

Ensign E. B. Andros, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, July 9th, *slightly.*

Lieutenant-Colonel C. Herbert, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, June 8th and September 14th, slightly.

Captain T. C. Dunbar, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, June 8th, slightly.

Captain A. Chancellor, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, June 8th, slightly; died of wound at Kasauli.

Captain R. Dawson, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, June 8th, dangerously.

Captain R. Freer, Her Majesty's 27th Regiment, attached to Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, September 14th, in the assault, slightly.

Lieutenant and Adjutant R. Barter, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, June 8th, severely.

Lieutenant C. R. Rivers, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, June 8th and July 14th, slightly; since dead of cholera.

Lieutenant E. Armstrong, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, September 14th, slightly.

Lieutenant G. C. N. Faithfull, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, July 14th, slightly.

Lieutenant C. M. Pym, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, June 8th, slightly.

Ensign R. Wadeson, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, September 14th, severely.

Ensign T. Dayrell, 58th N. I., attached to Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, September 14th, severely.

Paymaster D. F. Chambers, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, September 14th, slightly.

Assistant-Surgeon S. A. Lithgow, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, June 8th, slightly.

Colonel J. Welchman, 1st Fusiliers, June 23rd, dangerously.

Captain S. Greville, 1st Fusiliers, June 8th, at Badli-ki-Serai, slightly; August 12th, before Delhi; September 14th, in the assault.

Captain E. Brown, 1st Fusiliers, June 17th, dangerously.

Lieutenant H. M. Wemyss, 1st Fusiliers, September 14th, severely.

Lieutenant J. W. Daniell, 1st Fusiliers, July 14th, severely.

Lieutenant Butler, 1st Fusiliers, September 14th, in the assault, slightly.

Lieutenant E. A. C. Lambert, 1st Fusiliers, September 14th, slightly.

Lieutenant A. G. Owen, 1st Fusiliers, August 12th, slightly; September 14th, severely.

Second-Lieutenant N. Ellis, June 8th, at Badli-ki-Serai, slightly.

Captain J. P. Caulfeild, 3rd Regiment, N. I., attached to 1st Fusiliers, September 14th, slightly.

Captain W. Graydon, 16th Grenadiers, attached to 1st Fusiliers, September 14th, severely.

Lieutenant E. H. Woodcock, 55th N. I., attached to 1st Fusiliers, September 14th, severely.

Lieutenant A. Elderton, 2nd Fusiliers, September 14th, severely.

Lieutenant C. R. Blair, 2nd Fusiliers, June 30th, dangerously.

Lieutenant J. T. Harris, 2nd Fusiliers, June 27th, severely.

Captain J. C. Hay, 60th N. I., attached to 2nd Fusiliers, September 14th, dangerously.

Captain D. Kemp, 5th Regiment N. I., attached to 2nd Fusiliers, July 9th, severely.

Lieutenant T. N. Walker, 60th N. I., attached to 2nd Fusiliers, July 18th and September 14th.

Major C. Reid, 10th N. I., Commandant, Sirmoor Battalion, September 14th, in Kissengunge, severely.

Lieutenant D. B. Lockhart, 7th N. I., attached to Sirmoor Battalion, severely.

Lieutenant S. Ross, 9th N. I., attached to Sirmoor Battalion, July 14th, slightly; since dead of cholera.

Lieutenant A. Tulloch, 20th N. I., attached to Sirmoor Battalion, July 14th.

Lieutenant H. D. E. W. Chester, 36th N. I., attached to Sirmoor Battalion, July 14th, slightly.

Lieutenant A. H. Eckford, 69th N. I., attached to Sirmoor Battalion, July 9th, slightly.

Captain H. F. M. Boisragon, 2nd-in-command, Kumaon Battalion, severely.

Lieutenant A. B. Temple, 49th N. I., attached to Kumaon Battalion, August 6th, slightly.

Lieutenant C. F. Packe, 4th Regiment, N. I., attached to 4th Sikh Infantry, June 30th, severely.

Lieutenant F. H. Jenkins, 57th N. I., attached to 4th Sikh Infantry, September 14th, severely.

Lieutenant A. Pullan, 36th N. I., attached to 4th Sikh Infantry, July 9th, severely.

Major J. Coke, 10th N. I., commanding 1st Punjab Infantry, "Coke's Rifles," August 12th, severely.

Lieutenant C. J. Nicholson, 31st N. I., acting Commandant, 1st Punjab Infantry, September 14th, severely.

Lieutenant H. T. Pollock, 35th Light Infantry, attached to 1st Punjab Infantry, July 14th, very severely.

Lieutenant T. M. Shelley, 11th N. I., attached to 1st Punjab Infantry, September 14th, slightly.

Ensign (local) C. Prior, attached to 11th N. I., September 14th, slightly.

Captain G. W. G. Green, Commandant, 2nd Punjab Infantry, September 14th, slightly.

Lieutenant T. Frankland, 2nd-in-command, September 14th, severely.

Captain H. Daly, 1st Bombay Fusiliers, Commandant, Guide Corps, June 19th, severely.

Lieutenant T. G. Kennedy, officiating Commandant, Guide Cavalry, June 12th, severely.

Lieutenant R. H. Shebbeare, 60th N. I., attached to Guide Corps, July 14th, twice slightly.

Lieutenant C. W. Hawes, Adjutant, attached to Guide Corps, July 14th, slightly.

Lieutenant E. E. B. Bond, 57th N. I., attached to Guide Corps, September 14th, severely.

Lieutenant A. W. Murray, 42nd Light Infantry, attached to Guide Corps, June 23rd, slightly; July 9th, severely.

Ensign O. I. Chalmers, 3rd N. I., attached to Guide Corps, July 5th, severely.

Lieutenant H. DeBrett, 57th N. I., attached to Guide Corps, July 14th, slightly.

# INDEX

756

757

## B



759

765

767

## C

769

773

783

## E



78

# F

785

790

792

793

## H



796

797

798

799

8cc

## I





803

806

807

## M



813

817

R20

## N

825

## O

## P

831

833

## U



## V

852

853

R54

855